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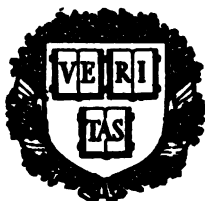
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LIFE

ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST

WILFRID WALLACE D.D., M.A., F.R.S.

FRONTISPIECE OF THE ORDER OF THE BISHOP OF THE CITY OF CANTERBURY



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L I F E

OF

ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY

FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

BY

WILFRID WALLACE, D.D., M.A., LL.B.

PRIEST OF THE ORDER OF ST. BENEDICT OF THE BEURON CONGREGATION



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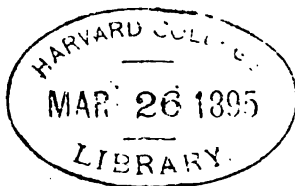
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ERRATUM.

Page 2, line 10.—The author finds that he has been misled in stating that a MS. Life of the Saint is to be found in the library of Trin. Coll., Dublin. Subsequent inquiries have shown that no such work is known to exist there.

TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM WEATHERS, D.D.,
BISHOP OF AMYCLA :
FORMERLY
PRESIDENT OF ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE, WARE :
UNDER WHOSE PATERNAL RULE AND CARE
THE AUTHOR
FIRST LEARNED TO KNOW AND LOVE
ST. EDMUND,
THIS LIFE OF THE SAINT IS BY HIM
RESPECTFULLY, GRATEFULLY, AND AFFECTIONATELY
Dedicated.

PIA INVOCATIO SANCTI PATRONI PRO FESTO
CENTENARIO ALMI COLLEGII S. EDMUNDI :
SANCTE PATER EDMUNDE,
QUI MUNDUM SPERNENS CÆLUM ARRIPUISTI,
DE THRONO TUO CELSISSIMO
HUNC LIBELLUM
TUUM CURSUM TERRENUM UTCUMQUE ENARRANTEM,
EJUSQUE AUCTOREM,
PECCATOREM UTIQUE, TUUM TAMEN CLIENTEM,
BENIGNE RESPICERE DIGNARE :
SED ET
DOMUM ISTAM VENERABILEM,
CENTUM ABHINC ANNIS,
TUIS VENERANDIS AUSPICIIS SACRATAM,
PIO PATERNOQUE FAVORE AMPLECTERE :
UT RELIGIONI, PIETATI, OMNIUMQUE BONARUM ARTIUM
CULTUI DEDITA
TUI IN EXEMPLUM
IN ÆVUM CRESCAT, FLORESCAT.

PREFACE.

IN the holy Rule of St. Benedict, chap. lxviii., the question is asked : What if a brother is ordered to do something impossible? To which the holy legislator replies: that the brother may humbly and modestly represent his incompetence to the superior; but, if the latter persists in his command, then the brother, confiding in the help of God, is to address himself to the task in all charity.

It was in the early spring of 1891 that my superior laid on me the charge of writing the Life of our holy Patron,¹ St. Edmund. I was at first quite taken aback; for though, as an alumnus of St. Edmund's College, I had from my youth upwards cherished a great devotion to the Saint, I had never made the details of his life my special study; in fact, my acquaintance with the literature of the subject was limited to the Oxford Life published nearly fifty years ago: nor had I the least idea what materials were available for such a work.

Hence it seemed a case for the application of chap. lxviii. of the holy Rule. Accordingly, in answer to the call of obedience, I addressed myself to the task, that sacred call relieving my mind of all anxiety as to the result of the enterprise.

Moreover, I was encouraged by the consideration that, as yet, no Catholic Life (in English) of St. Edmund had appeared, which cannot but be considered a reproach to English Catholic

¹ The church of SS. Thomas and Edmund at Erdington was erected by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh, and consecrated in 1850.

literature. It is true the story of St. Edmund's life is not a blank in modern English literature. The Life has been written more than once. There is, of course, the necessarily brief summary in A. Butler's *Lives of the Saints* (Nov. 16). The Life also forms one of the series of "Lives of English Saints" published by the Tractarians in 1845. This work is written in an excellent spirit, and is extremely accurate as far as it goes. The author has consulted original sources and all the contemporary records which were then accessible ; but it can hardly be considered an adequate treatment of the subject from an historical point of view ; nor was it to be expected when we consider the scope of those Lives, which appears to have been to place before the eyes of the English people a long-forgotten ideal of Catholic faith and practice. Hence the author has by no means exhausted the materials which he had at his command, but has selected from them those portions which contributed to the object he had in view. Besides this work, the Life of St. Edmund enters into the series of *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* by Dean Hook (vol. iii., Middle Ages). But we cannot bestow on this work the praise we have allotted to the former. It is steeped in Protestant prejudice of the deepest dye. The dean is evidently incapable of understanding or appreciating the saintly character. No doubt his sympathies are with the Saint, and he represents him in a favourable light ; but he cannot understand his asceticism nor that of his mother, whom, in consequence, he treats with undisguised contempt. This inability to understand the Christian virtue of penance causes him to produce not a life-like picture, but a caricature of the Saint. He represents him as outwardly displaying a mortified exterior, whilst inwardly he is subject to all the littlenesses and weaknesses of temperament characteristic of that standard of human nature of which alone the dean was cognisant. More-

over, the work is disfigured by his intemperate denunciations of the papal policy. He has distorted historical facts to suit his theory ; and where facts cannot be distorted, he pretends to dive into the Pope's mind, in order to discover sinister motives for commendable actions. Altogether the work is a most unsatisfactory one, at least from a Catholic point of view. I have said nothing of the French Life of St. Edmund by Père Massé, as I am only seeking to justify the publication of a new English Life. Besides, the French work is now, unfortunately, out of print, though I learn with great pleasure and satisfaction that the gifted author contemplates bringing out a new edition. The work has been of the greatest service to the present writer, especially for those portions of the Life which treat of Pontigny : for the author, being a member of the religious community established there, had access to the many precious documents still preserved in the archives of Pontigny or at Auxerre.

I propose then to put together, to the best of my ability, all that I have been able to discover about St. Edmund in the contemporary records. I shall not follow the example of some hagiographers, who present the life of the Saint as an object-lesson, from which we may learn the theory and practice of the several virtues which adorn the servants of God ; nor is it my object to construct a work suitable for spiritual reading ; but rather to present a plain historical narrative of the Saint's life and character, leaving the reader to make his own reflections as to the moral lessons which he ought to deduce therefrom for his own guidance. At the same time, the Saint's life, up to his elevation to the episcopate, was so wholly interior, and the records on which we depend are so exclusively occupied with details as to his virtues, to the exclusion of all the facts which make up the round of ordinary life, that the narrative will easily

lend itself to such practical and devout reflections ; and I fervently hope that, whilst fostering in many a greater love and veneration for this sweet Saint, it may stimulate them to a more diligent imitation of his example. Undoubtedly, that example is, in some respects, calculated to appal an ordinary Christian. I refer to the severity of the mortifications which he practised throughout his life—from the cradle, I might say, to the grave. But what can be more sweetly attractive than the angelic purity of soul and body which he attained through these mortifications, and which has embalmed his sacred remains with the sweet fragrance of incorruption ! “ Draw me and we will run after thee in the odour of thy ointments.”¹ All the saints, of course, have practised mortification. Indeed, the gospels and the apostolic writings concur in teaching us that no one can be even a Christian unless he mortifies himself to a certain extent ; and the more one advances in holiness and perfection the more will he esteem and practise the salutary exercise of mortification and self-denial. For it is only by crucifying the flesh with its vices and concupiscences that we can tame and subdue our unruly members, and bring our corrupt nature into subjection to the law of the spirit. St. Edmund practised the severest mortification from his childhood, and it was owing to this discipline that he was able to preserve the virginal purity of his soul intact amidst the dangers and temptations of the corrupt world. He thirsted for mortification with the same passionate eagerness with which the libertine seeks the indulgence of his sensual appetite. It would perhaps be too much to say that penance is now altogether an extinct virtue. But, if it still exists, we must admit that it differs very much from the penance of former ages. Penance then meant rigorous abstinence,

¹ Cant. i. 3.

frequent and even perpetual fasts, long watchings, hard labour, solitude and profound silence. Bread and water and simple herbs were the food which penitents allowed themselves; clothing of sack-cloth and hair-cloth; their couch was a plank, or a stone, or the bare ground; rocks, caverns or narrow cells furnished them with lodging; they bore the inclemency of the seasons, the summer heat, the winter cold, without any of the mitigations which modern refinement and delicacy have discovered. They were dead to themselves and to all their senses; whilst all this austerity was accompanied by fervent prayer continued without interruption or relaxation to their dying day. Such was the penance of former ages; such, at least, is the penance depicted for us in this Life of St. Edmund. But the former ages are passed away and penance along with them. Compared with this picture, penance, as it is understood and practised in modern times, is as the shadow compared to the substance. It is considered sufficient penance to refrain from certain diversions, spectacles, and profane gatherings; but people cannot do without agreeable society, visits, walks, holidays, and some sort of amusement; in a word, penance must not be practised at the expense of an easy and pleasant life. No doubt, by way of compensating for this lack of penance, there is an immense amount of activity in modern piety, leading it to multiplied and manifold works of charity and devotion. All this is praiseworthy enough and edifying; but, after all, on what conditions are they exercised? Provided they do not incommode us; that they leave us full liberty to abandon them or take them up again just as it pleases us; provided they are of our own choice and to our liking; provided they do not interfere with our comfort. Whereas, St. Edmund's idea of penance was founded on the principle laid down by St. Paul: "They that are Christ's have crucified their flesh

with the vices and concupiscences".¹ He does not say their "interior" only, but their *flesh*, that criminal body which, in all justice, ought to bear a part in the penalty, after having borne a considerable part in the sin.

But if his penitential exercises were so severe as to appear almost incredible, nevertheless, we have the assurance of those who knew St. Edmund, that by life-long practice those exercises had become not only easy but even agreeable to him. Moreover, he enjoyed the inestimable rewards which follow on such a life—immunity from the sting of concupiscence—the gift of Divine contemplation, the fruits of which he says in his "*Speculum Ecclesiæ*" it is not given to any man to express in words, but which he alone knows who has experienced them²—the tender love of our Lord, of His Blessed Mother, of the virgin disciple who is the great master of the interior life—all these were the blessed fruits of the hard and painful penance which he practised from his childhood to the day of his death.

Such is the life of our Saint until his elevation to the episcopate, a "life hidden with Christ in God".³ Nevertheless, even before his elevation, he had never lived for himself alone. All his mature life had been spent in the useful work of imparting his vast and varied knowledge to others, or in preaching and evangelising the rural districts, or in the congenial work of ministering to the beauty of God's house in the Cathedral of Salisbury. But all this exterior work could never interrupt his sweet communion with God; rather, it furnished him with opportunities of entering into a closer union with the Spouse of his soul, as he testified on his death-bed. But it pleased God to perfect His servant by calling him from his calm and studious retreat, and plunging him into what might be called a fiery furnace, in raising him

¹ Gal. v. 24.

² Appendix xxiii.

³ Col. iii. 3.

to the dignity of Primate of the English Church, a dignity which meant perpetual conflict with the powers that ruled "the world of this darkness".¹ I need not here rehearse the story which the reader will find related in these pages of that pontificate of seven years, closed by a broken heart and an exile's tomb. I will only now anticipate a judgment which is likely to be formed by those who think as the world thinks—that such a career means a failure. Whether it was a failure or not is sufficiently determined in the negative by the universal acclamations with which his name was greeted throughout Christendom immediately after his death, and by the deep veneration in which he is still held by the faithful of this country and of the country of his posthumous adoption. Indeed, we have been forewarned that it should be so ; that the world's failures are God's triumphs : that "God has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and the weak things of this world to confound the strong".² Like his martyred predecessor, St. Thomas, and like our great Exemplar, Jesus Christ, St. Edmund triumphed by suffering. What then are the facts? St. Edmund, in succeeding to the See of Anselm and Thomas, inherited also their labours and crosses, their unintermitting struggle with "the spirits of wickedness in the high places".³ Not only was the power of the crown opposed to him, with its haughty pretensions and its impatience of ecclesiastical control ; not only were the rude and overbearing barons bent on defying his authority, and usurping his rights ; all this might have been expected from them, but, sadder still to say, and harder still to be borne, the spirit of the world had invaded the Church itself. Time-serving prelates, more like mercenaries than pastors, preyed upon instead of feeding the flock of Christ. It had even invaded the cloister ; relaxation of

¹ Eph. vi. 12.² 1 Cor. i. 27.³ Eph. vi. 12.

discipline had crept into the monasteries, and was fast undermining the monastic life and spirit. Now, when those who ought to be the light of the world and the salt of the earth proved faithless to their high mission, we may easily imagine what corruption and depravity spread through all ranks and classes of the people. When, then, a man of St. Edmund's simple rectitude saw himself face to face with such abuses, he must needs attack them, grapple with them, and, if it may be, strangle them. An ordinary man, finding himself powerless to stem the torrent of evil, would have reconciled himself to the inevitable, and tolerated what he could not prevent. No so St. Edmund. He had received from his Lord and Master a certain charge to feed the sheep and the lambs of His flock in this country ; and he was determined to execute faithfully the commission which he had accepted reluctantly. For six years he maintained the unequal combat, persecuted by the bad, misrepresented by the good, supported hardly by any, even of those who were bound by their sacred office to support him, until he retired from the hopeless conflict and ended his days in the peaceful retirement of the cloister. The epitaph of the great St. Hildebrand might well have been inscribed on his tomb : "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile". But the hour of his seeming defeat was the hour of his real triumph ; for God made the sepulchre of His confessor glorious by the miracles which were there wrought ; so that ere long all Christendom resounded with the fame of one whom, when living, the world had despised and persecuted. Just as St. Thomas, by his martyrdom, overcame the violence and arrogance of the second Henry, so Edmund, by his death, overcame the obstinacy and waywardness of the third Henry ; for the great abuse of keeping episcopal sees and prelatures vacant, against which Edmund persistently protested in

vain, was extinguished after his death ; and the king was compelled to concede that all such vacancies should be filled up by the metropolitan after they had been six months vacant.

A few words remain to be said as to the times in which St. Edmund's lot was cast. It was a period of turbulence and disorganisation, as will appear from the course of our story. This was the case, not only in England, but on the continent as well. The womb of time was in labour with the monarchies which were then slowly emerging from a state of chaos. But they could not come to the birth without many throes of pain and cries of woe. The Church, and, through the Church, all Christendom, was convulsed by the nefarious schemes and lawless violence of the impious Frederic II. England was still reeling under the blows inflicted by a similar tyrant, John. It was suffering from all the mischiefs caused by a long minority, when there were no constitutional safeguards. The governing power was thus thrown into the hands of the barons, with whom, for the most part, might was synonymous with right. The mass of the people, whether the burgesses in the towns or the rural population, did not enter at all as a factor in the political questions of the day. Their views were limited to the sphere of their rights, which were simply to live and to labour and to fight if called upon. But the day was fast approaching when, by a happy accident, they would be invited to participate in the great council of the realm ; where, having once gained a footing, after many a century of struggles marked by alternate victory and defeat, they would end by vindicating to themselves the supreme power of government. We shall see in these pages the first erratic movements of the remarkable man (Simon de Montfort) to whom this great constitutional change is attributed, though

he could have had little or no idea of the significance of the step he contemplated.

The only counterpoise to the power of the crown and of the baronage was the Church. Her salutary and beneficent influence sufficed to keep in check the unruly instincts of the great and powerful, whilst it alleviated the lot and brightened the days of the toiling serfs, who, thanks to her influence, enjoyed a contentment and happiness which are unknown to the working classes of modern times, from whom the protection and guiding influence of the Church have been withdrawn. Moreover, through the Church, the lowest serf saw the way open to him, not only to freedom, but even to positions of the highest dignity and authority.

Not only was the political world disorganised, but the intellectual world also was undergoing a crisis. The Saracens, who had begun by threatening to overrun the countries of Europe, were now threatening to invade its schools. Arabic commentaries on Aristotle, replete with fantastic, perilous, and pernicious speculations, were fast usurping the patristic methods of ancient times, until the angel of the schools¹ arose to reduce even this intellectual chaos to order and harmony ; and he succeeded in yoking the ancient sage to the chariot of faith and orthodoxy.

Thus it ever is in the course of mundane affairs, guided as they are by an overruling and all-wise Providence. There have been crises when the Church, had she been a human institution, must necessarily have succumbed to the forces and influences arrayed against her. Such was the rise and spread of Arianism in the fourth century : such was the great Protestant revolt of the sixteenth ; and yet those periods are marked by a glorious and unprecedented constellation of saints and true reformers. Such too, we might say, was this

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, contemporary with St. Edmund.

thirteenth century, when in the midst of the social, political, and religious corruption and disorganisation which prevailed, God raised up such saints as St. Francis and St. Dominic with their glorious progeny, pre-eminent amongst whom shine St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, St. Louis of France, St. Ferdinand of Castile, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. We may well feel proud and grateful that our own country, in the midst of the calamities by which it was overwhelmed, contributed its quota to this galaxy of piety and learning, by producing at one and the same time three such luminaries as St. Edmund of Canterbury, St. Richard of Chichester, and Robert Grosseteste.

Before concluding this preface, it is my duty to express my grateful acknowledgments to the many kind friends who, in response to my applications, have assisted me in this compilation. My especial thanks are due to the Superiors of Oscott Seminary for giving the writer access to their valuable library, and for their generous co-operation in the work. I have also to thank the authorities and employés of the various public libraries, which I have had occasion to consult, namely, at the British Museum, Lambeth, Birmingham, the Bodleian, and at several of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, for their unfailing courtesy and promptitude in facilitating my researches. I am especially indebted to the kindness of Mr. Bickley of the British Museum and of the Very Rev. Fr. Gasquet for much valuable assistance in deciphering manuscripts, and to Mr. Mullinger, Librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge, for the exceptional facilities granted me in my researches. To Dr. Sheppard, Librarian at Canterbury, I owe a heavy debt of gratitude, to whose sympathetic interest and indefatigable exertions I am indebted for a most valuable contribution to this work, namely, the details of the Christ Church controversy, which have never

before been brought to light ; as also for a copy of that most interesting relic, St. Edmund's private seal. My thanks are also due and are hereby rendered to the Very Rev. Dr. Scott of Cambridge and the Rev. R. Power of Canterbury for their most cordial and hospitable reception accorded to the author ; also to two devout clients of St. Edmund, the Rev. Fr. Kelleher of Abingdon, and the Rev. Dr. Bourne, Sub-Dean of Salisbury Cathedral, for the same gracious hospitality and for the valuable details which they furnished as to the Abingdon and Salisbury traditions respecting St. Edmund. Through Fr. Kelleher's influence, Mr. Morland, the custodian, kindly threw open the Abingdon archives for my inspection, whilst one of the reverend father's flock, Mr. Fisher, put me in possession of the existing folk-lore about the Saint. To the Rev. Dr. Bourne I am indebted for an impression of the original seal¹ of the ancient Collegiate Church of St. Edmund at Salisbury, and for much information respecting that institution.

In the course of this work I have had occasion to apply to the following persons, and have, in each case, received a prompt and kind response, together with much valuable information : Mr. G. M. Arnold, Mr. F. J. Baigent, Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, Right Rev. Monsig. Cahill, Mr. Gerard Carré, who, when I was laid on a bed of sickness, rendered invaluable services ; the Right Rev. Monsig. Crook, Rev. Hugo Gaisser, O.S.B., Rev. Fr. Janauschek, O.C., Rev. Dr. McCarten, who kindly undertook the revision of the proof-sheets when I was incapacitated by illness ; the Rev. Superior of the Convent of Notre Dame, Northampton ; Very Rev. Canon O'Halloran, Rev. Dom Pothier, O.S.B., Rev. the Provincial of St. Dominic's Convent, Stone ; Mr. J. Wallace, for details of the pilgrimage to Pontigny ; Rev. J. E. Wallace,

¹ This seal will be found engraved on the title-page.

for a copy of the Portsmouth Office of St. Edmund ; Rev. B. Ward, for facts connected with St. Edmund's College ; Mr. W. H. J. Weale, Rev. B. Zimmerman, O.C.D., and others, to each and all of whom I beg to tender my heartfelt thanks.

FR. WILFRID WALLACE, O.S.B.

PRIORY OF SS. THOMAS AND EDMUND,
*Feast of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed
Lady, 1892.*

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(3) Qualiter apparuit ei dominus quando vidit rubum florentem, . . .	545
(4) Qualiter ex tunc de virtute in virtutem diatim ascendit beatus Edmundus,	546
(5) De vite sue mira severitate,	547
(6) Quod amator et frequentator fuerit ecclesie incomparabilis, . . .	548
(7) Qualiter per aliquod tempus (apud) Mertonam commorabatur, . . .	549
(8) Item de moribus illius multiplicibus,	550
(9) De liberalitate ipsius et quam reverenter se habuit circa altare et in ecclesia,	551
(10) Quomodo diabolus vicit cogitando de passione Domini in cruce, . . .	552
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(20) Quomodo reconciliavit Hubertum de Burgo et alios nobiles regni, . .	556
(21) Qualiter nunquam tempus consumpsit otium,	557
(22) De quadam comparatione ejus ad beatum Martinum et ejus similitudinem,	558
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(26) Nota quoddam miraculum,	565
(27) Oritur contra beatum Edmundum multiformis tribulatio,	565
(28) Archiepiscopus misertus condescendit in multis voluntati conventus sui,	566
(29) Multiplicantur undique adversarii Archiepiscopi,	567
(30) Omnia sinistre Archiepiscopo acciderunt: et male interpretati(ones) actuum ejus,	568
(31) Cessio,	569
(32) Consilium beati Thome,	569
(33) Multiplicatis pressuris exulat Archiepiscopus,	570
(34) Transfretat,	570
(35) De honore quem ei exhibuit Blanchia regina Francorum,	571
(36) Quomodo se habuit apud Pontiniacum,	571
(37) Quomodo fraternitatem in capitulo eorum accepit,	572
(38) Quomodo infirmatus se contra mortem preparavit,	572
(39) Nota quod habuit spiritum prophetie,	573
(40) Quedam mirabilia que dixit et fecit cum jam ad ipsam mortem vergeret,	573

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(41) Litere archiepiscopi ultime,	574
(42) Quam certe precognovit mortem suam,	575
(43) De gestis et devotione in extrema inunctione,	575
(44) Quod spiritus prophetie in ipso erat,	576
(45) De Pallio et Tabula,	576
(46) Qualiter in sacratissimam mortem resolutus sit,	577
(47) De his que post mortem facta recenter fuerant,	577
(48) Quid secunda die de sacro corpore factum sit,	579
(49) Quid tertia die de sancto corpore factum sit,	580
(50) Quomodo aliqui de nostris clericis et laicis adhuc de sanctitate ejusdem Sancti non crediderunt,	581
(51) De venerabili sepultura ejusdem,	581
(52) De miraculis apud Kateby celebratis,	582
(53) Qualiter per invidiam dilata fuit ejusdem canonisatio,	582
(54) Incipit authenticum canonisationis beati Edmundi confessoris, ¹	583
(55) Evidens testimonium quale inventum est corpus ejus quum trans- latum est,	583
(56) Sermo quem beatus Edmundus in capitulo Pontiniacensi fecit conventui : post quem societatem domus petiit et obtinuit, et specialitatem beneficii spiritualis quantum contigit monachum unum,	584
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(1) Incipit vita Sancti Edmundi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi,	589
(2) Quod nullum vestigium corrupcionis humane apparuit in beato eadmundo quum natus fuit,	590
(3) Quod beatus eadmundus in abbendonia natus est, et de conversatione patris et matris ejus,	590
(4) Quod mater sancti eadmundi docuit ipsum et Robertum fratrem suum a peccatis abstinere et jejunare,	591
(5) Quomodo Christus visibiliter apparuit beato eadmundo in specie cujusdam scholaris,	593
(6) Quod mabilia quando misit filios suos parisiis dedit eis paucos denarios et duo cilicia,	593
(7) De morte matris sancti Eadmundi et qualiter benedixit filiis et filiabus suis ante mortem,	594
(8) Obiit mater beati eadmundi : assignavit ei pecuniam ut sorores suas in monasterio poneret,	595
(9) Quod beatus Eadmundus, post mortem matris sue, suscepit causam sororum suarum, et fecit eas moniales apud Catesby,	595
(10) Quod sanctus eadmundus diligenter didicit artes liberales et qualiter se gessit postquam cathedram magistralem suscepit,	596
(11) De brachio cujusdam scholaris per beatum eadmundum sanato,	597

¹ For this chapter see appendix xxvii. p. 534.

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(12) De alio clerico infirmo a beato eadmundo visitato,	598
(13) De puella que vehementer exarsit in concupiscentiam sancti eadmundi,	598
(14) Qualiter sanctus Johannes evangelista apparuit beato eadmundo, precipiens ei ut oracionem de ipso et beata maria omni die decantaret,	599
(15) Qualiter mater sancti eadmundi admonuit ipsum in sompnis ut ad theologiam se transferret, scribens in manu sua, pater, filius, spiritus sanctus,	600
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(17) De visione ostensa sancto eadmundo de septem scolaribus suis quando rexit in theologia,	601
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(21) Qualiter sanctus eadmundus carnem suam de nocte afflixit,	604
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¹ The MS. itself is not paginated. These figures are supplied for convenience' sake.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

- ✓ FRONTISPIECE.—St. Edmund, from an oak carving on a stall of St. Edmund's Chapel, Salisbury. The carving is itself modelled from the Seal given on the title-page. By permission of the Very Rev. Dr. Bourne.

 - ✓ TITLE-PAGE.—Fac-simile of the Common Seal of St. Edmund's Collegiate Church, Salisbury. The Arms on the right of the spectator are those of the Founder, Bishop Walter de la Wyle; those on the left are probably the Arms of St. Edmund. From the Original Seal in the British Museum.

 - ✓ PAGE 34.—The Abbey-Gate at Abingdon, in its present state, showing the south side of St. Nicholas' Church, where Mabel Rich, the mother of St. Edmund, was buried.

 - ✓ PAGE 332.—The Private Seal of St. Edmund. From original specimens at Canterbury and in the British Museum. The impressions of the Canterbury Seals were kindly furnished by Dr. Sheppard, the Librarian.

 - ✓ PAGE 337.—Shrine of St. Edmund, Pontigny. Copied, by permission, from the Very Rev. B. Ward's "History of St. Edmund's College".
- At the end of the work is a Sketch-map of the County of Kent, showing the position of some of the more obscure places mentioned in certain documents of the Appendix.

ERRATA.

Page 2, line 10.—The author finds that he has been misled in stating that a MS. Life of the Saint is to be found in the library of Trin. Coll., Dublin. Subsequent inquiries have shown that no such work is known to exist there.

Page 397, line 24, for "Dublinensis" read "Dunblanensis".

Cancel note 2 at the foot of the page, and substitute the following:—

For some details respecting this Fr. Clement see *History of St. Dominic*, by A. T. Drane (1891), page 330, where it is stated that he was a student of Paris, and was, at the request of Alexander II., despatched by St. Dominic, with seven other religious, to establish a house in Scotland in 1219.¹ He is there described as a "man of great learning, and singularly skilled in languages". He became Bishop of Dunblane in 1233. The same author states in a note that several writers have erroneously styled him Bishop of Dublin. In mediæval writing the word would be written "Dūblanensis," which might easily be mistaken for "Dublinensis". He is commemorated in the Dominican calendar on 13th September, with the style of "Venerable": hence his name must be added to those of the other illustrious and saintly pupils who issued from St. Edmund's school, mentioned at pages 96-8.

¹ See also Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.*, t. i. p. 149, who gives 1230 as the date of Clement's arrival in Scotland.

LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY.

CHAPTER I.

LITERARY SOURCES OF THE SAINT'S LIFE.

IF we take up Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. iii., and refer to St. Edmund's name under the year 1241, we shall find a copious variety of documents enumerated, all, more or less, contemporary and bearing on the life of our Saint. The list includes the manuscripts catalogued from No. 163 to No. 190; of which fifteen are Latin MSS. written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and exhibit the life of the Saint. Ten of these are preserved in the British Museum; one at Lambeth; one in the Bodleian; one at Baliol College;¹ one at St. John's College, Cambridge; and one at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Four manuscripts contain an English metrical Life, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and, of course, abridged from the Latin Life. Of these, three are in the Bodleian and one at Trinity College, Oxford.

Besides the Lives, other manuscripts bearing on the Saint are the following: St. Edmund's Confession in the British Museum Bib. Reg. 18 A x.;² a collection of miracles in the Bodleian 240; French and Latin prayers used by the Saint, Bodl. 57; a French translation of the *Speculum*, Bodl. Digby 20.

To this list a few additions must be made which have escaped Hardy's notice. Three MSS. at St. John's Coll.,

¹ In a copy of the Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine. It is abridged from the Life by Robert Rich.

² This is a unique copy.

Camb.; two being copies of the *Speculum* and one of the *Oratio Sancti Edmundi*. MS. 22 at All Souls', Oxford, has a copy of the prayer "O intemerata"; and MS. 42 contains the Provincial Constitution of St. Edmund. But the most serious omission of all is that of MS. 154 at Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, which contains the sworn depositions of certain members of St. Edmund's household in the cause of his canonisation, and is a unique copy of that interesting document. Other documents not mentioned by Hardy are the following: MS. 592 in Trinity College, Dublin, containing a Life of the Saint. This Life the author has not been able to consult. Another is MS. 25 amongst the Hengwrt and Peniarth MSS. preserved at Peniarth, Merioneth. The manuscript, which is written in Welsh (of the thirteenth century), contains the Miracles of St. Edmund. Being utterly unacquainted with this interesting language, we are unable to determine whether this is the same or a different collection from that preserved at the Bodleian in MS. 240.

In the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum, No. 206 f. 14, and No. 211, f. 146, contain short prayers used by St. Edmund which are not found elsewhere.

Of later date is the summary given by Capgrave in his *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, derived from the preceding documents. Later still (1570) Surius, in his *Lives of the Saints*, under 16th Nov., gives the Life of St. Edmund which he professes to have compiled, with some modifications of style, from the Lives written by Robert Rich and Robert Bacon.

In addition to all that precedes, a vast amount of contemporary literature bearing on St. Edmund has been printed by Martène in his *Thesaurus Novus Anecd.*, iii. col. 1775 *et seq.* The most important of these documents is the Life of the Saint by Bertrand, his chamberlain, taken from the original, which is preserved at Auxerre. Several of our English manuscripts are copies or abridgments of this Life. Bertrand accompanied St. Edmund in his exile, and was present at his death; after which he took the Cistercian habit at Pontigny that he might not be separated from his beloved master's remains, and eventually became Prior of the same monastery. He wrote the Saint's Life in 1247, about the time of his

translation. This Life is the most complete except one, which we possess, and has been hitherto the standard authority for all writers on St. Edmund. Besides this work of Bertrand, Martène has published from Albert of Armagh and other contemporaries of the Saint a variety of documents contained in the archives of Pontigny or Auxerre, chiefly bearing on the process of his canonisation, his "Cultus," and his miracles.

A careful study of this wealth of printed and manuscript matter has led us to the conviction that there are in existence four distinct Lives of the Saint. But before we mention them it will be as well to state what is known as to the contemporary biographers of St. Edmund. First, the Life was written by the celebrated Matthew Paris, as he himself informs us.¹ He says that he derived his information from the statements of Richard, the Saint's chancellor, who was conscious of all his secrets, which he was ever ready to impart to all inquirers for their edification, and also from Master Robert Bacon. What he has credibly learned from trustworthy sources he has carefully compiled in "a book which may be found at St. Alban's Abbey". Unhappily, now the book is not to be found at St. Alban's Abbey, nor anywhere else. The Life was also written by Robert Rich, the Saint's younger brother, and by Robert Bacon, his fellow-student and bosom friend, and Surius, as we have seen, compiled his account out of their narratives. A fourth Life was written by Bertrand, the Saint's chamberlain, as is known on the authority of Albert of Armagh, who commends it for its accuracy. But there must have been a fifth Life in existence, for, in 1404, Archbishop Arundel was much consoled in his sorrows by reading in the Life of St. Edmund the story of his private seal.² Now this story is not to be found in any of the previously-mentioned Lives. True, it may have been found in the Life by Matthew Paris, but we have no means now of determining that. What is certain is that the story is found in one (and one only) manuscript which we possess, namely, the Cotton MS. Jul. D. VI. (1);

¹ Hist. Maj. (Rolls), v. 369.

² The story will be found at p. 332.

that it was a contemporary Life is manifest from internal evidence. The question now arises : Can all or any of these four Lives (that by M. Paris being excluded) be identified with existing works ? It is a remarkable fact that no Life of St. Edmund bears the name of its author or furnishes any certain clue by which we can identify the author.¹ As regards the Pontigny Life printed in Martène, and the several copies or abridgments of it existing in manuscript, all are agreed that it is by Bertrand, to whom it is assigned (according to 'Martène) by Car. de Visch in his *Biblioth. Scriptor. Ord. Cisterc.*

The MS. Jul. D. VI. (1), as will be shown later, is the work of one Eustace, monk of Christ Church, and chaplain to St. Edmund. This Life is the most complete which we possess of our Saint, and will form the basis of our narrative.

With regard to the Lives written by Robert Rich and Robert Bacon, we think there can be no hesitation in identifying them with existing manuscripts. The work of Robert Rich is contained in the Cotton MS. Faustina B. I. ff. 180-183. It is in a vellum quarto of the fourteenth century, and therefore a transcript, but the work has been carelessly performed and there are occasionally traces of omissions which render the sense obscure and sometimes unintelligible. There is however one other copy of the same Life in the Bodleian (Fell. I. vol. iv.), from which we have been enabled in some cases to supply the necessary corrections. Hardy thus describes this manuscript : " It is a brief declamatory eulogium noticing the principal events of his life, his funeral at Pontigny and the miracles performed there afterwards. It is apparently abridged from the Life as given by Martène." We must emphatically dissent from this conclusion. It differs entirely from all the other Lives in style and composition. It is the work of one who knew the Saint intimately, and from the severe way in which he criticises the attitude of the monks, it is clearly not a monastic production like the Lives

¹ One MS. in the British Museum, Cleop. B. I. at f. 24, has a note stating that it is the composition of Robert Rich. But the note is written in a comparatively modern hand, and, as Hardy observes, the MS. is only an abridgment of Jul. D. VI. (1), which accordingly he thinks to be the work of Robert Rich, but in this he is certainly wrong.

of Bertrand and of Eustace. Our reasons for attributing it to Robert Rich are briefly these: it furnishes us with a deep insight into the interior life of St. Edmund, and details of his early training which are passed over summarily by other writers, a subject on which Robert would be a most competent authority to speak. It is certainly not a "declamatory eulogium," however aptly this term may be used to describe the way in which other writers treat of Edmund's early years, but it traces accurately, step by step, the Saint's ascent "from virtue to virtue," how he achieved the victory over himself and over the world, and arrived at the perfection of sanctity which his after life exhibited. No doubt many of the passages are identical in phraseology with portions in the other Lives, but this arises from the custom prevailing at the time, by which writers transcribed each other freely; hence certain phrases which were considered happy in their conception or expression became, so to speak, stereotyped, and are constantly recurring in this class of literature. But we cannot help thinking that this manuscript represents the ultimate source from which these phrases are borrowed. Another reason for our conclusion is, that of the five biographers of the Saint three were monks, a fourth was the Dominican Robert Bacon, the fifth was Robert Rich. Now, of all the manuscripts we possess, there are but two which are evidently not written by monks, namely, this MS. Faustina B. I. and the MS. c. 12, at St. John's, Cambridge. But Robert Rich could not have written the latter Life for a reason which will be stated afterwards; hence the MS. Faustina B. I. is in all probability the work of Robert Rich. We have, therefore, resolved to print it in this work, that our readers may judge for themselves of its value as an independent source especially on the Saint's interior life, and may have a complete record of what has been written respecting him.

The Life written by Robert Bacon must be identified with the MS. c. 12, 9, at St. John's College, Cambridge, which enjoys the distinction of being the only copy known of this Life. There is indeed at the end of the Lambeth MS. 135 just a fragment or rather an abridgment of it, which consists of the first folio only (f. 138), coming to an end abruptly in

the middle of a sentence. Singularly enough, this is followed immediately on the next folio (f. 139) by the beginning of another Life, which is identical with Faustina B. I., and which we have attributed to Robert Rich. It consists only of the Prologue.

This Life is the most minute and diffuse of the accounts which we possess concerning Edmund's early years and the period of his professorship. It consists of eight folio leaves, of which seven are entirely occupied with this period of his life, the last folio only being devoted to his episcopate. Surius, who professes to have adapted his account from the Lives written by Robert Rich and Robert Bacon, evidently follows this manuscript, and reproduces one passage which is only found in this work, namely, the observation that Edmund studied as if he were to live for ever, whilst he lived as if he were to die the next day (f. iii. v^o col. 2). The manuscript seems to have entirely escaped the notice of modern writers, as it is never quoted by them. It is true it does not contain much in the way of additional facts, but it furnishes much more ample and precise details than are to be found in the other manuscripts, as, for example, Mabel's advice to her sons when starting for Paris, and her interview with Edmund on her death-bed.

Modern writers would hardly have ignored these details if they had been acquainted with them. In fact, from the abundant details which the author furnishes of Mabel's solicitude in bringing up her family, we should have been inclined to suspect that the author was Robert Rich, were it not for one passage which seems fatal to such an hypothesis. We allude to the passage where Mabel is reported to have said: "*Roberto namque fratri tuo quem et moralitas et litteratura commendat, faciliter consuli poterit*";¹ words which we can hardly suppose Robert Rich himself to have written; hence we are reduced to the conclusion that the Life was written by Robert Bacon, for we do not know of any one else who was competent to furnish such details of Edmund's early life. It may not be out of place to observe that the passage in the first chapter on the philosophy of miracles may well have been written

¹ F. ii. v^o col. 2.

by a relative of Roger Bacon. In fact, the moral and philosophical reflections and the scholastic terminology with which the book abounds are eminently suggestive of the Oxonian professor of philosophy.

It is also worthy of remark that the summaries of the Saint's life given by Vincent of Beauvais (*Specul. Histor.*, iv. 1307, ed. Duac. 1624) and by Capgrave in his *Nova Legenda* appear to be chiefly derived from this source. This Life will also be found printed at the end of this volume.

We come now to the fifth and last original Life, which is contained in the Cotton MS. Jul. D. VI. (1) ff. 123-157.¹ Hardy conjectures that this is the Life written by Robert Rich, the Saint's brother; but he cannot have read the first page of the manuscript; for, if he had, he would have there found this same Robert described in the most laudatory terms, as one "whom God exalted like Edmund in consequence of his distinguished merits; who was renowned for his eminent sanctity, his amiable disposition and his profound learning".² It is quite incredible that Robert should have spoken of himself in these terms. Again, in another passage the author, after mentioning Edmund's two brothers, Robert and Nicholas, speaks of a third brother whose name he does not seem to have known, for he styles him "a certain brother". It is not likely that Robert, if he had been the author, would have failed to mention the brother's name.

This Life we propose to follow, and to make it the basis of the following narrative; as far, that is to say, as it goes. For the author follows the method universally adopted in his time, and gives us anything but a consecutive Life of the Saint. It is rather a collection of anecdotes, without any chronological order or sequence, illustrative of the Saint's virtues. In this it resembles the Life by Bertrand; and, following the usual practice, the phraseology of several passages in both works is identical, showing that one wrote with the other work before him; or, what is more probable, that both

¹ Jul. D. VI. is a small quarto in vellum written in a thirteenth century hand, and contains, amongst other works, two Lives of St. Edmund; but No. 2. ff. 161-182 is only an abridgment of No. 1.

² F. 123a.

copied from some antecedent source : the Lives, for instance, by R. Rich and R. Bacon. We have resolved to print this hitherto unpublished manuscript at the end of this work, so as to place within reach of our readers all that antiquity has spared to us of the details of St. Edmund's life. It contains nearly all that is to be found in Bertrand, and much besides that is not contained in that Life. Though frequently quoted by modern writers, yet several interesting details have been overlooked by them, which are now published for the first time in the Saint's Life. The manuscript does not bear any author's name : and the present writer has taken some pains to form a probable conjecture as to its authorship. A careful study of the manuscript led him to the conclusion that it must be the work of a Christ Church monk. We were led to this conclusion by the guarded way in which he relates the controversy between the archbishop and the monks, whom he evidently wishes to compromise as little as possible ; and by the vehemence with which he insists on the rights and privileges of the latter, as, for example, where he speaks of the "papal and royal vexations, shameful to relate, which were inflicted on the Holy See"¹ (of Canterbury). Moreover, it is clear from internal evidence that the author's personal acquaintance with the Saint only commenced with his elevation to the archiepiscopal chair. In the first thirteen chapters, where he treats of the earlier parts of the Saint's career, he deals chiefly in generalities ; and the few facts related are given without chronological note or sequence, and in a manner which shows him to have derived them from others, whether from St. Edmund himself, or from those who knew him. But in chapter xiv., when he comes to the election of St. Edmund as archbishop by the Chapter of Christ Church, his style completely changes. Then, for the first time, we are treated to a chronological date, namely, 1234 ;² and the vividness and precision with which the facts are now related (in striking contrast with Bertrand's very meagre account) must convince the reader that he is here listening to the

¹ F. 1304.

² St. Edmund was really elected in 1233.

testimony of an eye-witness: "The Convent of Canterbury, to whom the election by ancient right belonged, said amongst themselves: 'Let us elect a man in whom no pretext can be found for fair opposition, ~~one~~ whose merits will stop the mouths of all cavillers': so, having invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, and betaken themselves to prayer . . . at length, God, no doubt, so disposing it, . . . the chapter took their seats, . . . and, finally, settled upon Master Edmund, of Abingdon, professor of theology. Then the angelic hymn, the 'Te Deum Laudamus,' was sung," etc.¹ The identity of this Christ Church monk is not difficult to determine. Wood, in his *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, quotes a passage from this Life, and, in a note, gives as his reference "Eustachius, quidam Monachus".² Now, a certain Eustace is twice mentioned in the documents connected with the Saint's canonisation given by Martène. He is there described as a trusted member of the Saint's household, and as one who had laboured more than any one else in promoting his canonisation; but he is not there described as a monk. However, the necessary link is supplied by the chronicle of Gervase, which informs us that Eustace was a monk of Christ Church, who attached himself as chaplain to the archbishop, and refused to take part with his brethren in their rebellion against him.

There can be no doubt that the document quoted by Wood is MS. 154 in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, entitled "Testimonia de vita S. Edmundi de Abingdon Cantuar. Archiep. per Ric. Dunstaple et alios". They are the sworn depositions of certain members of the Saint's household in the cause of his canonisation. The last deposition is by one "Eustachius Monachus," who, being sworn and interrogated on the life and manners of the venerable Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose side he has stood for several years, and whom he has served in the capacity of domestic chaplain, with a sure conscience testifies as follows.³ This deposition

¹ F. 130a.

² "In suo certificatorio de vita B. Edmundi cum esset Canonizandus." MS., Wood, *Hist. and Antiq.*, ii. 9.

³ F. 381 col. i.

is instructive as throwing some light on the chronology of these Lives. Down to a certain point (f. 382, end of col. 1) it is taken *verbatim* from the MS. Jul. D. VI. (1); from this point it is similarly taken *verbatim* from the life by Robert Rich (Faustina B. I.), omitting the parts which bear hardly on the monks. Hence we learn that Eustace is the author of the Life Jul. D. VI. (1), but that at the time when this deposition was made, about 1245 or 1246, it had only reached a certain stage, whilst that of Robert Rich, from which the remainder of the deposition was derived, was already completed. With regard to the date of the composition of Robert Bacon's work (St. John's, Camb., c. 12-9) we can only conjecture that it was written subsequently, perhaps, to supply the deficiency which the author had noted in previous writers as to the details of Edmund's early life; for of the eight folios of which his work consists, seven are occupied with this period, and only the last treats of his episcopate.

Eustace's account in this deposition of Edmund's dying moments is singularly beautiful, and does not resemble any other known version, not even that in his own Life. No doubt when this deposition was made, his recollection of the event would be more fresh and his impressions more vivid. We shall take notice of it in its proper place.

The last manuscript to which we wish to draw attention is the quaint "Confession of St. Edmund," which, as it is not mentioned, as far as we know, by any previous writer, is, we believe, now published for the first time. It is taken from a fourteenth century MS. in the British Museum. Bib. Reg. 18 A x.

To sum up this account of the manuscripts, they represent four distinct Lives; namely, (1) that by Bertrand already printed by Martène, of which there are, in this country, several more or less complete copies, the most complete being perhaps the Lambeth MS. 135; (2) that by Eustace, of which there is only one complete copy, though there are several abridgments; (3) that by Robert Rich, of which there are two copies, namely, Faust. B. I. and Bodl. Fell. I. vol. iv.; (4) that by Robert Bacon, of which there is only one copy, namely, St. John's, Camb., c. 12-9.

The last three Lives are now, we believe, published for the first time in this work.

But if we had to depend on these four Lives only, we should be ill qualified to satisfy modern requirements in furnishing a biography of the Saint. We must supplement our materials from other sources, that is to say, from the contemporary records which have in recent times been made accessible to the public by the publications of the Rolls Series. These works are almost entirely monastic, as, at that period, it was only in the monasteries that literature was cultivated ; and we are indebted to these mediæval monks for all that we know of the history of our country. We have carefully gleaned from these authorities whatever could throw light upon the incidents of our Saint's life or on the general history of the times in which he lived, so far as it was necessary to complete our biography.

For one important and lengthy period of our Saint's life, when he occupied the office of treasurer in Salisbury Cathedral (1221-1233), our chief, we might say our only source, of information is the valuable collection of documents recently published in the Rolls Series under the title of "St. Osmund's Register," and edited by Canon Rich Jones. For, except the episode of Edmund's preaching the crusade, the biographers pass over this period of his life in a very summary way. Hence the publication of this collection enables us to lay before our readers many interesting and authentic particulars which have hitherto been omitted in the Saint's life.¹ A detailed description of the documents and summary of their contents will be given in chapter viii., in which we shall treat of this period of his life, where they will find a more appropriate place, as there is every reason to believe, according to the editor, that they are partly at least the result of Edmund's own handiwork, and they certainly date from his time.

For the general history of the times we have chiefly followed Roger of Wendover, who died in 1235, the year after Edmund's consecration, and his more illustrious continuator,

¹ Dean Hook has, however, made use of this register in his *Life of the Saint*.

Matthew Paris. But the statements of the latter writer are to be received with caution, as the very violence and extravagance with which he denounces the Pope and the Papal Curia suffice to destroy the credibility of his assertions. The calm and judicious Lingard calls him a "querulous writer". His work "contains many original and some valuable documents; but the writer, accustomed to lash the great, whether clergy or laity, seems to have collected and preserved every malicious and scandalous anecdote that could gratify his censorious disposition. It may appear invidious to speak harshly of this favourite historian; but this I may say, that when I could confront his pages with authentic records or contemporary writers, I have in most instances found the discrepancy between them so great as to give to his narrative the appearance of a romance rather than a history."¹

We have also made use of the strictly monastic chronicles of this period, which often throw a valuable light upon current events, and to which we are indebted for several incidents in our Saint's life which would otherwise have escaped notice, notably those of Osney, of Waverley, and of Lanercost. That of Lanercost is especially valuable for Edmund's school-boy days, as the writer was well acquainted with his life at Oxford. Though preserved in the Augustinian Monastery of Lanercost in Cumberland, it seems to have been written in some Franciscan Friary in the North of England. Reference will also be made to several other chronicles in the course of this work, but the palm of superiority, in this respect, must be given to the works of Gervase of Canterbury, recently published in the Rolls Series. Gervase himself could hardly have had any knowledge of our Saint, as his work ends about the year 1207; but his continuators have thrown such a flood of light upon a critical and hitherto obscure portion of our Saint's life, that a more detailed account of the work is here requisite. The works of Gervase of Canterbury were edited in two volumes for the Rolls Series by Dr. Stubbs in 1879-80. They comprise a "Greater Chronicle," which fills the first volume, whilst the second volume contains a smaller

¹ Lingard, *Hist.*, vol. iii. ch. ii. p. 160.

chronicle, otherwise called "Gesta Regum," a work called the "Acts of the Archbishops," and another called "Mappa Mundi," which contains a list of all the religious houses then existing in this country. Of these works, the "Greater Chronicle" and the "Acts of the Archbishops" were published more than two centuries ago by Sir Roger Twysden, in his *Decem Scriptores*; but the remainder have hitherto lain in obscurity, and are now published for the first time. The manuscript, which belongs to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, seems to have escaped the researches of historians and antiquarians; and the learned editor remarks of this second volume that it is a mine of virgin ore. This is especially true with regard to the life of St. Edmund. It enlightens us on a very obscure episode in his life—his controversy with the monks of Christ Church. It is well known that this acrimonious controversy was one of the causes which led St. Edmund to retire from England, and spend the remainder of his days in exile in the peaceful seclusion of Pontigny, where the din of controversy could not reach his ears. But, as for the details of that controversy, the questions at issue, the proceedings to which it led, we have hitherto been left completely in the dark. All that was known was that there was some dispute between the archbishop and his chapter which he carried with him to Rome for settlement; but that he failed to obtain a settlement through the bad faith of the monks in refusing to abide by the compromise which had been made previously to the archbishop's departure. Again, it was known that, after his return, the controversy reached a second and more acute stage by the refusal of the archbishop to assist at the election of a prior—that the monks proceeded to an irregular election in the archbishop's absence, who, in consequence, excommunicated both the electors and the elected. But we were nowhere informed what were the grounds on which the archbishop declined to countenance this election. What has just been stated is absolutely all that can be gleaned, whether from the Saint's biographers or from the contemporary chroniclers. The most circumstantial account is that given in the Waverley Annals, ad ann. 1238. The reason of this scanty information is not far to seek. The

Saint's biographers and the contemporary annalists were all, with one or two exceptions, monks: and since this painful episode reflects but little credit upon the monastic chapter, we are not surprised to find them so reticent with regard to it. The two biographers who were not monks, Robert Rich and Robert Bacon, speak with the greatest severity of the monks' conduct, especially the former; whilst the latter, who, though not a monk, was a Dominican friar, uses more restraint in speaking of his brethren in religion. But neither do these enter at all into the details of the controversy.

But the recent publication by Dr. Stubbs of this hitherto unnoticed manuscript has completely changed the situation. This very episode, previously the most obscure, has now, thanks to this chronicle, become the most luminous in Edmund's life: and we learn the true history of the transaction from the most authentic of all sources, the letters which he wrote, and the answers which he received.

We are, moreover, furnished with what might be called a journal of the archbishop's movements for a period of about six months, the most eventful period of his life. The luxury of such a discovery as this can only be appreciated by one who realises how utterly destitute the life of St. Edmund is in chronological landmarks. It has already been remarked that in the Life which we now publish there is only one date, and that an inaccurate one. Even as to the date of his death, modern writers are not agreed; some giving 1240, others 1241, others again (amongst whom is the latest authority, Clarke, the editor of the new edition of Wood) give 1242, though we think we have given conclusive reasons for determining the correct date as 1240. As for the date of the Saint's birth, no one as yet has ventured even to form a conjecture.¹ In this paucity of dates, it is quite refreshing to come across a circumstantial narrative like that which we shall lay before our readers in the course of this work. A few words must be said as to the account itself. As before intimated, the part which concerns us is not the work of Gervase, but of some scribe who took up his work at the

¹ Except a modern writer, Father Jasper, who assigns 1185 as the date of his birth.

point where he dropped it ; that is, about the middle of John's reign. The portion which relates to the controversy with the archbishop forms a distinct episode which is related continuously, and covers upwards of fifty pages of the octavo volume.¹ It is evidently a transcript from some memorandum preserved in the monastery, giving a history of the whole controversy, with which the writer has incorporated the correspondence which passed to and fro ; generally, he gives the letters *in extenso*, but sometimes he only gives the substance of them in a narrative form. But the work is so artlessly, we might say clumsily, done that occasionally, even in the narrative part, he lapses unconsciously from the historical third person to the epistolary second, which is rather embarrassing until one gets accustomed to it. The account bears the impress of truth and sincerity ; indeed, there can be no reason to question it, so far, at least, as it tells against the convent, when we consider that it was drawn up by the monks for the information of the monks themselves. No doubt they would be inclined to represent their own conduct in the most favourable light. Hence their testimony becomes all the more valuable, bringing out as it does into still clearer relief the invincible patience of St. Edmund.

It may therefore truly be said that the continuation of Gervase's Chronicle is not only the primary (as Dr. Stubbs calls it), but our only source of information on the unhappy dispute between St. Edmund and his monastic chapter.

Moreover, that we might leave no stone unturned, the archives of Canterbury have been ransacked, under the able and experienced guidance of Dr. Sheppard, through whose kindly interest in the work and untiring exertions we are enabled to present our readers with a series of the most important original documents which have never hitherto seen the light, and which place the whole process and issue of the controversy clearly before our eyes. Some of these documents bear upon them the identical private seal of St. Edmund, about which the biographer Eustace has so much to say, and which is reproduced as an illustration in this work.

¹ Gervas. Cantuar., vol. ii. pp. 130-183.

Besides all these domestic sources of information, we must not omit to mention that there is a large collection of original documents at Pontigny, of which Père Massé gives a detailed list in his work,¹ together with a minute description of the seals which still remain attached to many of them. They have reference chiefly to the process of canonisation, the miracles and the *cultus* of our Saint. The list comprises no fewer than sixty-three documents, chiefly testimonial letters from bishops, abbots, collegiate bodies, and others, bearing witness to Edmund's sanctity. There are also pontifical and episcopal documents relating to the canonisation and to the indulgences granted to pilgrims and benefactors to the Saint's shrine. We have had no opportunity of consulting them, but about one-half, and that the most important part of them, have been published in Martène, of which we shall give a brief summary. We shall also be able to produce from St. Osmund's Register the interesting letter of the Church of Salisbury, which is not given in Martène. This, and the summary of the rest, will, no doubt, suffice to give our readers an idea of the marvellous rapidity with which devotion to St. Edmund spread through England and France immediately after his death.

The treatises of Albert of Cologne, promoter of the Saint's canonisation, which we summarise from Martène, and the letter of St. Richard of Chichester, which we produce from our MS. Jul. D. VI., furnish most interesting details of the Saint's canonisation and translation.

A summary of our Saint's life is contained in the *Speculum Historiale*² of Vincent de Beauvais, a Dominican and contemporary of St. Edmund. It is chiefly derived from the Life by Robert Rich.

In more recent times, besides the works previously mentioned, several notices of St. Edmund have appeared on the continent. P. Massé quotes a French Life by Duval, which we have not seen, nor do we know its date. In 1623 was published at Munich a Latin work called *Tria Lilia de Viridario Deiparæ*, the three Lilies being SS. Casimir,

¹ P. 413.

² Vol. iv. pp. 1307 *et seq.*

Edmund, and Elzear. In 1687 an Italian work was published in Rome with the title *Compendio della Vita di S. Edmondo*, by Grac. Massi. It is dedicated to Donna Flaminia Pamphili, Princess of Venafrò. It appears to be taken from Vincent of Beauvais. About 1695 a French Life was published at Troyes. It bears no date, which however is determined by a passage in the work. It is entitled *Abrégé de la Vie de S. Edmond, Vulgairement S. Edme, Archevêque de Cantorberi, Primat d'Angleterre et d'Hybernie et Patron de Pontigny*. Composé par F. P. Charlet, Religieux Bernardin. It is evidently intended for the use of pilgrims to the shrine, as it contains a number of prayers both in Latin and French.

Pitseus, a learned English Catholic divine and dignitary of the French Church, published his *Relationes Historiæ* at Paris in 1619, in tom. I of which he gives a sketch of St. Edmund's career, together with a summary of his provincial constitutions.

Quite recently Abbé E. Jaspar published at Lille in 1872 a *Notice Biographique sur S. Edmond*. This is the only writer who has attempted a chronology of the Saint's life. It very nearly agrees with ours.

Before concluding this chapter the author wishes to draw the reader's attention to the valuable aid which has been furnished by the correspondence of the various personages mentioned in the course of this work. We refer chiefly to the letters of Robert Grosseteste, those of St. Edmund in the Canterbury Controversy, and the miscellaneous collection edited under the title of Royal Letters, Henry III. These letters are of the utmost importance in helping us to discriminate between the perplexing and contradictory statements of historians, in determining the real sequence of events, and especially in tracing their causes and motives. This aid is the more valuable to us on account of the perplexing character of the materials with which we have to deal. It has been truly observed by the editor of the Royal Letters, Henry III., that "there is perhaps no period of equal length, from the Norman Conquest to the present day, over which the reader (he might have added the writer) of English History passes with more impatient haste than over the twenty years

which elapsed between the accession and the marriage of Henry III. ; none which appears so barren of great events or so silent of the character of its actors. They were years . . . of critical importance ; nor is it easy to say how much the destiny of this country has been affected by the current of political influence to which it was subjected during the first few years after the granting of Magna Charta. . . . The complexity of the political situation is something perfectly bewildering. The quarrel of town with town, and of noble with noble, the claims of privilege, the denunciations of violence, which crowd the scanty annals, are sometimes curious, but always impossible to unravel.”¹ The present writer hopes that by the aid of these letters he has in many cases found a safe and trustworthy clue for penetrating the mazes of this labyrinth.

For the sake of brevity, the more important manuscripts will be referred to in the course of this work under the following abbreviations :—

B. designates the Life by Bertrand, printed in Martène.

E. designates the Life by Eustace (Jul. D. VI. (1)).

R. R. designates the Life by Robert Rich (Faustina, B. I.).

R. B. designates the Life by Robert Bacon (St. John's, Camb., C. 12-9).

Other manuscripts will be quoted by their proper designations.

¹ Shirley, R. Lett. Hy. III., Preface, pp. xv. and xxii.

CHAPTER II.

ABINGDON.

THE little town of Abingdon, the birthplace of St. Edmund, can boast of a very venerable antiquity, and it still retains a quaint, old-world appearance quite suggestive of the times when Edmund lived there as a child. Indeed, many of its timber-framed houses with their red roofs and white overhanging gables may well claim to have been his contemporaries. This halo of antiquity is no doubt owing to its isolated situation. Placed at the bend of a wide-reaching curve of the "silver Thames," some six miles south of Oxford, it now lies out of the track of the ordinary wayfarer, who, as he is whisked along by the express from London to Oxford, little suspects that only a mile and a half to his left there exists such a relic of antiquity in all its placid and picturesque beauty. But it was far different in other days when the water-way of the Thames was the thoroughfare of common intercourse. Then Abingdon was a place of renown and affluence. In the glowing language of the monastic chronicler,¹ Abingdon is "a famous city, pleasant to view, abounding in wealth, surrounded by fertilising streams".² Only one of the Saint's biographers, Robert Bacon, attempts a description of Abingdon, and he is more diffuse in its praise than the monastic chronicler. He says³ that it is admirably situated on the Thames, which swarms with fish; it is dedicated to the service of Blessed Mary; it is famous for the hospitality of its abbey; it owes its foundation to royal devotion; it is in the

¹ Chron. of Abingdon (Rolls), i. p. 6.

² The Thames and the Ock, at the junction of which the town is situated. The streamlet Stert traversed the town.

³ R. B., f. i. r^o col. 2.

neighbourhood of a university of scholars ; its well-watered meadows are ever green ; it is fringed with a leafy screen of woods ;¹ it is fruitful in the productiveness of its fields and gardens, gay with the variegated tints of flowers, and temperate in its climate. The origin of Abingdon is lost in the obscurity of the mythical past, but it appears to have been a favourite residence of the Saxon kings of Wessex or of Mercia, according as the fortune of war brought it within the limits of one or other of those kingdoms. It would take us too far from our purpose to trace the fortunes and vicissitudes of Abingdon through the centuries so far as they are recorded in history. We will, therefore, content ourselves with a passage taken from the Chronicles of the Abbey of Abingdon, which will help our readers to realise the position of affairs at the very time when Reginald Rich was plying his hemp and rope business, and when our Saint was ushered into the world. It was then in the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189) that the rising prosperity of the town began to excite the jealous animosity of its neighbouring rivals, Wallingford and Oxford. The men of Wallingford were especially indignant at the thriving business done in the Abingdon market. They laid a formal complaint before the king, urging that the town had no right to hold a general market, but only for the sale of bread and beer and such like necessary commodities. Henry, who was just starting for Normandy, deferred the settlement of the dispute until his return, but gave an interim order that only small wares should be sold in Abingdon. The men of Wallingford were determined that the king's command should not remain a dead letter ; accordingly, one Sunday (the market-day), they made a descent in force upon Abingdon, aided, moreover, by the royal constable of Wallingford Castle, and proceeded to disperse the market-people and to maltreat the rustics. The men of Abingdon gathered themselves together to resist this onslaught, and fought so bravely that they drove their adversaries completely off the field. The Abingdonians must have been a peace-loving folk, for the chronicler is quite astonished at

¹ In those days a forest stretched from Abingdon to Oxford.

the energy they displayed on this occasion. "Where they got it from," he says, "I cannot imagine."¹ The men of Wallingford were determined not to acquiesce in their discomfiture, so they actually crossed the sea and laid their case again before Henry in Normandy. The monarch, having heard their statement, dismissed them with a sealed letter addressed to the chief justiciar, the Earl of Leicester. They returned in high spirits, feeling assured that the letter contained nothing less than a concession of all their demands. Great then was their consternation when they found that the justiciar was ordered to convene a shire-mote and there empanel a jury of thirty-four aged men, who could remember and testify to what was the custom in the time of Henry I. "If," says the king, "they swear that Abingdon had a full market then, let them have it now; if they cannot swear this, then put the market down and let me hear no more about the matter." The king's order was duly carried out, and the jury unanimously agreed that Abingdon had always had the privilege of a general market to the fullest extent. Against this verdict the Wallingford men vehemently protested, asserting that some of the jury were men of the abbey, and, therefore, interested in the matter. Another complaint was lodged before the king, who appears to have been impressed with the justice of the exception taken to the composition of the jury, for he ordered another jury to be empanelled, to meet this time at Oxford, and from which all abbey men should be rigorously excluded. The result was that the jury was divided in opinion. The Wallingford section swore that nothing but bread and beer could be sold at Abingdon market; the Oxford men admitted that other things might be sold, but there was no full market in the sense that would imply the use of freight barges on the Thames, or waggons on the road. The other county men swore that there had been a full market, but thought there was a doubt about the use of freight barges, though the abbot had always had barges for his own use. In this diversity of opinion the Earl of Leicester, who presided, would decide nothing. He went to Henry,

¹ "Assumpta, nescio unde, audacia."

who was then at Salisbury, and gave him a report of the proceedings. At the same time he volunteered his own testimony on the matter. He said that when he was a boy in the Abingdon school in the Conqueror's time, Abingdon enjoyed the privilege of a full market. Henry was more satisfied with this evidence than with the verdict of an interested jury, and at once granted, or confirmed, to Abingdon, the right of a full market. The men of Wallingford even now did not desist from their opposition, but waited on the king at Reading, and threw out dark hints that if Abingdon had its market, they would not be able to fulfil the feudal obligations which they owed him. This menace only irritated the king still more, and he drove them from his presence. Thus Abingdon was secured in its coveted privilege. An exception, however, was made against the use of freight barges, which the abbot alone could employ for his own purposes.

But we must now say something of the great abbey to which Abingdon owed its importance and its prosperity. This had always ranked as one of the leading Benedictine Abbeys in the kingdom. Its origin is lost in legendary obscurity ; but it can be historically traced as far back as the reign of King Ina, who chartered the monastery in 699, under its abbot Hean, though the real founder is said to have been Cissa, father or uncle of King Ina. The monastery subsequently underwent the fate of similar institutions during the calamitous period of the Danish invasions in the ninth century. Towards the middle of the tenth century it was restored by St. Ethelwold, in whose hands it became a powerful factor in the great work which he, in conjunction with St. Dunstan, undertook, to restore monastic discipline and thereby to bring back to the country the piety and learning of former times. Abingdon was refounded by a colony from Glastonbury ; and monks were despatched to Fleury and Corbie, which then enjoyed a widespread reputation for regular observance, in order to imbibe the true traditions of monastic rule and discipline. The greatness of the abbey dates from this period. It was from this monastery that Ethelwold drew the monks whom he installed in Winchester Cathedral

in place of the lawless clerics who refused to "live canonically".

The following touching story, taken from Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars* (p. 216), illustrates the happy influence which St. Ethelwold exercised over his pupils in the school of Abingdon. "The account has been preserved of the death of one of his scholars, an innocent boy named Ædmer, who was greatly loved both by the abbot and his school-fellows, on account of his holy simplicity and angelic virtue. Whilst still in the happy state of baptismal grace he was attacked by mortal sickness. As his death drew on he was rapt in ecstasy, and beheld the Blessed Virgin seated on a glorious throne surrounded by many saints. With a kind and loving countenance, she asked him whether he would prefer remaining amid that heavenly company, or continuing in his mortal life. And he, seeing no sadness among those on whom he gazed, said he would far rather abide there with them; whereupon our Lady promised that he should have his wish. And so, returning to himself, he made known to the abbot what he had seen and heard; and presently his happy soul departed to its rest."

Edward the Confessor and his queen once paid a visit to the abbey, where, according to the custom of the time, a number of boys were being trained up for the monastic life. At the time of the royal visit the boys were seated at table in the refectory. The queen at once advanced to the table to see what they had to eat; and, to her surprise, found they had nothing but dry bread. She asked them why they sat up to table when there was nothing but bread on it. They plaintively answered that they hardly ever got anything else. Whereupon she beckoned to the king, and, explaining the case to him, insisted on making some provision for the poor boys. It was agreed that a "vill" which had lately fallen into the queen's hands should be settled on the abbey for the purpose of providing the boys with a substantial morning meal.¹

After the Norman Conquest Abingdon had to submit to

¹ Chron. Abing., i. 460.

the will of the Conqueror and receive a Norman abbot. It must have been particularly galling to the Abingdon monks when Abbot Ethelelm forbade them to celebrate the memory of their great founder, St. Ethelwold, and of their great benefactor, St. Edward the Martyr, whose relics they possessed ; and still more galling when he assigned as a reason for the prohibition that they were only "English clod-hoppers".¹ The Norman tyranny had a disastrous effect on the fortunes of Abingdon, so that when Faricius was made abbot in 1101 there were only twenty-eight monks, and these had scarcely anything to live on, or any place in which to live, owing to the dilapidated state of the buildings and the alienation of the monastic property. But Faricius was an able administrator, and when he died he had so far succeeded in restoring the abbey to its former grandeur and prosperity that he left eighty monks in the community. His first act when he was elected abbot gives us an insight into his character. St. Anselm was then in exile. As soon as the Mass of Installation was finished, the new abbot marched up to the altar, laid his crosier upon it, and never removed it until Anselm returned from his exile. Faricius was renowned all over England for his great medical skill, and Henry's queen, Matilda, was one of his illustrious patients. In connection with his medical practice, it may be observed that a London church still perpetuates his memory. St. Mary Abbot, Kensington, is so called because it was an appanage of Abingdon Abbey, having been given along with the "vill" of Kensington by Aubrey de Vere to the abbey, out of gratitude for the care which the abbot had bestowed on his sick child. So great was the reputation of Faricius that after the death of St. Anselm in 1109, he was elected to the throne of Canterbury in 1114, but the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury entered a veto on the score of his medical practice being derogatory to the primatial dignity, and the election was set aside. Faricius died in 1117.

About this period the Abbey of Abingdon was renowned for its school, and it was to this school that Henry, the

¹ "Dixit enim esse Anglicos rusticos." Chron. Abing., ii. p. 284.

youngest son of the Conqueror, was indebted for the excellent education which obtained for him the surname of Beauclerc. When he became king, he showed his appreciation of mental culture by establishing the foundations of the future university in the adjacent city of Oxford.

We have now brought our brief sketch of Abingdon Monastery down to the twelfth century, at the close of which St. Edmund comes upon the scene. But it does not appear from any of the records which we possess that he ever had any intimate relations with the abbey or its inmates. Possibly, by this time, the discipline had become too relaxed for the ascetical fervour of St. Edmund. At all events, as we shall see in the course of his life, his favourite places of retreat in after years were Merton Abbey of the Austin canons and the Cistercian Abbey of Empress' Stanley. That the monastic spirit at Abingdon had much deteriorated in St. Edmund's time is evident from the following narrative which describes the treatment received there by two Franciscan friars who had been sent by their holy founder to establish the order in England. In the year 1224 Richard Ingworth and Richard of Devon were despatched to found a friary at Oxford. They had reached the last stage of their journey, when they halted, belated, weary and footsore, at the abbey gate of Abingdon¹ and craved hospitality. The porter, observing their strange garb and forlorn condition, took them for jesters or mummers, and ushered them in as welcome guests. He sent immediately for the prior, the sacristan, the cellarer, and two other monks to come and enjoy the entertainment. In presence of the audience, the friars meekly represented that there was a mistake, they were not what they were taken for, but the servants of God bent on an apostolic mission. They were forthwith ordered off the premises, and betook themselves to a neighbouring barn in which they might pass the night. The porter, however, took compassion on the poor friars, secretly visited them and conducted them to a more comfortable

¹ According to Wood and some others, the incident happened, not at the abbey, but at some grange belonging to the abbey; but even so, it is clear that the principal officials of the abbey were disporting themselves there, and so the argument holds good.

apartment, where he supplied them with food, and early in the morning sent them on their journey.¹ Arrived in Oxford, they founded there the celebrated house of the Grey Friars.

Our readers will naturally be anxious to know if there still exists at Abingdon anything that can be personally associated with St. Edmund. To this question, alas! no satisfactory answer can be given. From investigations made on the spot with the zealous co-operation of the Rev. F. Kelleher, rector of the mission, the writer is able to lay the following few fragments of the local tradition before the reader. That tradition is almost extinct; and the name and memory of St. Edmund are almost forgotten by the inhabitants of Abingdon. One inhabitant, however, seems to have preserved some vestiges of it from his grandfather, who would be a witness to the belief of the last century when the old Catholic tradition would be still vigorous in such a place as Abingdon. Our guide, then, stated that there once existed a parish church dedicated to St. Leonard where Edmund, as a boy, used to hear mass. This church has now quite disappeared. On his way from his home to the church he would pass a tall, stately and now venerable elm-tree, which still survives and is reputed the oldest tree in the county. It is called "the lonesome tree," and is guarded by a railing; but our guide informed us that it used to be called "St. Edmund's Tree". The local tradition also affirms that Edmund's father pursued the avocation of a ropemaker and hemp-dealer, an industry still cultivated at Abingdon. But the most interesting question is, where was the house in which the Saint was born? Our guide had no hesitation in pointing out the very house situated in Ock Street. It certainly looked old enough for the purpose, and there was an equally ancient-looking ropemaker's walk in the rear; but an examination of the archives at Abingdon has led us to a different conclusion, and we think the house must have been situated in the narrow, crooked lane which connects Ock Street with West St. Helen's Street, and is still known as St. Edmund's Lane.²

¹ Wood (Clarke), vol. ii. p. 349.

² Wood places it in "*platea occidentali Abendoniz*," which, indeed, is adjacent to St. Edmund's Lane.

We know that in 1288 Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (who received his name from our Saint), in consequence of a vision, erected an oratory at Abingdon in honour of St. Edmund. Moreover, it would appear that the house was demolished to make room for the chapel; for the Lanercost chronicler, in whose time it was erected, says:¹ "On the site of the house in which (Mabel) gave birth to the blessed child a new church is undergoing construction". Again, this oratory must have been situated not in the main street but in the lane, in all probability that known as St. Edmund's Lane; the site is now occupied by a malt-house. The reasons for supposing this lane to be the scene of St. Edmund's birth are derived from certain indications in the Abingdon archives.²

In 1294 Nicholas, Abbot of Abingdon (who built the Church of St. Nicholas outside the abbey gate, to which the remains of Mabel Rich were transferred), in honour of St. Edmund the Confessor, for the welfare of his own soul and those of his parents, friends, and benefactors, and at the request and for the convenience of his neighbours in the county of Berks and of his men at Abingdon, grants to all traders and others coming to the fair at Abingdon, held on the Feast of the Translation of St. Edmund (June 9), with their wares of all kinds, freedom from all tribute. One part of this indenture is to remain with the abbot, the other with the men of Abingdon.

Thomas, chaplain of St. Edmund's Chapel, appears as a witness in a document not dated, apparently of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In a document dated 1327 a certain tenement is said to be situated in Ock Street close to "St. Edmund's Lane".³

¹ "In area domus ubi felicem hunc peperit in lucem, de novo habetur ecclesia exstructanda." Chron. Lan., p. 38.

² These archives, which the courtesy of Mr. Morland allowed us full liberty to inspect, stand sadly in need of arrangement and examination. At present a search amongst them is almost a hopeless undertaking. There is a large collection of documents dating from the time of Edward I., a thorough exploration of which would no doubt repay any antiquary who should undertake the task. Under the adverse circumstances we were able to find only a few documents bearing on our subject, which we lay before our readers.

³ "Juxta Venellam Sancti Edmundi." Ducange. "Venella"—Viculus, angiportus. In Scotland such lanes are still called "vennels".

Hence we may suppose that the oratory was in a lane and not in the main street. Another document dated December 13, 1343, makes it probable that the oratory was annexed to some monastery which had to provide the chaplain, for it states that James le Courier grants a tenement situated in Little Bridge Street between the tenement of Philip le Swon on the one side and the fee of the monk of St. Edmund's Chapel, for the time being, on the other side.

Edward VI. in the charter by which he transferred some of the abbey property to Christ's Hospital speaks of "all that our garden with the appurtenances in the street called Seynt Edmonde Lane yn Abendon". Another charter granted by Queen Elizabeth confirms to the townspeople the right to hold fairs on the Feast of the Translation of St. Edmund.

We think, therefore, there can be little doubt that the oratory, and consequently the birthplace of St. Edmund, stood in the aforesaid lane, though every vestige of both has long been swept away, the site being now occupied by a malt-house.

Of the abbey not much remains: the church has disappeared altogether; but a dormitory still exists with its wooden partition. It is now used as a store-house for farm produce. The abbey gate exists in all its integrity; but it is evidently of later date than the time of St. Edmund. When we mention, in addition, the old abbey mill still at work and the church of St. Helen with its five aisles and panelled roof adorned with mediæval painting, we think we have mentioned all that can be identified as having been associated with St. Edmund in his life-time.

CHAPTER III.

FAMILY OF ST. EDMUND.

ST. EDMUND was the eldest son of Reginald Rich and Mabel his wife. Some writers give to the father the name of Edward, following Surius and some of the manuscripts which thus designate him ; but the authority of Robert Bacon is to be preferred, who calls him Reginald, as also do Bertrand and Eustace. Robert Rich is silent on the point ; in fact, he never mentions his father at all ; he only says about his parents that Edmund "was born of most Christian parents endowed with virtuous habits and holiness of life". He then gives further details about his mother, but nothing more about his father. He would probably scarcely remember him, for even Edmund, we are told, could hardly recall his features to mind in after life.

It does not appear that Reginald obtained his surname from any special affluence of his own. He probably inherited the name but not the wealth, for his biographer expressly says that the Saint's parents were of "moderate means".¹ The local tradition of Abingdon affirms that he followed the business of a ropemaker and dealer in hemp, an industry which is still assiduously cultivated at Abingdon. But if Reginald was not rich in this world's goods, the biographer does not fail to point out how aptly the name suited him in regard of the treasures which Divine Providence had bestowed upon him in blessing him with a saintly wife and offspring. Eustace makes no further mention of Edmund's father, but Bertrand informs us that, with his wife's consent (at what period is not stated), he took the monastic habit in the Benedictine

¹ "Fortunæ mediocris," f. 123a.

monastery of Eynsham¹ in Oxfordshire, where he soon ended his days in peace. This account is confirmed by the competent authority of Robert Bacon.² This is all we learn of him, but it suffices to convince us that he was a man of deep religious sentiments, who set the care of his own personal sanctification and salvation above all worldly pleasures and occupations, whilst the subsequent sanctity of his offspring makes it manifest how well and faithfully he had discharged his duties as the father of a family.

Reginald Rich seems to have died whilst his children were still young. "After a few years," says the biographer, but as no point of departure is assigned from which the few years are to be counted, the statement does not enlighten us much.

Perhaps some presentiment of his approaching end caused him to forsake the world and retire to the cloister, there to prepare himself for the passage to the next life. In fact, Bacon informs us that Reginald died when Edmund was still a child, so that when he was grown up he could hardly call his father's features to mind.³

Our Saint's mother was called Mabel. All the contemporary writers are loud in their praises of this incomparable woman. In her maternal solicitude for the spiritual welfare of her children we seem to see in her another Monica, with this difference, that she never had to bewail the prevarication of her children, as Monica wept for the erring Augustine. As soon as her husband entered into the monastery she settled all her worldly affairs, took a vow of continence in the state of widowhood, laid aside all the pomp of worldly attire and spent the remainder of her life in works of piety, in prayer, fasting and alms deeds, and in the practice of heroic penance. Almost every day she went at midnight to the abbey to assist at the office of matins; she wore hair-cloth, and, not content with this, to add to the

¹ Founded before 1005, in the reign of Ethelred, by Ethelmar, Earl of Cornwall. The church of St. Ebbe at Oxford was attached to this monastery. —Dugdale.

² R. B., f. i. v^o col. 1.

³ "(Pater) tam subito rebus humanis exemptus est ut vix eum eadmundus adhuc . . . puerulus . . . vidisse meminerit." R. B., f. i. v^o col. 1.

mortification, she wore a metal bodice down to the day of her death. When she was dying she bequeathed two steel plates which formed a part of this penitential costume to her two sons, Edmund and Robert, begging them that, after her example, they would, for the love of Christ, wear this breastplate in God's service.

In the Lambeth Life,¹ she is described as fruitful, fragrant, and blooming; fruitful in devout works, fragrant in her holy reputation, and blooming with singular purity of life. Mabel conjoined two qualities rarely found together; namely, that she was agreeable to both God and men. That she might not give offence to her neighbours who judge according to appearances, under her matron's cloak she wore a tolerably fair gown, and under the gown a tunic; but that she might please God who seeth in secret, under the tunic she wore a breastplate, and under the breastplate a hair-shirt.²

Robert Bacon also tells us that she instructed her children in the art of spiritual warfare long before they were exposed to the brunt of the conflict. She checked the growth of sensuality by occupying their minds with intellectual occupations. She attracted them to the practice of mortification by such maternal devices as promising them playthings and such like, and so induced them to fast every Saturday on bread and water. Thus, before they had reached the age of discretion, they had learned to mortify their appetites; so that when the time of temptation came, the tempter could obtain no hold upon them, nor find matter for tempting them.

Nor did she neglect their mental culture and development in her solicitude for their spiritual training, for she took care that both her sons should receive the best education that was within her reach. So great was her anxiety on this point that she even consented to forego the consolation and support of her sons' presence in her state of widowhood in order to send them to the far-famed schools of Paris, as will be related in the following chapter.

How long Mabel survived her husband we are not told.

¹ Lam. MS. 135, f. 118, r^o col. 1.

² R. B., f. i. v^o col. 1.

All that can be said with certainty is that she died when her two daughters had reached a marriageable age, and before Edmund had finished his studies which he was pursuing in Paris; for we find that he was summoned thence to the bedside of his dying mother. And yet we are told that when Edmund had been teaching "arts" for six years, his mother appeared to him in a vision, "having died *a short time* before".¹ One might suppose from this that she recovered from the sickness which caused Edmund to be summoned, and that she died some time later. But, on the other hand, our biographer's notes of time are of the vaguest possible character, and he himself distinctly states that when Edmund returned to Oxford after finally leaving Paris, his mother was already dead.² Moreover, it is worth noting that Capgrave, in his account of this vision, states that Mabel had died "*a long time* before".³

The particulars of Edmund's last interview with his dying mother will be related in the life of the Saint. After giving her last instructions to Edmund, she thought no more, says Bacon, of either sons or daughters; but, lifting up her thoughts to heaven, on which her gaze was also fixed, she remained rapt in communion with God until she calmly expired.⁴

She had then the consolation of being ministered to in her dying moments by the hands of her best-beloved son, who had endeared himself to her by the manifest tokens he gave of future sanctity. More than this, she had the comforting assurance of a supernatural vision from which she learnt what great things God had in store for this child of her heart. Her death, under such circumstances, must have been a happy one; for, whilst the consciousness of a well-spent life relieved her of all anxiety as to the past, the future, which might have been clouded by the thought of the orphans she was leaving behind, was brightened by the conviction that she left them

¹ Paulo ante defuncta. E., f. 126 vº.

² "Cum rediisset Oxoniam, mater ejus jam universæ carnis viam sanctissime ingressa." E., f. 123 vº.

³ "Dudum mortua." Nova Leg., civ. vº col. 1.

⁴ R. B., f. iii. rº col. 1.

in the care of one who was the object of God's special predilection. Having breathed forth her soul in the arms of her son, as soon as the rumour of her death spread abroad, the clergy and the people flocked to the house to pray for her soul, but Bacon takes care to add that, in his opinion, she needed not the suffrages of their prayers.¹ She was reverently laid in the tomb, and the inscription which the tombstone bore testifies to the estimation in which she was held by her fellow-townsmen: "Here lies buried, Mabel, the Flower of Widows". Her reputation for sanctity long survived her, and miracles are said to have been wrought through her intercession. Wood informs us that her "long pendent girdle" was kept and venerated as a relic by a family in Oxford until the close of the fifteenth century, when it was bequeathed to the image of St. Edmund that stood in one of the Oxford churches.²

The question naturally suggests itself, where was this holy woman buried? The principal church at Abingdon was dedicated to St. Helen.³ In this church there was a chapel of the Holy Cross, connected with which was the Town Guild of the Holy Rood, which continued to flourish there until the subversion of all such pious institutions in the sixteenth century.

Mabel, then, is supposed to have been buried in this chapel. But a contemporary rhymist who wrote a metrical Life of St. Edmund (taken from the Latin Life) says that she was buried in the church of St. Nicholas. We subjoin some of his rhymes, which are interesting as exhibiting the language as it was spoken in the time of St. Edmund, and also as

¹ R. B., f. iii. r^o col. i.

² Wood, *Schools of Oxford*, l. ii. p. 737.

³ This dedication furnishes some corroboration to the legendary history of Abingdon in Romano-British times; and to the discovery of the famous "Black Cross" of Abingdon, said to have been formed of or to have contained one of the Nails of the Crucifixion. It is now admitted by antiquarians that the dedication of churches forms an important clue to the detection of the substratum of fact in legendary story. See the labours of Skene, the Scottish antiquarian, in this direction.

furnishing a valuable testimony to the merits of Mabel Rich.¹

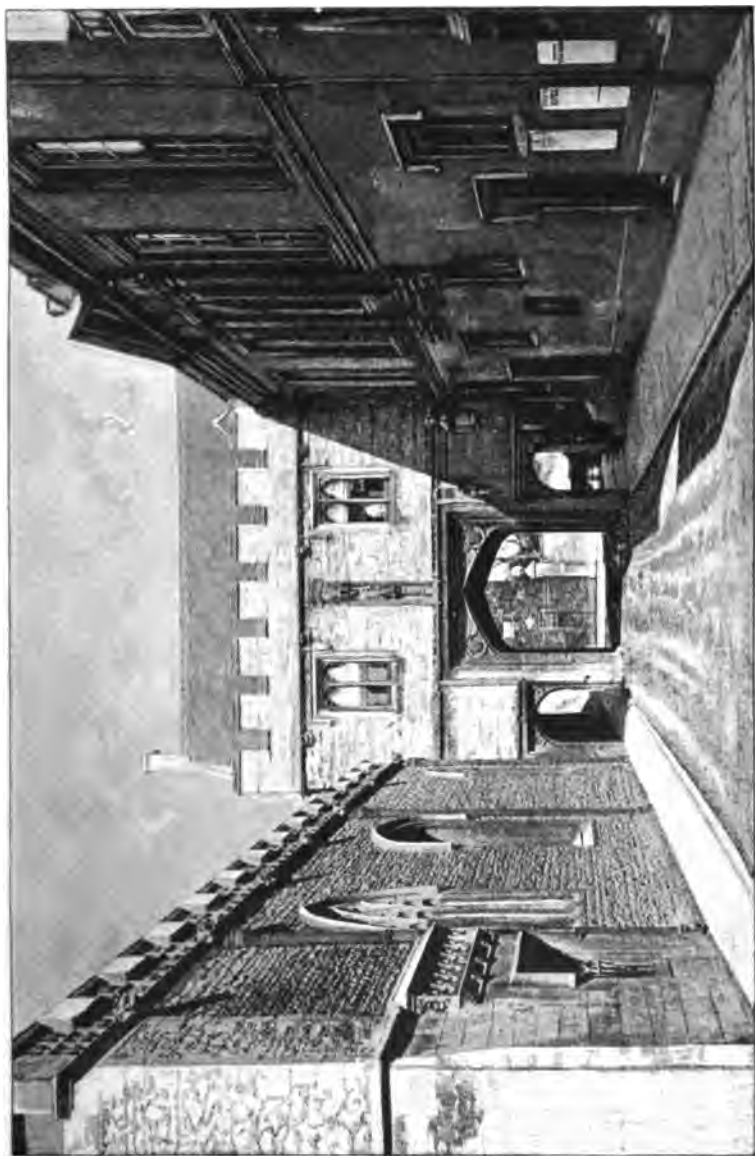
On which statement Hearne remarks that St. Nicholas' Church was not built till the reign of Edward I. by Abbot Nicholas (1289-1307). Hence Mabel could not have been buried there in the first instance. Wood says that she was buried in a chapel adjoining the abbey church, built in the middle of Henry III.'s reign by Abbot John, and that this chapel came to be known as the Chapel of St. Edmund's Mother. It was dedicated to the Holy Cross, to St. Edmund and St. Guthlac.² As this chapel was said to be, and as St. Nicholas' certainly now is, just outside the abbey gate, probably Hearne is right in his conjecture that the two edifices were in such close juxtaposition that when St. Nicholas' was subsequently built Mabel's Chapel came to be regarded as a part of it. We may suppose then that Mabel would be interred at St. Helen's, not in the churchyard, but out of veneration for her saintly memory in the Guild Chapel of Holy Cross. Then towards the middle of the century the sudden outburst of enthusiasm caused by the miracles and the canonisation of St. Edmund would naturally draw attention to the tomb of his mother, the more especially as England was denied the privilege of sheltering his sacred remains. Hence we can account for the movement which prompted Abbot John just at this time to erect a special fabric to contain the remains of her who had been the means of giving him to the world: a movement which would be

¹ The lines are quoted by Hearne from the Sheldon MSS. in his edition of *P. of Langtoft*, vol. ii. p. 607.

"This goude womman (Mabile the riche) deide thus, that of wedewen was flour,
And in Seint Nicholas Churche at Abindon ibered with great honour,
In a ston bfore the rode, in the South side iwis,
A luite withoute the abbei gate, the chapel areered is.
Aboue hure hit is iwrite hure life in this ston,
Mabile, flour of wodewen, and lesing³ is hit non.
For heo was womman of goude life, as we might bi hure iseo,
And miracle at Abbindoun for hure sutthe hath ibeo."

² Wood, *Hist. and Antiq.*, l. ii. p. 9.

³ A lie.



THE ABBEY GATE OF ABINGDON, SHOWING THE SOUTH SIDE OF ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH.

To face page 34.

accelerated if, as the rhymers assert, miracles had been wrought at her tomb. To this chapel then in the church of St. Nicholas the body of Mabel must have been translated from its first resting-place in St. Helen's.

The statement of miracles having been wrought at the tomb of Mabel does not rest on the sole report of the rhyming chronicler; for it is confirmed by the graver authority of Robert Bacon, who says that the truth of her epitaph was manifested by the veneration paid to her remains not only by the residents in Abingdon but also by pilgrims from afar, who went there out of devotion and often experienced her efficacious help in their several afflictions.¹

Edmund appears to have been the eldest² of a family of four, two sons and two daughters. It is usually stated that Edmund had two or even three brothers on the authority of Eustace, who speaks of a brother Nicholas who became a Cistercian at Boxley, and of another brother whose name he does not give, who became a monk at Eynsham. Eustace styles the latter a "man of discretion and of grave disposition". But, taking into consideration the fact that the biographer is altogether silent about Reginald's assumption of the monastic habit at Eynsham, we may well suppose that he has mistaken the father for a supposed brother. With regard to the "brother" Nicholas, the Cistercian at Boxley, mentioned by Eustace, he may have been some near relation bearing the same family name. He was certainly not a brother; for Robert Bacon, a competent authority, distinctly states that Edmund had only one brother.³ The metrical Lives also affirm that the family consisted of four children, two sons and two daughters. Bertrand mentions only Robert by name; but, in one or two passages, speaks of "brothers" in the

¹ R. B., f. iii. r^o col. 1.

² It is not at all clear what was the relation of seniority between the sons and the daughters; all that we know for certain is that, of the sons, Edmund was the elder and Robert the younger. Bacon calls Edmund the "Primo-genitus".

³ "Eadmundus adhuc, cum *unico* fratre suo Roberto, puerulus; cum duabus sororibus affectione materna postmodum educatus." R. B., f. i. v^o col. 1.

plural.¹ Robert was the Saint's inseparable companion through life. Eustace speaks highly of his endowments, his "singular piety, winning conversation and profound learning". We shall see when we relate the controversy with the Canterbury monks what confidence Edmund reposed in his prudence, ability, and discretion by entrusting him with the negotiations in that difficult question. In the Life which he wrote of his brother Robert never mentions himself; nor is he often mentioned in the other Lives. In his humility he seems to have effaced himself as much as possible, and to have been content to second his brother's undertakings in an unobtrusive way. We may here mention one or two details respecting him; others will be mentioned in the course of the Saint's life. He had the consolation of assisting his saintly brother in his last moments. After his death, Robert retained as a keepsake a very remarkable sapphire which had belonged to Edmund. This jewel subsequently came into the possession of one Nicholas, a goldsmith of St. Albans, who presented it as a relic of the Saint to the treasury of the abbey church. M. Paris asserts that it had engraved upon it a figure of the crucifix and some very fine characters inscribed round the edge.² Robert would no doubt be a frequent visitor to his brother's shrine at Pontigny. Amongst the many miracles which are recorded to have taken place there is the case of one Anolin de Parry who made his confession to Master Robert, brother of St. Edmund, then on a visit to Pontigny; the penitent was cured of his malady at the Saint's tomb.

It would appear that Robert did not long survive his brother, for Matthew Paris already in the year 1250 speaks of miracles which had been wrought through his intercession, and in relating the story of Edmund's sapphire he says that it passed into the hands of *Saint* Robert, his brother.

Edmund's two sisters were called Margaret and Alice, both of them well-instructed and patterns of Christian modesty, as might have been expected from the children

¹ Cum fratrum ad memoriam reduxisset absentiam, ut absentes quoque benediceret, exoravit. . . . "In te," "ait, fili, omnes fratres tuos benedici noveris". Ap. Martène, col. 1780.

² M. Paris, Addit., vi. 384.

of such parents and the members of such a household. It appears from Bacon's account that they were endowed with considerable personal charms, and had both made, before their mother's death, a vow of perpetual chastity. When Mabel was dying her chief solicitude was with regard to them. She charged Edmund not to rest until he had placed them in some convent of strict observance where they would be safe from all the dangers to which their beauty and their defenceless situation would expose them. She had taken the precaution to set apart a sufficient sum of money for this purpose, and in giving this charge to Edmund she pointed with her finger to the spot where the money was deposited.¹ This commission caused Edmund a great deal of trouble and anxiety. The whole care of a family devolved upon one who, by reason of his youth and inexperience, himself stood in need of guardianship. He had to provide for others who had not yet learned to provide for himself. Then he experienced for the first time the anxiety which attends the regulation of a household. But his chief solicitude was on behalf of his sisters, whose personal charms and youth made him tremble for their future prospects. He was however reassured by the thought of the early training which they had received from their saintly mother, who had taught them from their childhood how to repress every evil inclination and how to keep at a distance the seductive advances of suitors. Nevertheless, feeling the overwhelming responsibility of his charge, he determined to carry out his mother's injunction at once, and seek a convent in which he might place his sisters.² But in the execution of this plan a difficulty presented itself which arose from the scrupulous delicacy of his conscience. It was the custom then, as it is still, for religious houses, especially those intended for women, to require a sum of money, by way of dowry, from candidates for admission, as a provision for their maintenance. The custom, though reasonable enough when we consider that the monastery was responsible for the maintenance of the person after profession during the whole of his or her life, was nevertheless condemned by the canon law which then

¹ R. B., f. iii. r^o col. 1.² R. B., f. iii. r^o col. 2.

prevailed,¹ by which it was forbidden to exact any sum of money from those who wished to embrace a religious life, even under the pretext of the poverty of the house, so careful was the Church to guard against even the appearance of simony. But the rigour of this decree has been mitigated by the interpretation of subsequent ages, so that it is now the common opinion of canonists and theologians, sanctioned by the popes themselves, that religious houses of women can require a certain sum to be paid, not for entering religion (for that would be simony), but for the person's maintenance.

St. Edmund, however, held very strict views on the subject. To him, all such compacts savoured, at least, of simony. Accordingly, he set himself to find a convent which would be willing to receive his sisters without any pecuniary consideration. Needless to say, his quest was a fruitless one. At every place where he applied, he was met with a refusal. No one would receive them unless he was prepared to say what sum of money he could pay down with them. At last he came to or rather was brought by Providence to the convent of Catesby, a Benedictine² nunnery in Northamptonshire, on the borders of Warwickshire. Edmund asked to see the prioress, who, as soon as she entered into his presence, much to his surprise, addressed him by name, although they were previously unknown to each other, and said: "Edmund, you need not trouble to explain to me what your desire is with regard to your sisters, for the Lord has made known your

¹ Decret., l. v. tit. 3, cap. 40.

² There seems to be some doubt what rule was originally professed in this convent. Tanner, on the authority of a Bull of Pope Gregory, gives it as Benedictine; Dugdale and Leland say it was Cistercian; whilst Gervase of Canterbury, who wrote in the reign of King John, and therefore just at the time when St. Edmund placed his sisters there, in his *Mappa Mundi*, enters it on his list as a convent of the Order of Sempringham (Gilbertine). But Dr. Stubbs, the editor of Gervase, speaks very slightly of this work, and says that it is "full of inaccuracies and imperfections" (Intro. to vol. ii. p. xlii.). The authority of Pope Gregory, who asserts the convent to be "*ordinis Sancti Benedicti*," seems decisive on the matter. The Bull is quoted in the *New Monasticon*, iv. p. 637, as of Gregory VIII., and is dated in the fifth year of his pontificate. As Gregory VIII. only reigned for a few months, probably Gregory IX. is intended, in which case the date would designate the year 1231-2. The convent was founded by Robert d'Esseby, in the time of Richard I.

wish to me. Let them come by all means ; if they choose to live here, they will not be rejected." This delicate attention to relieve his natural embarrassment must have been as agreeable as it was surprising to Edmund ; and he gathered from this kindly welcome that his mother in heaven was watching over and promoting the execution of the commission which she had laid upon him. Edmund rejoiced greatly and thanked God for this happy termination of his quest. He gladly committed his sisters to the care of the prioress, and freed from the heavy burden of this responsibility, returned joyfully to Paris to prosecute his studies. The same account is repeated by Friar Robert in his " True and Brief Relation," incorporated in the Life by Eustace, where he tells us that he had the story from St. Edmund himself (E., f. 136 v°).

Hook, with his accustomed sneer, says there was nothing at all surprising in the action of the prioress, for she must have heard that Edmund Rich was tramping the country looking for a convent in which to place his sisters. We prefer to think with the biographer that the prioress, who, as the event shows, must have been a very spiritual person, was not indebted for her information to country-side gossip, but was enlightened from above as to the character of her visitor and the purport of his visit.

Margaret and Alice, then, became members of this devout community, and spent their virginal lives in the service of their Divine Spouse. Margaret eventually became prioress of Catesby, and died in 1257. Alice died in 1270. It is sometimes stated that both sisters held the office of prioress in succession. It may be so, but there is no authority for it. The statement is founded on a misconception. M. Paris¹ chronicles, in 1257, the death of Margaret, prioress of Catesby, sister of Blessed Edmund, a woman of great sanctity, in testimony of whose distinguished merits great miracles had been wrought. At page 642 the same fact is repeated, but the name there given is Alice. In the margin there is a note to this effect : " Vacat, quia prius ". Hence it appears that the name Alice has been inserted in the second passage by mistake.

¹ Hist. Maj., v. 621.

The metrical Life quoted before thus speaks of Edmund's quest of a convent for his sisters :—

This goudeman sogte wide aboute mani a nonnerie
 Er he mizte his sustren do withoute simonie :
 Atte laste he com to Catesbi in Northamtownschire,
 Ygranted ther him was anon al that he wolde desire
 Bothe his soustres & Godes half nonnen he made there ;
 That lived ther al here lif, and holi wimmen were,
 The elder was suththe prioress, ase the levedies echone,
 For hem hath suththe God ido miracles manione.
 & bfore the auter on hey ibured hi beoth there,
 In a chapel that hi lette of Seint Edmund arere.¹

The nuns of Catesby were not backward in promoting devotion to St. Edmund after his canonisation. For we find that the prioress obtained the privilege of holding an annual fair on the Feast of his Translation in 1249.² They also erected a chapel to his honour in their church, where were preserved the relics which, as we shall see later on, the Saint bequeathed to them on his death-bed. In 1279 Henry of Erdington gave the church of Yardley to the nuns of Catesby to find them habits, the residue to the poor, and left his body to be buried in the chapel of St. Edmund at Catesby. This Henry of Erdington was grandson of Thomas de Erdington, the trusty counsellor of King John, who sent him on an embassy to the Sultan of Morocco, offering to become a disciple of the Prophet if the Sultan would help him against his rebellious barons. The dusky potentate probably had misgivings as to the sincerity of the motives of the royal proselyte, for nothing came of the embassy.³

It is pleasing to note that the devout community at Catesby maintained its fervour and edifying regularity to the very last. The following particulars are taken from Fr. Gasquet's work on the dissolution of the English monasteries, vol. ii. pp. 209 *et seq.* The prioress, Joyce Bykeley, writes a pathetic letter to Cromwell in which she states that the queen had moved the king for her, and that 2000 marks had been offered as a bribe to allow the house to stand. She

¹ Hearne's *P. of Langtoft*, ii. 609.

² Bridge's *Northants*, i. 32.

³ Dugdale's *Warwicksh.*, 889.

then begs Cromwell to use his great influence in support of this petition ; and she promises him in return 100 marks to buy a gelding, and the prayers of herself and sisterhood during their lives. The local Commission (not the ruffians who were Cromwell's agents for the whole kingdom), appointed to report on the Northamptonshire convents, relate of Catesby that they found it "in very perfect order ; the prioress a pure, wise, discreet, and very religious woman with nine nuns under her obedience, as religious and devout, and with as good obedience as we have in time past seen, or belike shall see. The said house standeth in such a quarter much to the relief of the king's people, and his grace's poor subjects there likewise much relieved, as by the report of divers worshipful near thereunto adjoining, as of all other that is to us openly declared. Wherefore, if it should please the king's highness to have any remorse that any such religious house shall stand, we think his grace cannot appoint any house more meet to show his most gracious charity and pity to than to the said house of Catesby." After praising the "discreet entertainment" they had received from the prioress, they have written thus "lest peradventure there may be labour made to her detriment and utter undoing before knowledge should come to his highness and to you from us"; and they beg the king "to stay the grant" of the house. This petition, so far from inspiring the king's highness with any remorse (a sentiment which Henry was at this time utterly incapable of feeling), only made him furious ; and he roundly accused the Commissioners as having been tampered with. The reply to the petition was an order to carry out the suppression, which was ruthlessly executed.

The establishment, at the time of the suppression, consisted of a prioress and nine nuns, twenty-six dependents, a vicar, two assistant chaplains, and a cleric. One of the agents employed in the suppression reports that "the prioress there is a right sad (discreet) matron : the sisters also there now being by the space of twenty years hath been (by as much as I can learn) without suspicion of incontinent living".

CHAPTER IV.

BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION OF ST. EDMUND.

Hic erat Edmundus, anima cum corpore mundus,
Quem non immundus poterat pervertere mundus,
Anglorum genti faveas, Edmunde, petenti.

—Waverley Annals, 327.

THE Saint's biographers do not inform us in what year he was born. In fact, chronological details are conspicuous by their absence in their memoranda. We know the date of his death, November 16, 1240,¹ but as we are nowhere informed what his age was at his decease, we are left in doubt as to the year of his birth. It would seem, however, that he died in the prime of life. One writer says "in etate bona";² whilst Robert Bacon seems to exclude old age, for, when speaking of Edmund's last sickness, he says that he was attacked with dysentery, "which, unless it happens in old age, is not usually a fatal complaint".³ Moreover, there are no indications whatever of old age or of anything approaching to it in the narrative of his biographers. Speaking of one of his penitential exercises, that of sleeping on the floor or on a bench, they say that he is believed to have practised it for upwards of thirty-six years; and as this penitential discipline was

¹ Modern writers assign 1241, some even 1242, as the year of his death. But it is quite certain that he died in 1240. Such is the testimony of the contemporary writers. It is, moreover, conclusively established by the fact that the chapter-general of the Cistercians, held in 1241, commissioned Bruno, Abbot of la Ferté, to write to the Pope on the subject of his canonisation. Bruno's letter was addressed to Gregory IX., who died Aug. 21, 1241, a few days before the petition reached its destination. The Bishop and Chapter of Salisbury addressed a similar petition to the same Pope in the same year. The originals of both letters are to be found in the Pontigny archives.

² In tract. de promissione b. Thomæ "apud Martène".

³ R. B., f. viii. v^o col. 1.

undertaken by him from the outset of his career, we may suppose him to have been about sixty at the time of his death. It is also to be noted that his sister Alice survived him thirty years, dying in 1270.

Hence we may conjecture that his birth would fall probably about the year 1180, and his boyhood and youth would coincide with the reign of the lion-hearted Richard, whilst the early part of his adult life would occupy the reign of the tyrant John. After an attentive study of the Saint's life, we would suggest the following scheme as probably representing the various stages of his career. Born, 1180; sent to Paris, 1195, at the age of fifteen; returned to Oxford as master of arts, 1202; began to lecture in theology, 1214; appointed treasurer of Salisbury, 1222. His election as archbishop in 1233, and the subsequent events of his life, are not matters of conjecture, as they enter into the general history of the time.¹

In one of the additional chapters of the Lambeth MS. the following summary of the Saint's life is given: "Abingdon reared him; Oxford educated him; Paris brought him to the perfection of man's estate; Salisbury drew him to the lot of the sons of God; Canterbury exalted him with the pontifical mitre; Pontigny received him living but an exile; Soisy received his dying breath; Provins gave sepulture to a portion of his remains; then Pontigny again received his dead body; and where he began as an exile, he received the happy consummation of his labours".²

Our Saint owes his name, Edmund, to the fact of his having been born on the twentieth of November, the Feast of St. Edmund, king and martyr. Not only this, but during the time of her pregnancy Mabel made a pilgrimage of devotion to the shrine of St. Edmund; and it was whilst praying before the shrine that she felt the first symptoms of vitality in the

¹ This scheme does not agree with Wood's estimate, who assigns as the period of Edmund's doctorate of divinity the years 1219 to 1226 (*Schools*, ii. 736). But he is not consistent, for he had previously represented him as lecturing in "arts" as late as 1227 (*Annals*, i. 279). Besides, it is certain, from documents to which Edmund's signature is attached, that he was acting as treasurer at Salisbury as early as 1222.

² Lamb. MS. 135, f. 136 r^o col. 2.

fruit of her womb. Thus our Saint resembled St. John the Baptist in this that his first vital act was to recognise the sanctity of him whom he was visiting, though both visitor and visited were shrouded from view, the one by the maternal womb, the other by the cerements of the grave.

When Edmund was born we are told that he came into the world pure as to the body and unstained by the common defilements of our tainted origin: a manifest token of the spotless purity of the soul which, by God's grace, he was predestined to preserve through life. Nevertheless, the babe seemed destitute of life, and so it lay, a lifeless thing, all day, so that it was even proposed to bury it as a still-born child. But Mabel earnestly objected, and insisted on the babe being baptised. This was done, and immediately the child showed signs of life. In consequence of this incident St. Edmund is often represented in the popular pictures which are to be found in the country of his adoption as surrounded by a number of lifeless infants whom he is resuscitating, and many were the miracles of this kind wrought at his tomb in Pontigny on behalf of the disconsolate mothers who brought their lifeless infants to receive the breath of life through his intercession. We shall also see later a touching instance of his solicitude on behalf of helpless infancy in the Constitutions which he published after his elevation to the episcopate.

From his earliest infancy his pious mother trained Edmund up in the practice of piety. She taught him how to pray, and accustomed him to mortify the sensual appetite. We have seen by what little artifices she accustomed her children to the practice of fasting; in like manner, as soon as their faculties were developed, she taught them to recite the Divine Psalter on all Sundays and Feast-days before breaking their fast.¹

Such was the view which this truly Christian mother took of her maternal obligations. God had given her a child endowed with soul and body for the development of which she was responsible. The soul she trained to the exercise of prayer, and the body to the practice of mortification and

¹ Vita apud Surius, c. ii.

self-denial, and so laid the foundations of that eminent sanctity which her son subsequently attained,¹ which has exalted him on the altars of the Church and given him an enduring name—a name still capable of eliciting enthusiasm from the hearts of men after the lapse of more than six centuries, when all his contemporaries, who were reared according to the principles of this world, are clean forgotten.

As soon as Edmund had emerged from the age of infancy he was sent to school at Oxford, whose schools were just then rising into celebrity. For, if he had frequented the abbey school of Abingdon, they would hardly have failed to mention the fact in the letter which the abbot and community wrote bearing testimony to Edmund's sanctity shortly after his death. Indeed, the increasing reputation of the Oxford schools and their proximity would naturally lead to the extinction of the abbey school, of which indeed we hear no more after this period. In fact, we have some interesting reminiscences of Edmund's schoolboy days supplied to us by the chronicler of Lanercost,² who opportunely fills the gap left by the biographers as to this period of the Saint's life. We learn then from him that the school which Edmund attended was attached to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin.³ It appears also that his childish years were not exempt from childish failings. For we are told that in his early youth, whilst assisting at mass, he paid more attention to the chant than to the prayers, and that, on one occasion, after the elevation, he escaped along with several others by the north door of the church, in order to engage in a game. But as he was going out he felt a buffet on the cheek and heard a voice which said: "Return to the office which has begun, for now it is time of holy mass".⁴ The docile youth, from that time,

¹ Vita ap. Surius, c. vi.

² A contemporary record of events from 1201 to 1346, apparently written in a Franciscan house in the north of England, though preserved in the Augustinian priory of Lanercost. The writer of this period was evidently well acquainted with Edmund's schoolboy experiences. Burrows' *Collectanea*, ii., Oxf. Hist. Soc.

³ MS. 22 at All Souls', Oxford, has a marginal note which speaks of Edmund as "*scolaris quondam in Academia Oxoniensi in Collegio Universitatis*".

⁴ "*Reverte ad cœpta officia: modo primo incipit missa.*" Laner. Chron., p. 38.

conceived a greater veneration for the sacrament of life, and resolved henceforth to remain in attendance on the holy mysteries until they were finished.

The school was situated in the churchyard, and was approached by the west door of the church. It was a stone structure, as appears from the following incident: One day whilst Edmund was sitting on a bench amongst a crowd of scholars, listening to the lecture, he had occasion to leave the school. No sooner had he done so than a stone fell from the wall on to the spot where he had been sitting, and, had he been there, would certainly have crushed him to death, an escape which the chronicler attributes to a special interposition of Divine Providence.

As Oxford and Abingdon were within easy reach of each other, Edmund was not deprived of the benefit of his mother's prudent counsels and watchful supervision. In fact, the great object of her solicitude was that her children should make progress, not only in secular learning, but especially in the science of the saints. She inspired them with the fear and the love of God. She trained them by precept and example in the practice of all virtues. She fulfilled, in short, as our author observes, the duties of a father and teacher, as well as those of a mother; for it would seem that by this time Mabel had been left a widow, whether by her husband's retirement to the monastery, or by his decease; whilst Edmund, on his part, was deprived of a father's care and supervision. Nevertheless, such was his mother's solicitude on his behalf, Edmund was never left to himself or his own guidance, but was always subject to strict control and discipline. Whilst attending school he was under the care of a pedagogue, and a priest of saintly repute had the direction of his conscience, to whom Edmund had frequent recourse for confession and spiritual guidance.

By this strict discipline, exercised by others and by himself, the innocence and purity of his tender years were never tarnished in after life. In the words of his brother Robert, "his thoughts were ever pure and holy, corresponding to his exterior demeanour. . . . With premature discretion he shunned all the frivolous amusements in which childhood

delights : he was a constant visitor to the church and places of devotion. The world he abhorred : his thoughts were ever centred in God. Sin and wickedness he detested : God alone he loved, the world's Redeemer."¹

The seeds of sanctity thus early and assiduously implanted within him soon began to bear fruit in the congenial soil of his pure young heart, and the first yearnings of his soul for communion with its Creator, its first beginning and last end were answered by a supernatural manifestation which is thus described by the biographers : Edmund was now in his "teens," and was already promoted from the ranks of the juniors to those of the big boys,² and, as such, was permitted to accompany them in their walks and games. It was mid-summer, and one day the boys went out into the meadows to play.³

Edmund went with them, for he wished to shun the note of singularity, so objectionable in boy communities ; he however declined to share in their sports lest the purity of his conscience should in any way be stained. So, keeping himself somewhat aloof from the rest, he walked along meditating on Divine things.⁴ In the midst of his meditations he found himself in the presence of a Child of singular beauty, who seemed to have descended from heaven. The Child's features were of a rosy complexion on a ground of snowy whiteness. The apparition saluted Edmund first with all a child's engaging affability, saying : "Hail, My well-beloved !" Edmund, somewhat confused at the novelty of the apparition and at the manner of the salute, remained silent with

¹ "Castos jugiter ac sanctos habuit cogitatus ut gestus testatur forinsecus . . . frivola mundi quibus tenera etas abundat, mature devitans : Ecclesias et sancta loca frequentabat assidue : mundum odio habuit, cujus solummodo in Deo meditationes fuerunt, omne peccatum execrans atque malitiam. Deum solum dilexit et mundi Redemptorem. De salute anime semper erat sollicitus." R. R., f. 180 r^o col. 2.

² "Adolescentia vero jam pubescens cum provectoribus scolariis associaretur . . . cum iis iret in prata spatium." E., f. 124 v^o.

³ "In prato quodam Oxoniæ vicino"—Higden, Polychron. Therefore, not in the Pré-aux-Clercs on the banks of the Seine, as Père Massé suggests. The incident is also placed at Oxford in Capgrave's *Legenda*.

⁴ Quasi philosophans solus (ivit). R. B., f. ii. r^o col. 1.

astonishment. Then the Child went on to ask if Edmund knew who He was, to which Edmund, with charming candour, replied that he had no recollection of having seen Him before. "I wonder," said the Child, "that you do not recognise Me, as I sit on your right hand at school, and am your companion wherever you go." Then He added: "Look Me in the face and take notice what is written on My forehead". He looked and saw traced thereon in characters not human, Jesus of Nazareth. The Child said: "I am He for whose sake, Edmund, you so often afflict yourself with fasting, and from whose generosity you expect a reward. I promise you that, if you persevere to the end, whatever desirable things your mother has promised you, shall be conferred on you a hundredfold."¹ The Child then made a sign upon Edmund's brow, and said: "Often make this sign upon thyself, and repeat it in memory of Me". The vision and the brightness which accompanied it then disappeared, leaving an ineffable odour of sweetness and a rapture of gladness in the heart which betokened the Divine presence.²

Edmund remained prostrate on the same spot for some time, earnestly praying that the Holy Spirit might bestow on him the gift of saving knowledge, together with His other gifts. His prayer being finished, he arose; when, meantime, his companions came up in a great hurry, demanding what was the meaning of the extraordinary bright light they had seen shining over the spot. But Edmund cautiously evaded the question, as he did not wish to divulge the mystery to anybody. From that period the holy youth made wonderful progress in virtue and in learning, and all through life retained the habit of blessing himself on the forehead and eyes in the manner above-mentioned: "As he can testify," says Bertrand, "who has seen and written these things. For," he adds, "when the writer, on a certain night, was in attendance on him in his room as chamberlain, and saw him frequently trace the sacred name on his forehead, as he had often seen him do before, the Saint with wonderful humility turned to him and said: 'Take care that every

¹ R. B., f. ii. r^o col. 2.² *Ibid.*

night before you go to sleep, you write on your brow, Jesus of Nazareth'. When he heard this he gladly adopted the pious counsel, and was now assured of the truth of what he had before heard, when he heard from his own lips the relation of the facts which he had previously heard from credible witnesses."

The same incident is related by Eustace, but with some slight variety of detail, namely, that it took place *after* Edmund's mystical espousals, which we are about to relate, to which indeed he makes the Child Christ refer in his address to Edmund; and that the scene of the apparition was near a bush which was in full bloom, though such a thing was unusual at that season of the year.¹

With regard to the locality of the apparition Wood conjectures that it may have been on the spot where once existed a miraculous spring known as St. Edmund's Well, a little to the south of the former site of St. Clement's Church. This well was much resorted to by the people for the healing of wounds and maladies, but the practice was subsequently prohibited by Bishop Sutton (1280-1299) on the score of superstition.²

About the same period there happened a circumstance of the utmost consequence to Edmund's future career.³ It was the turning-point from which his future course was marked out and determined. It occurred when Edmund was twelve years of age. It was a time, no doubt, when he began to be aware of the inevitable conflict which every child of Adam must wage between the spirit and the flesh; when he saw the

¹ "Rubum . . . præter morem et contra temporis exigentiam floribus . . . redimitum." E., f. 124 vº.

² There seems to have been a tendency in early times, inherited from pagan ancestors, to a superstitious well-worship. An analogous instance may be found in the institution of the "agapæ" in the early Christian ages. The converts from paganism could not be weaned from the practice of celebrating "parentalia," i.e., convivial gatherings in memory of deceased relatives or club-fellows. Such reunions were at first sanctioned by the Church, subsequently they were only tolerated, and finally eliminated in consequence of the abuses to which they gave rise.

³ According to Eustace, the espousals took place *before* the apparition; and he makes our Lord allude to the former in his account of the latter, but this seems less probable than the arrangement we have adopted.

“law in his members warring against the law of the spirit”;¹ when the innocent aspirations of his childhood, hitherto rapt in sweet communion with God, began to be traversed by currents of a different character, dark and turbulent, hurrying him he knew not whither. Such a crisis occurs in the life of every one, and how much depends on the way in which one acts under it! Agitated by these new and unwonted sensations, Edmund at once had recourse to his spiritual director. Having unburdened himself of his temptations and difficulties, Edmund received from him this sage counsel: “If you wish to rid yourself of all embarrassment, to stamp out the fires of temptation, and, in short, to extricate your soul from every danger, have recourse to the Mother of Mercy, that singular vessel of devotion; commend yourself to the glorious Mother of God, and bind yourself to her by an eternal compact”. Edmund eagerly embraced the counsel given to him, and that he might carry it out fully and completely resolved to consecrate himself both to God and His Blessed Mother by an irrevocable and perpetual vow. He first of all provided himself with two rings, exactly alike, and bearing, inscribed in English characters, the angelical salutation: “Hail Mary”. Having procured these, he made his way to the church, to the spot which had so often seen him rapt in prayer and contemplation, the feet of an image of the Immaculate Virgin, and there with all the fervour of his soul consecrated himself to the service of God and our Lady by a vow of perpetual chastity; and to ratify the vow he placed one of the rings upon the finger of our Lady, reserving the other to be worn by himself, which he continued to do until his death. Whilst placing the ring upon our Lady’s finger he addressed her thus: “To thee, O Virgin of virgins, most chaste Mother of my Lord Jesus Christ, I vow, promise, and devote the gift of my virginity. With this ring I pledge thee, I choose thee, and cordially adopt thee for my Lady and spouse, so that I may be worthy henceforth as a virgin to render thee, a Virgin, a more grateful and a more seemly worship.” Once more he threw himself on his knees before the statue, and, as though

¹ Rom. vii. 23.

the Mother of God were present in person, he broke out into an impassioned prayer, accompanied with a flood of tears. The burthen of his prayer was this : " O my Lady dear, who art now the most tender spouse of my heart, efficaciously entreat my Lord thy Son that I may persevere in the service of you both, and may be worthy to walk in the footsteps of Blessed John the Evangelist ". It is manifest from this and several other incidents which will be mentioned in our Saint's life that he ever bore a most singular devotion to the virgin-disciple of our Lord.

When his prayer was finished Edmund wished to remove from our Lady's finger the ring which he had placed there : for he did not wish to attract attention to what had taken place. But to his great surprise, in spite of all the efforts which he made to detach it, the ring would not stir, and he was forced to leave it there.¹ The circumstance naturally filled him with joy, as it inspired him with confidence that our Lady had graciously accepted his vow ; and that as he, in the purity of his youth, had taken the most chaste Mother of God, ever a Virgin, for his spouse, so she would, on her part, accept him for her own. Nor was his confidence misplaced, as will appear from his own acknowledgment on his death-bed, that as often as he, in sincerity of heart, invoked the aid of his spouse and friend, the gracious Virgin obtained for him a happy issue in all his temptations, consolation under his persecutions, joy in his sufferings, and a cheerful remedy in every tribulation. He also on that occasion begged that the circumstances related above might be noted down for the instruction of posterity ; for being now about to pass out of this world, he was no longer exposed to the danger of vain complacency, and so could, without detriment to his humility, and to the profit of others, reveal the king's secret which hitherto he had kept locked up in the recesses of his own bosom. He also asked that he might be buried with the engagement ring upon his finger ; that so he might carry to the tomb the evidence of the fidelity with which he had kept his vow. We are naturally interested to inquire in what

¹ There too it was seen by the Lanercost chronicler, who also tells us that the fact was generally known to the University students of his time.

church the espousals took place; it is not stated in the Life, but the Lanercost Chronicle makes it evident that the scene took place in St. Mary's Church, where was situated the school which St. Edmund attended. Père Massé supposes that the circumstance happened like the incident of the apparition in Paris. But it is extremely improbable that Mabel should have sent her son to Paris at such a tender age; for, as we have seen, the espousals took place when Edmund was twelve years old. Moreover, the testimony of the Lanercost Chronicle is corroborated by the annotator of the Lambeth MS., who states that the image of our Lady on which Edmund placed the ring was on the north side of the church of St. Mary at Oxford.¹

The vow which Edmund had taken and the conflict which he began to experience gave a more definite scope and direction to the efforts he was making towards a higher spiritual life. In the words of Robert Rich, a competent witness of Edmund's early struggles: "As knowledge increased, his difficulties increased".² He had passed from the stage of direct to that of reflex consciousness, and he was now an athlete of Christ, stripped for the conflict, and eager to run his course for the supernal prize. From this time forward he began to make rapid strides in the way of perfection. The thought of the glorious reward on which his hopes were fixed made all his austerities seem light and trivial to him.³ Every day he made some advance in the practice of virtue, destined as he was to reign with Christ eternally.⁴ Nor did he ever deviate from that course. To the day of his death he preserved inviolate the virginity which he had vowed; and, if any testimony were needed of the integrity

¹ Lamb. MS. 135, f. 120 r^o col. 2, note. It is also stated in the text that he consulted a priest *at Oxford*. "Ad quemdam magni nominis sacerdotem . . . accessit Oxoniæ," f. 120 r^o col. 2. The same annotator commemorates the incident by the following verse: "Ut castus fiam, sponsam meam sumo Mariam".

² "Crescente vero scientia, crevit et pugna." R. R., f. 180 r^o col. 2.

³ "Perpendebat quid sperabat et levius erat quod portabat." R. R., f. 180 v^o col. 2.

⁴ Bonis operibus crevit cotidie qui cum Christo regnare debuit sine fine. R. R., f. 181 r^o col. 1.

of his faith to his heavenly spouse, it would be furnished by the miraculous preservation of his virginal body after his death.

His love of holy virginity is evinced by his tender devotion to the virgin patroness of Oxford, St. Frideswide, for, according to the author of *Christian Schools*,¹ he was a frequent visitor to "her image in that little country church of Binsey, which she is said to have founded, and which in early days was surrounded by hawthorn woods, and was a place of recreation for the nuns of her convent. There you may still see, not the image, but the empty niche where it formerly stood, and the stone pavement worn away with many feet and many knees, a relic in itself, which we may stoop and reverently kiss, for here St. Edmund was wont to pray, and here on certain festivals the scholars came out with cross and banners, and wound their way among the flowering hawthorn woods to pay their homage to the patron saint of Oxford."

But, in his pursuit of sanctification, he did not forget that he was a student, and devoted himself eagerly to the study of those arts and sciences which then constituted what was deemed a liberal education. The Abbot of Westminster, who seems to have been a fellow-student of his, testifies that "he was exceedingly quick at learning in his youth; that he never went to the shows or spectacles which were so common in places frequented by students; he was always occupied in prayer or study". His studies, so far from damping the fervour of his soul, only stimulated him to greater efforts to advance from virtue to virtue, to make daily progress in the path of perfection. His visits were limited to the Tabernacle of the Lord of Hosts, where he seemed to make his home. He studiously shunned all the idle and frivolous amusements with which the youth of that period were wont to amuse themselves; he never allowed himself any indulgence, but

¹ P. 477. The authority for the statement is not given, but we presume it is from the author of the *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*. We have not met with the passage in the course of our rambles through that picturesque but somewhat intricate "Wood".

ever bore about in his body the mortification of Jesus.¹ He studied, in short, as earnestly as if he were to live for ever, whilst he lived as devoutly as if he were to die on the morrow.² In fact, watching in prayer and abstinence became so habitual to him from early youth that, as he himself testified, he found these practices not only easy but even delightful in after life.

There remains one more incident belonging to this early period of Edmund's scholastic days, which we will mention before we pass on to his more serious studies in the schools of Paris. In the course of his studies he began to suffer from continual headache so severely that he was afraid he would have to discontinue them altogether. His mother was much concerned at his sufferings, and, considering within herself to what cause they might be attributed, hit upon an explanation which, we think, would hardly suggest itself to an anxious mother of modern times. She thought that his headache was owing to her son's tonsure not being regular and canonical. She begged him, therefore, to get his tonsure rectified, and promised him, if he did so, a relief from the malady. Whether Mabel's diagnosis was correct or not, at all events the remedy she prescribed was most effectual. Edmund submitted to have his tonsure arranged in legitimate form, and at once laid aside the headache along with the superfluous locks; in fact, he never afterwards suffered from headache, as he himself avowed to an intimate acquaintance.

¹ 2 Cor. i. 4-10.

² "Ita studebat discere quasi semper victurus; ita vivere quasi cras moriturus." R. B., f. iii. v^o col. i.

CHAPTER V.

EDMUND AT PARIS.

(*About 1195-1202.*)

Fulget in Edmundo pia mens in corpore mundo,
Gratia quem mundo dedit omine summa secundo.

—Waverley Annals, p. 312.

THE time had now come when Mabel must consent to forego the consolation of her beloved sons' presence for a period of several years. According to Friar Robert, they had already acquired all that their Oxford professors could teach them, and in the "*Arte Grammatica*" they surpassed even their masters.¹ In her enlightened zeal for their interests, Mabel had resolved that her children should have the best possible education; and since the schools of Paris were then the most famous in the world, for, at that period, a scholar of Paris was synonymous with a cultivated man of letters, she formed the heroic resolve to send there her two sons, Edmund and Robert, in order to finish their education. Edmund was now of an age when she might reasonably look to him to be her staff of support in her widowhood, and the comfort of her declining years. But in this, as in everything else, she sacrificed herself for her children's sake. The only writer who furnishes us with any details of the setting out of the two boys for the French capital is Robert Bacon, whose account we proceed to lay before the reader; and which is the more interesting as it seems to have entirely escaped the notice of modern writers.

When, therefore, Mabel had finished her preparations and was about to despatch her boys on their journey, she put into

¹ R. B., f. ii. r^o col. 2.

their hands a sum of money for their maintenance ; but it was so small that it seemed quite inadequate for the prolonged stay which they intended to make. They looked at one another with mute astonishment ; and then hung their heads down in sad perplexity ;¹ Mabel, noticing their embarrassment, began to cheer them up with words of encouragement : “ Is this the outcome, my lads, of all the care I have bestowed on your bringing up ? I am sorry for your faint-heartedness in not putting your confidence in God as you ought. I am ashamed to see you downcast for no cause at all. Look at me, I am a poor woman, as you know ; I have not the means to keep you in luxury. Rather cast all your care upon the Lord and He will nourish you. Keep Him ever before your eyes, and He will direct your steps. Let the desire of your hearts be ever fixed on the gifts of God, so that the insidious pleasure which comes from contact with pleasing forms may not weaken your resolution by exciting that carnal desire which lusteth against the spirit. To tame this flesh I have packed up for you two hair-shirts, with which, if you choose, you may subdue the sense of touch ; just as you have subdued the taste by fasting. I strictly enjoin that you wear them on your bare skin twice a week ; and I promise you confidently that, if you do, God will never suffer you to be in want of victuals.”² After this moving exhortation, Mabel dismissed her boys with her blessing ; and with light and cheerful hearts they left the home of their childhood to enter upon the arduous career of study which awaited them at Paris.

Those who wish to know in what kind of society and surroundings Edmund found himself placed might consult Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, ch. xiii., or Vaughan's *Life of St. Thomas Aquinas*, vol. i. cc. xvi. and xvii. From these authors we cull a few particulars to help our readers to realise Edmund's position in his new sphere. Paris was, at this period, the capital of the intellectual world. The fame of its scholastic advantages attracted thither the youth of every Christian country. The students were numbered by

¹ “ Cernentes igitur se mutuo lingua silenti, corde sollicito vultuque demisso, signa tristitie pretendentes.” R. B., f. ii. r^o col. 2.

² R. B., f. ii. v^o col. 1.

thousands, and were classified under their several nationalities, as French, Spanish, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Scandinavians, Poles, English, Norman, etc. The houses of study were scattered about the city, and had not yet coalesced into the corporate form which the university subsequently assumed. Colleges, in fact, had as yet no existence at Paris, and the university consisted of an assemblage, not of stately buildings, but of masters and scholars gathered out of every European land.¹ The chief centres of scientific culture at this period were the Episcopal school of Nôtre Dame, lineal descendant of the school founded by Alcuin, under the patronage of Charlemagne—the school of St. Geneviève, which once resounded with the eloquence of Abélard—the famous school of St. Victor, where the memory was still fresh of Hugh and the great mystic theologian, Richard—and that of St. Germain, where the Black Monks of the Order of St. Benedict carried on their traditional mission of intellectual culture, combined with monastic observance. The schools of the various religious orders, Mendicants, Cistercians, Augustinians, Carmelites, the school also of the Sorbonne, were all introduced a little after St. Edmund's time. Innocent III., who had himself been a Parisian student, drew up the statutes for the regulation of the university, then recently organised by Philip Augustus. Before this time the condition of affairs must have been deplorable in the extreme. James of Vitry, who had himself been a student, draws a frightful picture of the demoralisation which resulted from the association together, without proper moral discipline or control, of such a motley collection from every nation and from every rank in life: "There was no provision for the accommodation of students in halls or hospices: they lodged in the houses of the citizens wherever they could secure the cheapest entertainment. Not unfrequently the schools of the masters were held in the upper story of some house, the ground floor of which was the resort of the most abandoned characters. There was no common table; but the students dined at taverns where they often associated with the worst com-

¹ Drane, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

panions, and indulged in the lowest excesses, and the jealousy between 'town and gown' continually broke out in disgraceful quarrels, terminating not unfrequently in bloodshed. . . . The university, in fact, presented the spectacle, at that time new in Christendom, of a system of education which aimed at informing the intellect without disciplining the soul."¹ Many of the students were "poor scholars" dependent on the precarious charity of others for their means of subsistence. "There were starving, friendless lads, with unkempt heads and tattered suits, who walked the streets, hungering for bread, and famishing for knowledge. . . . We read of one poor fellow on his death-bed, having nothing else, giving his shoes and stockings to a companion, to procure a mass for his soul. Some were only too glad to carry holy water to private houses" to eke out a subsistence.² Many were in the same sad plight as Richard of Wych, a fellow-student of Edmund, and afterwards his chancellor, now known as St. Richard of Chichester. When he was a student at Paris he combined with two others for the joint-possession of a single tunic, which they wore in turns, the other two meanwhile staying at home. Those who were better off were given up to frivolity and dissipation. A letter is quoted of one gentleman who bitterly complains that he had sent his son to Paris, and made him an allowance of 100 livres a year; and all he had to show for it were "his books illuminated with gold initials and strange monsters, and a new pair of boots every Saturday". We think his experience might be paralleled by many a modern paterfamilias.

It may well be imagined that the incentives to vice amongst such an undisciplined multitude were sadly prolific; and Edmund, in going through the Parisian schools, must have passed through a veritable fiery furnace. If he came forth thence unscathed, without even the smell of fire upon his garments, how shall we account for it unless we attribute it to the rigid training and discipline, moral and physical, which he had received from his saintly mother, and which rendered him an apt recipient of such an extraordinary

¹ *Christian Schools*, p. 369.

² *Life of St. Thom.*, i. 355.

grace? Peter of the Cells, writing to one of his monks who was pursuing his studies there, says: "O Paris, resort of every vice, source of every disorder, thou hellish dart, how dost thou pierce the heart of the unwary!"¹

But besides this moral corruption there were also grave intellectual dangers which beset the path of the unwary student. The human mind was at this time passing through a great crisis. There was a general awakening of the intellectual faculties, which busied themselves not, as now, with the problems of nature, but with subtle metaphysical speculations. This movement, combined with the passionate pursuit of dialectics, led to "a grave and momentous change in the whole theory of education, which was daily losing something more of that breadth and largeness which formed one of the chief features of education as professed by the ancients, whose traditions had been accepted by the Christian schools".² It must also be remembered that, at that period, the degree of licentiate or master in any faculty entitled the holder to teach in that faculty. Hence every sciolist who could get an audience proceeded to propound his crude theories whether they were the product of his own inventive brain or borrowed from the Arabian commentators of Aristotle. "Blasphemous and false doctrines were maintained publicly; the articles of the Christian Faith were discussed and rejected with scorn; and in their place the rankest and crudest forms of pantheism were professed."³ In the work quoted a very startling list of theses will be found maintained by these pretenders to scientific philosophy and theology. Brother Agnellus, himself a simple soul unskilled in human learning, founded the first Franciscan school at Oxford where the great Grosseteste lectured. Brother Agnellus often visited the school to watch the progress of studies. One day, however, he was inexpressibly shocked to find that they were disputing on the thesis "whether there is a God". He cried out: "Alas! alas! simple friars penetrate the heavens whilst the learned are disputing if there is a God". "With these words he left the school in a chafe,"

¹ Quoted in *Christian Schools*, p. 368.

² *Ibid.*, p. 380.

³ *Life of St. Thom.*, i. 404.

says Wood, "to think he had built it for such debates."¹ Newman, in his *Lectures on University Subjects*,² furnishes a similar appreciation of the crisis through which the schools were passing precisely at the time when Edmund frequented them: "The mediæval schools were the arena of as critical a struggle between truth and error as Christianity has ever endured; and the philosophy which bears their name carried its supremacy by means of a succession of victories in the cause of the Church. Scarcely had universities risen into popularity when they were found to be infected with the most subtle and fatal forms of unbelief; and the heresies of the East germinated in the West of Europe and in Catholic lecture-rooms with a mysterious vigour upon which history throws no light. The questions agitated were as deep as any in theology; the being and essence of the Almighty were the main subjects of the disputation; and Aristotle was introduced to the ecclesiastical youth as a teacher of pantheism. Saracenic expositions of the great philosopher were in vogue; and when a fresh treatise was imported from Constantinople the curious and impatient student threw himself upon it, regardless of the Church's warnings, and reckless of the effect upon his own mind. The acutest intellects became sceptics and misbelievers, and the head of the Holy Roman Empire, the Cæsar Frederic the Second, to say nothing of our miserable King John, had the reputation of meditating a profession of Mahometanism."

It must not be supposed that the Church remained indifferent to this state of things. Synods were held and decrees promulgated with the object of counteracting these evil tendencies and of suppressing these abuses. Thus, in 1228, Gregory IX. sent a very impressive brief to the professors of Paris, reproaching them for allowing themselves to be captivated by vanity and intellectual conceit; so as to pursue profane novelties in their theological and philosophical speculations; also for presuming to interpret the Scriptures according to profane methods, instead of following the beaten

¹ *Christian Schools*, p. 483.

² viii. p. 299.

track laid down by the fathers ; thereby adulterating the Word of God and infecting it with human error.¹

There is perhaps no more striking evidence of the Divine assimilating power with which the Catholic Church is endowed than the ease and thoroughness with which she mastered the gigantic spectre which seemed to threaten her existence and the very foundations of Christianity. Through the great saints and doctors whom God raised up just at this time, foremost amongst whom we must mention St. Edmund, she not only checked the evil tendencies of the new movement, but mastered it completely, bound it in adamant chains and developed it into a powerful instrument for the accomplishment of her Divine mission. For a convincing proof we have but to watch St. Edmund in his lecture-room at Oxford. There we shall find him, saturated as he was with the scholastic methods from his youth upwards, expounding the truths of faith with such unction that his pupils were forced to lay down their pens and note-books and dissolve in tears. To quote the words of the author of *Christian Schools* :² "The scholastic philosophy which, without her direction, would have expanded into an infidel rationalism was woven into her theology itself, and made to do duty in her defence, and that wondrous spectacle was exhibited, so common in the history of the Church, when the dark and threatening thunder-cloud, which seemed about to send out its lightning-bolts, only distils in fertilising rain."

During this thirteenth century universities sprang up like mushrooms all over Europe,³ and the students at each could be counted by thousands. They necessarily supplanted the cathedral and monastic schools which had supplied the education of the preceding ages. That education was essentially Christian and religious ; whereas the universities, at their inception, aimed only at the cultivation of the intellect. But the cultivation of the intellect, apart from religious and moral training, can only produce the most mischievous results, and

¹ Rohrbacher, viii. p. 686.

² P. 382.

³ As many as sixty-six could be enumerated. *Christian Schools*, p. 398.

yet modern statesmen seem bent on repeating the fatal experiment. Hence the first remedy for the impending evil, which contributed most effectually to a better state of mental and moral discipline, was the foundation of so many schools attached to the various religious orders, especially that of the Dominicans, founded in 1218 by the holy patriarch himself, from which was destined to arise the great "Angel of the Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas, who, by his incomparable genius, reduced this chaos to perfect order and harmony. Another great factor in the required reform was the institution of the school founded by Robert of Sorbon in 1253, called after his name, for which he drew up admirable rules and constitutions. Much, moreover, had been accomplished in the way of reformation by the stirring exhortations of the Venerable Fulk of Neuilly,¹ who, though destitute of human learning, by his inspired discourses captivated the hearts of both masters and scholars, and kept them within the bounds of sobriety, teaching the former how to avoid vain and unprofitable disputes, and the latter how to keep their passions in subjection.² It may have been that Edmund himself came under this holy man's salutary influence. We know, at least, that he had for his disciple Stephen Langton and another famous Englishman, Robert de Courçon, who as legate of Innocent III. drew up the statutes for the University of Paris.

Such was the state of things in the Parisian schools when Edmund presented himself there, eager for scientific knowledge, but still more bent on the work of his own sanctification. We do not know which of the schools he favoured with his attention. If he attended Nôtre Dame he must have often stood to admire the noble façade of that cathedral then rapidly approaching completion.³ But Edmund was more familiar with the interior than with the exterior of churches. There he spent whatever time he could spare from his studies; and thence he derived that supernatural help which was to him an impenetrable buckler against "all

¹ *Christian Schools*, p. 388.

² Jacob Vitriac., *Hist. Occid.*, p. 281.

³ It was completed in 1223.

the fiery darts of the most wicked one".¹ Bertrand informs us that Edmund, when at Paris, used to assist at matins in the Church of St. Merri,² from which church we may suppose that his place of abode was not far removed. After matins were over he spent the time until daylight before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in prayer, accompanied with tears and sighs. Here we cannot refrain from quoting an eloquent passage in *Christian Schools*, in which the gifted authoress speaks of St. Edmund's visits to St. Merri:³ "Let us wander into that old Church of St. Merri, which even to this day retains a certain air of quaint antiquity; where the long lancet windows, and the Ladye Chapel with its carved wooden reredos, black with age, and adorned with silver statuettes, and its walls frescoed with the figures of saints, carry us back to mediæval times; and the cool air with its sweet fragrance of incense, and the silence broken only by a passing footstep on the worn and broken pavement, soothe and tranquillise us as though we had passed out of the busy streets into the atmosphere of another world. In that church, and before that Ladye Altar, you might nightly have seen an English scholar, who had passed over to Paris whilst still a mere boy to study his course of arts. Every night he comes hither to assist at matins, and remains there till daybreak, kneeling absorbed in heavenly contemplation till the hour strikes which is the signal for him to betake himself to the schools. Against those very pillars, perhaps, he leant his weary head; that dusty and shattered pavement was once watered with his tears; and who is there that loves and venerates the memory of St. Edmund of Canterbury who will not, for his sake, be glad to escape from the busy thoroughfares of the brilliant capital to spend an hour of pilgrimage in the Church of St. Merri?"

Thence he betook himself straight to the schools, so that whatever rest he took must have been taken before midnight.

¹ Eph. vi. 16.

² St. Merri, *i.e.*, Medericus, was Abbot of Autun in the seventh century. At the close of his life he removed to Paris, and dwelt in a little cell situated in the northern outskirts of the city, where he died about 700. He was buried on the spot, and the church in question was erected over his remains. A. Butler, Aug. 29.

³ P. 387.

On leaving the schools, in like manner he wended his way to the church in order to assist at the vesper office. Notwithstanding these long vigils Edmund was scarcely ever known to sit down in a church.

Bertrand, however, in mentioning Edmund's visit to St. Merri, observes that he commenced this practice of attending midnight matins after his mastership in arts, when he began the study of theology,¹ which would lead one to suppose that he taught the arts at Paris and not at Oxford, as indeed P. Massé assumes to be the case. But such a supposition is at variance with the Oxford tradition and with the whole current of testimony. Wood, on the other hand, states that Edmund went through his course in arts entirely at Oxford, and only went to Paris to study theology after he gave up teaching arts at Oxford.² But this is contradicted by the fact that Edmund went to Paris in his mother's lifetime, whilst he only commenced theology some time after her death.

We may indeed suppose that after he gave up teaching arts at Oxford Edmund betook himself a second time to Paris for the purpose of studying theology. It is true there is no mention of a second visit in the Saint's Life, but neither is there anything to contradict it; and, considering the scanty and desultory nature of those records, there is nothing strange in the omission. By supposing this second visit the accuracy of Bertrand's statement will be preserved, and several other facts explained which will be mentioned in the course of this narrative.

To return from this digression, we are naturally led to ask in the next place under whose tuition Edmund placed himself, and to whom he was indebted for the store of learning and the dialectical skill by which he subsequently rendered himself famous. To this question no definite answer can be given, as the names of his teachers are nowhere mentioned. We only know that his illustrious compatriot, Alexander of Hales, "the irrefragable doctor," was lecturing in Paris about this time, long before he joined the Franciscans on their arrival in Paris in 1217. He also, as we shall see later on,

¹ B., col. 1788.

² *Hist. and Antiq.*, l. ii. p. 9.

took an active part in promoting our Saint's canonisation. Another celebrated Englishman whose reputation stood high in the Parisian schools, before he joined the Dominicans, was John of St. Giles. So much was he esteemed that, when he became a friar, the students clamoured for his reappearance in the pulpit, and the friars were compelled to permit him to resume his lectures, so that he was the first Dominican who gave public lectures on theology in Paris. Other eminent men who may have been our Saint's contemporaries were Hugh of St. Caro, the first who constructed a Biblical Concordance, and Vincent of Beauvais, the encyclopædist, who has written an account of our Saint.

Mabel, with maternal solicitude, would from time to time send her sons a parcel in order to renew their wardrobe. When they opened it they invariably found a hair-shirt packed up with the other garments. Edmund was thus continually reminded of the discipline in which he had been trained from the cradle, and was rendered proof against all the assaults of temptation which, as we have seen from the foregoing description of the state of things, must have been manifold and perilous to a youth thrown without protection into such a vortex of excitement and dissipation. The discipline which he underwent inspired him with so great a horror of sin that it was a common saying with him that if there were proposed to him the alternative of sin or hell, he would, by preference, fling himself into the latter rather than incur the former.¹ Nor is it a mere matter of conjecture that he had such temptations to encounter, as will appear from the following incident of his scholastic life, which resembles somewhat a well-known circumstance in the life of his great contemporary, St. Thomas Aquinas. A certain damsel, the daughter of Edmund's hostess, began to be smitten with the comely youth, and to cast amorous glances at him, at the same time signifying her sentiments by long-drawn sighs. Finding these tokens ineffectual, she ventured to address him, and to make known her sentiments. Edmund, thereupon, administered to her a severe rebuke, hoping that it would cure her of her

¹ Old French Life, by P. Charlet, p. 6.

irregular attachment. But such was not the case, and she continued to persecute him with similar demonstrations, until, wearied out with her importunities, for his own sake and for hers, he determined to put an end to the unwelcome suit by the following stratagem. He made an appointment with her to come to his room at a certain hour. She, overjoyed at having, as she thought, won him over, repaired to his room at the appointed time. There she found Edmund prepared to receive her, but in a way she little expected. For he had provided some birch rods¹ with which he belaboured her bare shoulders until the blood ran down. Having administered this severe castigation, he said to her: "Go, girl, and learn to subdue the masterful lust of the flesh by the rod of discipline". She fled away; and the punishment she had received gave her understanding, and was such a lesson to her that she averred she never afterwards succumbed to a similar temptation. Dean Hook, in relating this story, has the effrontery to say that "Edmund must have had some intercourse with her".² Whatever this vile insinuation may be intended to suggest, it is quite certain that it is a mere invention of the dean's imagination, without any foundation in the sources from which he derives his information. But, in order to give some colour to his suggestion, he is obliged to draw on his imagination for another fiction, by representing the punishment as being administered by "certain grave personages, the heads and professors of the university".³ There is not a word of this in the *Life of the Saint* from which the dean quotes, nor in any other authority.⁴ The story is not only a fiction, but a very clumsy one; for it is an anachronism borrowed from the "spinning-house" traditions of the English universities.

Another victory which Edmund achieved over the tempter

¹ *Novis viminibus verberando.* R. B., f. iv. v^o col. i.

² *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. iii. (middle ages) p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ This version of the story has been copied from the dean by Green in his *History of the English People* (vol. i. p. 202), and so is in a fair way of being propagated like many another good Protestant fiction.

is thus related : A certain married woman¹ sought to attract his favour by offering him some presents. He said to her : "Does your husband know anything about this?" She replied that it would never do for him to know anything about it. Then he said : "I will never accept any gifts from you without his knowledge".

Whilst Edmund was pursuing his studies at Paris the sad intelligence reached him that his mother was dying and desired to see him. He hastened at once to the home of his childhood, and, arrived there, lavished upon his dying mother all the tender and affectionate services which such a son would feel inspired to render to such a mother. We shall describe this interview in the words of Robert Bacon, whose affecting narrative has never before been reproduced for the modern reader. Only we must premise that Friar Robert distinctly states that by chance Edmund alone was present at his mother's death-bed. *Both* the brothers returned to England, though from some unexplained cause Robert was not present at the parting interview.² We confess we are not able to unravel this knot, but the point is not a very material one. To continue Robert's narrative : "Mabel, infirm of body but with a mind unclouded and serene, said to Edmund : 'My dearest son, come nearer to me ; and though my voice may appear but feeble to your sense, let your judgment attach great importance to what I say. When I am gone you will be left quite an orphan, and so whilst I still live prepare humbly to receive your mother's blessing.' Edmund obeyed, and going on his knees, in all simplicity and humility received her blessing. Then he thought of his brother and sisters, and earnestly entreated his mother to impart to them the same blessing. Mabel, seeing how tenderly he loved his brother and sisters, though she was now in the very agonies of death, could not contain her joy, and said : 'My dearest son, the Most High has made you

¹ She is called Margaret in Higden's Polychronicon.

² *Accidit autem casu cum repatriantes nobile talentum scientie reportassent, ut solus eadmundus cum sororibus, absente roberto, assisteret lecto matris immaniter egrotantis.*

chief over him and them ; such being the case, I have blessed you first, and in blessing you I have blessed them. When I go I shall leave you to provide for them, and to be the father of the household ; and the Lord has heard my prayers on your behalf, that you may call upon His name, and be succoured in all your necessities. As for your brother Robert, his good conduct and education will make it easy for you to provide for him.¹ But there is one matter which will demand the utmost solicitude on your part. Your sisters have made a vow of perpetual virginity ; their good looks are a danger to them ; it is for you to guard them from it. Take care then of your brother ; take care of your sisters ; but above all things take care of yourself, and keep your flesh subject to the control of the spirit, that the enemy may not rule therein. And lest he should come upon you unawares and surprise you, I will leave you my armour, the hair-shirt, and the hauberk, with which I have brought my body into subjection, and have so often foiled his crafty suggestions. That you may have less difficulty in getting your sisters admitted into a monastery, I have provided a certain sum of money for that purpose, which you will find in that casket' (pointing it out with her finger). Having said this, she was silent ; and putting aside all thoughts of earthly things, she gave herself to Divine contemplation. She took no further notice of sons or daughters, but fixing her gaze upon heaven, whither her heart aspired, she breathed her last."

Mabel seems to have had some kind of presentiment with regard to Edmund's future destiny ; for Eustace relates a vision which was once vouchsafed to her regarding him. She saw him wearing a crown of thorns upon his head which was all ablaze, the flames of which shot up to heaven. If it be objected that such visions are not granted to people now-a-days, the answer is simple. That such visions never occur, no sceptic will be able to prove : that they are not so common now as in the middle ages, we are prepared to admit, and the reason is obvious. Our Lord has told us that miraculous signs will

¹ This passage shows that Robert Rich is not the author of the Life ; Robert Bacon is the only other possible author.

be in proportion to our faith. The middle ages, with all their vices and defects, were nevertheless "ages of faith". How is this? Is not faith a perennial endowment of the Church of God; is it not a *sine quâ non* of salvation to all men, and will it not be so until the end of the world? Certainly, but there is a quality about primitive faith which seems to have been completely lost. There is a simplicity, a wholeness, a directness, an inhesitancy about it which somehow or other have withered away under the corroding influence of modern unbelief, scepticism and naturalism; so that it would almost seem as if the faith of modern times were something of a different species from that of former ages. Thus, indeed, we may understand the meaning of the Divine apostrophe: "Think you when the Son of Man shall come that He shall find faith upon the earth?"¹

When Edmund had rendered the last rites of filial piety to his beloved mother, and had seen his sisters installed in the choir of Catesby as described in chapter iii., having nothing more to bind him to Abingdon, he bade a final adieu to his native town, and returned to Paris to resume his studies with his brother Robert. As we do not know the date of his mother's death, we cannot say how near he was to the end of his course when that event happened.² All that we can say is that he pursued his studies with such assiduity that, in due time, he graduated with distinction as master in the faculty of arts. For it must be remembered that, all this time, Edmund had limited his studies to that department of science and had not as yet commenced theology. Knowing this, we can have no hesitation in determining the subjects to which he gave his attention. For, at this period, the "Seven liberal Arts" were accurately defined and comprehended under the designation of the "Trivium" and "Quadrivium". The Trivium included grammar, logic, and rhetoric; whilst the Quadrivium embraced music, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy. According to the statutes drawn up by Robert

¹ Luke xviii. 8.

² Fr. Jaspas in his "Notice Biographique" places this event in 1203, which nearly agrees with our calculation.

Courçon, legate of Innocent III.,¹ to teach arts, a man must have had a six years' course, and was required to be at least twenty-one years old ; whilst to teach theology, a course of eight years and the age of thirty-five were requisite.²

¹ Innocent III. was Pope from 1198 to 1216, during some part of which period Edmund must have studied in Paris.

² Vaughan's *Life of St. Thom.*, i. p. 377.

CHAPTER VI.

EDMUND AS REGENS IN ARTIBUS AT OXFORD.

(*About 1202.*)

Graias affert disciplinas
Ut ancillas ad doctrinas
Fidei inflexibilis.

Cito, tuum, Isis ! flumen,
Simile revisat lumen
Solis invisibilis.

—Card. Wiseman's Hymn.

So great was the reputation which Edmund had achieved in the schools of Paris that masters and scholars concurred in urging him to undertake the office of teacher. He resisted for a long time, but at length, overcome by their importunities, he consented to mount the magisterial chair. The same Divine grace which had prospered his efforts as a learner did not fail to accompany him as a teacher.¹ His example alone was a perpetual lesson, not only to all the students, but also to the masters, and to the clergy generally : inspiring them with a contempt for the world, a disgust for its wanton ways, and a love and relish for the sweet attractions of religion. Though he held no ecclesiastical preferment, in dress and demeanour he seemed more like a professor of the Divine science than a teacher of the secular faculty of arts. As in the general mass of students there were all sorts and conditions, so amongst Edmund's pupils there were both rich and poor. The former he encouraged by his example to resist the seductions of wealth, to shun worldly pomp and extravagance, to avoid licentiousness, and everything that could lead to it, whether the inordinate indulgence of the appetite or the frequentation of the spectacular shows then in vogue. But upon the poor scholars he lavished all his tenderest care and solicitude. We

¹ Non deficit ejus doctrine cujus affuerat discipline. R. B., f. iii. vº col. 1.

shall see in the following pages many instances of this which have been recorded by his biographers: especially by Robert Bacon, who was an eye-witness of all. We are told that it was one of Edmund's favourite works of charity to supply to these poor scholars out of his slender resources the means of prosecuting their studies.

Thus his example was in striking contrast with those lecturers who only sought to make a parade of their learning, and left their pupils as dissolute as they found them. Edmund knew and felt keenly the responsibility he incurred in undertaking the education of youth. Though his days and nights were occupied in preparing his lectures, he was never weary of promoting the moral, as well as the intellectual, progress of his pupils; he would praise the diligent, and upbraid the idle; inspire the ruder sort with a love for study, the quarrelsome with a love of peace; he would urge the slothful to become more enterprising, the wealthy to be generous in their alms, the needy to exercise patience: and so he lavished upon all with a joyful heart the treasures which he had acquired so painfully.¹

How long Edmund continued to lecture in arts at Paris, after he had proceeded master, it is impossible to determine. Robert Bacon could have told us if he had chosen to do so: but he only says "for a long time,"² which might mean anything from one to seven years. This passage in which he speaks of his return to Oxford occurs on f. 6, just before his appointment as treasurer at Salisbury, and is preceded by a whole series of anecdotes bearing on Edmund's ascetical life and his treatment of his pupils. These anecdotes we have transferred to his Oxford career; for it is manifest that Bacon follows no sort of chronological order in relating them. Amongst them, for instance, is the story of the vocation of seven of his pupils to the religious life, which, beyond all question, took place in England.

Moreover, it seems to us highly improbable that Edmund would have exiled himself from his native country for any considerable time without some urgent reason.

¹ R. B., f. iv. r^o col. 2.

² Cumque parisiis diu legisset. R. B., f. vi. r^o col. 2.

If any characteristic of his stands out in clear relief from the whole course of his life it is surely this, that he was a passionate lover of his country—that he was prepared for its sake to sacrifice everything which conscience permitted him to sacrifice. He went to Paris, it is true, in obedience to his mother, in order to obtain the best education which it was possible to procure in those days ; but, having once stored his mind with needful information and trained himself in the arts of disputation, his ardent desire would be to return to England and expend on his own countrymen the treasures he had acquired. In fact, we are told as much by Bacon, who says that “when he was worn out with labour and study he was summoned back by the sweet attraction of fatherland”.¹ But he adds, when he crossed the Channel, “*Celum mutavit, non animum,*” and he still observed his former rigorous discipline. As at Paris, so at Oxford, he lectured not for lucre but to gain souls ; in Robert’s quaint language, he was an example of the muzzled ox treading out the corn,² labouring incessantly, eating sparingly, doing harm to none and good to all. He was, however, says the same authority, a thorn in the side of certain clerics whose prevarication in their sacred calling he lashed unsparingly, for he could afford to judge all and everything without fear or favour ; burning as he was with a zeal for justice, he made the pulpits of Oxford resound with his denunciations of vice, for one whose eyes are ever on the Lord by Divine contemplation cares nought for the judgment of men.³

As a Parisian master in arts, he was entitled to preside in that faculty anywhere without further examination. For a decree of Gregory IX.⁴ bestows on the Toulouse University the privilege already enjoyed by the Parisian scholars, *vis.*, that whosoever shall be there examined and approved in any faculty shall have power to lecture everywhere without any

¹ “*Laboribus studiisque confectum dulcedo patrie revocavit.*” R. B., f. vi. r^o col. 2.

² “*Legens Oxonie, bovis trituranis os interim alligatum habentis similitudinem exprimebat.*” *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Quoted by Burrows, *Collect.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii. 147 note.

other examination. Moreover, there was the greatest need at home of the services of such a man as Edmund Rich. The University of Oxford was struggling to shape itself into form and consistency out of the elements from which it sprang. For, in speaking of the University of Oxford, we must not suppose that it had reached the highly-organised condition of later times. In St. Edmund's time all that the term implies is that there existed at Oxford a *studium generale*, "a numerous and organised body of teachers and scholars, dealing with the higher learning, the teachers of which formed a sort of guild recruited by co-optation from the scholars who, on such co-optation, received the title of master or doctor".¹ The Oxford schools possessed the essentials of a university, though the corporate character afterwards conceded to such institutions had not yet been acquired by them. There can be no doubt whatever that St. Edmund did much to organise the nascent university and to prepare the way for its future development, though Twyne is probably premature in enumerating him among the chancellors. In fact, he is the first who is distinctly mentioned as possessing the title of master in arts in the English university. And Edmund's name would stand sixth on the list of great men through whose exertions the obscure schools of the first decade developed to the full-fledged university of the last decade of the twelfth century.² The first was Thiebaut d'Etampes, who was invited by Henry I. to settle in Oxford. He was succeeded by the famous Robert (afterwards Cardinal) Pulleyn, who commenced to lecture on Scripture in 1133; next came Robert of Cricklade, who survived till 1180, though his latter years were spent in retirement. In the middle of the twelfth century Vacarius lectured on civil law, and towards the end of the same century Giraldus Cambrensis lectured in Oxford, after whom St. Edmund appears upon the scene.

With reference to Edmund's work at Oxford, there is an

¹ Burrows, *ibid.*, 149.

² Burrows. The author quoted appears to antedate Edmund's arrival by some years.

interesting testimony in Roger Bacon, quoted by Brewer.¹ It is taken from his *Compendium Studii Theologiae*. He says that, at the time of which he is speaking, Aristotle was comparatively but little known or studied. It is true that his Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics together with the Commentaries of Averroës had been translated and were in use at Paris ; but they were interdicted in 1237 : whilst his Logic was but slowly received and scarcely lectured on. For, he continues, St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first who, in my time, read the elements (? *de elenchis*) at Oxford. From the words "in my time" some have supposed that Roger himself was a pupil of St. Edmund. But this can hardly be, when we consider that this passage was written as late as 1292,² the treatise in which it occurs being Roger's last work.

Edmund's arrival at Oxford, just at this period, must have contributed powerfully to check the growing tendency to limit studies to the lucrative profession of canon law—a tendency which, if not checked, would have proved fatal to the development of the university as such. Newman³ quotes these words of Edmund's contemporary, Matthew Paris : "Et jam fere omnes scholares, intactis grammatices rudimentis, auctoribus et philosophis, ad Leges properant audiendas, quas constat non esse de numero Artium Liberalium : Artes enim Liberales propter se appetuntur, Leges autem ut salaria acquirantur". The same author quotes Roger Bacon as animadverting severely upon this tendency, which had been developing since the middle of the twelfth century, along with the introduction of lectures on Roman law. It resulted in the students being divided into three categories, which are thus described : "The 'Shallow,' who did not study arts at all ; the 'Ragged' or 'Patchy,' who crammed up, as we should now say, from abstracts or formulas ; and the 'Solid,' who, after laying a deep foundation, went on to build upon it". It was this last category to which St. Edmund must have given a

¹ R. Bac., Op. ined. (Rolls), i., pref., lv.

² Just seventy years after Edmund's connection with Oxford ceased.

³ *Discourses on Univ. Educ.*, app., p. 381.

powerful stimulus by his enthusiastic love of science and by his conscientious and disinterested principles of conduct.

With regard to the number of students at Oxford, statements have been made which seem incredible. Thus, in 1231, they were estimated at 30,000. But the editor of *Munim. Acad. Oxon.*¹ thinks this estimate of Richard of Armagh grossly exaggerated. He argues that there were at this time about eighty halls in Oxford (the greater part of which were afterwards absorbed by the colleges), capable of entertaining, at the most, thirty students each : to these we must add as many more not residing in halls ; so that he thinks about 6000 would be a fair estimate. He adds, moreover, that the dimensions of Oxford, as it then existed, could not have sufficed for anything like 30,000, even if that number included those who partook of the privileges of the university, though not students.

But the question arises, where did Edmund deliver his lectures? Here, again, we are left in uncertainty. One would naturally identify the spot with St. Edmund's Hall. But, according to Wood,² the name is a misnomer, as far as the origin of the hall is concerned. He maintains that it derives its name (which should be Edmund's Hall) from one Edmund, a citizen of Oxford, who lived in the reign of Henry III., and was therefore contemporary with our Saint. This Edmund bequeathed the hall and other property in the same parish of St. Peter's to his son Ralph. The subsequent fame of St. Edmund and his connection with tuition at Oxford would naturally account for its being re-baptised as St. Edmund's Hall. Similarly, the old hall known as the Hall of the Four Sons of Edmund could have had no connection with our Saint. Wood thinks that the site of St. Edmund's School is rather to be sought in the vicinity of Little St. Edmund's Hall, which once existed in the parish of St. Mary's—near, in fact, the scene of his own schoolboy days. According to Peshall, it occupied the site of the present Brazenose Chapel.³ At all events, by the custom of the

¹ *Introd.*, p. xlviii.

² *Hist. Ant.*, ii. 9.

³ Peshall's Wood, p. 50.

university, he must have had a school of his own in which to lecture; for every master at his inception was obliged to be provided with a school for that purpose.¹ It was in all probability in "School Street," as the scholastic quarter was then designated, where there seem to have been something like thirty-two schools at this period. His scholars would follow the usual routine of school life; that is, they would come to him for lessons at seven and stay till twelve, previously to which, however, Edmund would have set them the example of hearing daily mass. From twelve to one was the dinner-hour, after which they would meet again for lessons from one to five. They would follow the usual course of studies, namely, grammar, mathematics, logic, and rhetoric. The beginners would spend about two years over these rudiments. They would then spend four years in preparing for the baccalaureate, and three more years in preparing for the master's degree. The pupils would periodically bring their modest stipend to the teacher (we shall see later on what Edmund did with it). It has been calculated that a scholar's expenses for board and lodging and tuition would not amount to much more than fifty shillings² a year.³

It is singular that no mention whatever is made of the Saint's brother, Robert, at this period of his career—or, in fact, at any period until its close; but there can be no doubt that he accompanied his brother to Oxford and assisted him in his professorial work. By the death of their parents they were left with competent means of subsistence, at all events, for their slender requirements. Though Edmund had not bound himself by vow to the state of poverty, yet no one ever fulfilled the obligations of that state more rigorously than he. He scorned to touch money except for the purpose of handing it to the poor.⁴ His first care after his arrival in Oxford was to erect out of his own patrimony a sanctuary in honour of our Blessed Lady, "where," says the biographer, "the holy sacrifice of the mass still continues to be offered in

¹ Anstey. *Munim. Acad. Oxon. (Rolls)*, pt. ii., introd., p. 1.

² Equivalent to pounds in modern currency.

³ Anstey, *loc. cit.*

⁴ "Marsupium non ferens." *R. B.*, f. iv. r^o col. 1.

his honour to the present day". There still remained in his possession the home of his fathers at Abingdon in which he first saw the light; but even of that he divested himself subsequently, bestowing it by way of endowment upon the new hospital of St. John which had just been founded by Henry III. outside the east gate of Oxford, where now stands Magdalen College.¹

But it is now time to return to our biographer, who indeed is far more solicitous to describe the personal discipline by which Edmund trained himself in the way of holiness and detachment from earthly things than in describing the external works which he accomplished for the advancement of others. For Edmund was the last man to forget that his own sanctification was his first care, and that all his labour for others would be thrown away if he neglected himself. Hence the responsibility which now devolved upon him as a *regens in artibus*, so far from causing him to relax the discipline which he had hitherto followed, only stimulated him to more heroic acts of mortification and self-denial. The biographers all give a most minute description of the instruments of penance by which he brought his body into subjection. Not content with wearing a hair-shirt of woven fabric such as ordinary mortals were wont to wear, he used one which was twisted into thick hard knots, something like a net. It was open all the way down in front, and provided with strings so that it might be drawn quite close to the skin. Moreover, to secure that these knots should pierce the flesh, he bound a thick cord tightly round his body in such a way that he was hardly able to bend his back. And, as if even this were not enough to satisfy his thirst for penance, in Advent and Lent he added another penitential garment fabricated of lead and leather. As the fruit of this severe discipline we are told that he enjoyed an immunity from every carnal stain, according to the testimony of those who heard his confessions and who had been familiar with him from his youth.

Another severe penance which he practised through life, for six-and-thirty years say the biographers, consisted in the

¹ Wood (ed. Clarke), ii. 525.

limits and conditions which he imposed on the indulgence of sleep. The brief repose which he permitted (and we have seen how limited that was) was taken, not in bed, but leaning against the bed, or on a bench; and, of course, he never divested himself of his clothes when sleeping. This discipline he never deviated from unless he were labouring under some severe sickness.¹

Hence the prelate who tried to propitiate Edmund when archbishop by the present of a handsome bed-coverlet presented him with a quite superfluous luxury. When he slept he simply wrapped himself in his cloak or scapular; on which account one of the barons made this joke about him: "What sort of an archbishop have we got," said he, "who, day and night, carries his blanket about with him!"

As regards abstinence from food, his mortifications were extremely severe. His domestics, who gave evidence in the cause of his canonisation, all swore that they had never seen him eat enough to satisfy an ordinary appetite.² He himself declared to the Abbot of St. James on his death-bed that for a long time nothing that could please the palate had ever entered his mouth. He only partook of the coarsest and plainest fare; he scarcely ever ate a second meal; and was so abstemious of drink that the physicians of the time attributed to this cause the baldness from which he occasionally suffered: he began his Lenten observance on Septuagesima and continued it on all Mondays and Wednesdays throughout the year. He fasted every Friday throughout the year on dry bread, without tasting a drop of liquid. In Lent and Advent he would not touch fish: he always abstained from meat on the days when he celebrated mass, and on the day

¹ R. Bacon informs us that this practice of the Saint once led to a strange inference on the part of some domestics of a house where he was staying (*in domo cujusdam divitis clerici*), who evidently were not acquainted with his habits. On entering his room in the morning, and finding that the bed had not been occupied, they remarked to one another: "The famous preacher must have so muddled himself with drink last night that he could not find the way to his bed".

² Testimonia, etc., Corp. Christi Oxon. MS. 154. The Lanercost chronicler quotes a remark of St. Edmund's that they who overload their stomach lose much time in consequence.

preceding, so that frequently a whole month would pass without his touching flesh-meat. If he heard any dish recommended at table, he would not touch it, saying it was quite enough for him to hear it praised. After his elevation to the primacy, when he had to entertain distinguished guests, he would make a pretence of tasting the choice dishes that were put before him, and then distribute them to the guests. Robert Bacon, who often sat at table with him, has given us an interesting glimpse of the Saint's attitude at meals. He is describing St. Edmund's conduct at table, in the hall and in his room: "At table," he says, "he ate little or nothing: but he would occupy himself in telling interesting stories to the guests, in cutting bread for them, or in passing the dishes from one to another; all the time making a pretence to eat".¹

We may judge from this account that Edmund's penitential habits were far from rendering him gloomy or morose in disposition. On the contrary, those who knew him assure us that he was always cheerful and pleasant in his aspect and conversation; so much so that few suspected him to be endowed with so many and such great virtues, which were known only to those who were practised in such matters.² There was about him the special charm of simplicity untainted by anything like affectation or arrogance. So great was his humility and abhorrence of ostentation that he would frequently lay himself open to the danger of misconstruction of his conduct on the part of others. We shall see instances of this in the course of the work.

Though Edmund had been, in his early youth, as we have seen, initiated into the clerical state by receiving the tonsure, still he was not yet possessed of any church benefice, nor in any way committed to an ecclesiastical career. Nevertheless, his life was one of uniform and exemplary piety. He never failed to assist at mass before his morning lecture: and those who knew him from his infancy were able to affirm that his life was never stained by any mortal sin.

¹ R. B., f. vii. r^o col. 2.

² "Ad occultandam etiam penitentiae austeritatem, quam gerebat interius, frequenter ei tanta letitia inerat exterius ut non crederetur plenus tot virtutibus, nisi notum esset a sanctioribus." R. R., f. 180 v^o col. 2.

We know that Edmund spent six years in the work of lecturing in arts : at the end of which time a circumstance happened which diverted his thoughts into a higher channel ; and led, by the dispensation of Divine Providence, to his embracing the ecclesiastical state, in which he was destined by the same Providence to hold so eminent a position. But, before we proceed to this stage of the Saint's life, we will close this chapter with one or two anecdotes, which are all the details furnished by the biographers that manifestly belong to this period. So great was Edmund's charity that, on one occasion, finding that a student was suffering from a sore hand, he offered as much as 100 marks to a surgeon to effect a cure of the complaint.¹ Bertrand, who relates this fact, remarks that Edmund, at this time, had an ample fortune,² which he expended in the maintenance of poor scholars. In fact, it seemed, he says, as if Edmund considered himself only as a trustee charged to administer a fund for the benefit of others. Another fact belonging to this period, also related by Bertrand, illustrates Edmund's love of penance, and shows that no amount of physical fatigue, no stress of business, could damp the ardour with which he burned to conform himself as much as possible to the example of his crucified Redeemer. Whilst he was lecturing in arts at Oxford, and before he had received any sacred orders, he had occasion once to take a journey from Oxford to Northampton. We do not know what the occasion was : Bertrand only says that it was for a "reasonable and necessary cause". It is to be regretted that he did not tell us what the cause was, and leave us to judge whether it was reasonable and necessary. But that is not the mediæval method.

At this period the great Council of the realm was frequently held at Northampton, owing to its central position. It may have been on one of these occasions that Edmund had

¹ 100 marks would be equivalent to about 1300 guineas of our money—a preposterous sum. Perhaps shillings, instead of marks, are intended, in which case it would be equivalent to about £100—a very handsome fee. There can be no doubt, as will appear from the following pages, that Edmund was utterly regardless of the value of money.

² *Erat enim tunc dives.*

some business to transact, perhaps with some prelate, his reputation for learning and piety having now become widespread throughout the country. But to our story. It was on a Good Friday that he undertook this long and fatiguing journey. The distance by road is over fifty miles. On arriving at Northampton, fatigued as he was, he proceeded to make a visit, barefooted, to every church in the town, and at each church received the discipline on his bare shoulders. From the Lincoln Registers it appears that there were, in St. Edmund's time, the following churches in Northampton : All Saints, St. Giles, St. Peter, St. Sepulchre, St. Bartholomew, St. Edmund (the martyr), St. Gregory, St. Mary, St. Michael, of which only the first four still survive.¹

Besides these parish churches there were also the Augustinian Abbey of St. James, the Benedictine Priory of St. Andrew, and the Hospital of St. John.

Another example of his charity towards the sick is the following : Perceiving, one day, one of his scholars in great suffering, he said to him : " Cheer up, my son, I will ask God to transfer your malady to myself " ; and he began with sighs and tears to pray to this effect. His petition was granted ; for the tumour in the scholar's arm instantly dried up and disappeared without leaving a trace, whilst Edmund began to suffer from the same complaint ; but after he had thus given proof of his charity and self-sacrifice, he too was healed of the infirmity. Robert Bacon tells us that this happened when the Saint was lecturing in arts. The same authority vouches for the following incident as having occurred at the same period. One of his pupils, who was a " poor scholar," fell ill. Edmund had him brought into his own house and nursed him. For five weeks he continued his charitable ministrations, sitting up with him at nights and rendering him the most menial services, although he had his lectures to deliver in the daytime. Excess of fatigue brought on such giddiness of the head that frequently the vessel, with which he ministered to the sick youth, fell from his hand, but never once, says Robert, was it broken.

¹ For this information the author is indebted to a kind correspondent at the Convent of Nôtre Dame, Northampton.

In his ministrations to the sick, Edmund seems to have been endowed with a captivating charm most soothing to the sufferer, which could only proceed from the unction of Divine charity. Thus it is related of him that once when visiting a sick scholar the patient held him by the cloak and begged of him not to leave him. The narrator says that when he subsequently asked the sick person the reason of his importunity, the answer he received was: "Because, whilst the master was with me, it seemed to me as if the whole house were filled with such sweet perfumes as to cause me to forget my sufferings". Our biographer who mentions this fact adds the remark, which is interesting as illustrating another trait in our Saint's character, that "he would hardly ever enter into conversation with any one, especially the sick, without first addressing to them some words of admonition".¹

The next story is related by Robert Bacon on the authority of Master John de Witz, who had it from St. Edmund himself. The Saint was accustomed to say every day certain devout prayers to our Lady and St. John.² One day he had been so busily engaged in literary pursuits that he had entirely forgotten his accustomed prayers. During the ensuing night St. John appeared to him holding a ferule, and told him to hold out his hand. He did so; and then St. John made as though he would strike him, but not with a very terrible countenance. Edmund was let off that time, much to his relief, for there is no telling what the consequence would have been, if the apostle had carried out his threat. The Saint took very good care never to omit the prayer again. Besides the special prayer to St. John, Edmund used to recite every day on his knees another prayer to our Blessed Lady and St. John before the statue of our Lady, whom he called his spouse. At the end of the prayer he added the collect taken from the breviary: "Grant us, O Lord, to have a perpetual fear and love of Thy holy Name; for Thou never dost deprive of Thy governance

¹ "Vix autem cum aliquo, maxime infirmo, loqui voluit, donec predicasset." E., f. 137 r^o.

² The prayers will be found in the appendix i.; the Latin text is given in E., f. 156 v^o.

those whom Thou dost establish on the solid ground of Thy love. Through," etc. The prayer "O intemerata," etc., was written out for Master John by St. Edmund himself. It will be found in the appendix.

One day Edmund was taking a walk with a companion in the direction of Abingdon.¹ They had occasion to pass a field which they saw covered with sinister-looking birds, truly a "fearful" kind of "fowl". His companion could not repress an involuntary shudder of horror. Edmund, noticing the gesture, said to him : "Sign yourself with the sign of the cross, and step off the path that leads in that direction. We shall soon see what it all means." Presently they perceived that the birds were gathered round a shapeless object : it might have been a man or a beast, enveloped in a sack.

Whilst they were still looking on, the birds suddenly took up the object aloft, and disappeared from view.

Edmund then explained to his companion the meaning of what they had seen. "The birds," he said, "are demons ; and that object which they have carried away represents the soul of a certain man at Chalgrove,² who is just dead, and whose bestial life is aptly signified by that shapeless mass." Truly enough, when they reached the aforesaid village, they found that a certain man of evil reputation had died there at the very moment when the vision appeared to them.

All this time Edmund was unconsciously preparing himself for the great destiny which Providence reserved for him. Not only did he labour for his own sanctification by his rigorous austerities and assiduity in prayer, but he succeeded in inspiring his pupils with the desire of imitating his example, so that they would accompany him to the Divine office and to the celebration of the holy mysteries before the daily lecture. Though living in the world, and belonging to the world, he gave them a great example of contempt for worldly things ; so that we are not surprised to find that Edmund's school became a prolific recruiting-ground for the

¹ From the metrical Life, it appears they were on the road between Lewknor and Chalgrove.

² A village in Oxfordshire, about ten miles south-east of Oxford, and east of Abingdon. Here Hampden received his death-wound in the civil war.

Dominican and Franciscan Friars, who were shortly to establish themselves in Oxford. As we have already intimated, it was the custom for the scholars, at stated intervals, to bring a small sum of money to their teacher by way of stipend. When they did so, Edmund made it the occasion of performing a little liturgical function. Taking the money with a smile, he would lay it on the window-sill: he would then sprinkle dirt upon it, gravely pronouncing its obsequies, and saying: "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust". And then he would leave the money to be taken by the first chance comer.¹

But now the time was come when Providence decreed to raise such a shining light upon a loftier pedestal that he might diffuse the radiance of his sanctity and learning through a larger sphere of the Church of God. He had now been teaching arts at Oxford for six years: that is, as Robert Bacon explains, his principal function was to read logic; but he took the greatest interest in the Quadrivial Curriculum, that is, mathematical science, on account of its intrinsic charms and the rigour of its demonstrations.² He had been busy one night drawing geometrical diagrams in the dust for the benefit of the more advanced scholars, when he fell asleep. His mother, Mabel, now dead for some years past, was grieved to see him wearing himself out with such speculations which could profit the soul little or nothing, and appeared to him in his sleep, and said: "My son, what are you reading? and what are those figures on which you pore so intently?"

He replied that that was his work, and he showed her the calculations which he made use of in the geometrical course. She thereupon seized hold of his right hand and inscribed upon it three circles, in which she wrote the names of the Three Divine Persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Then she said: "My dearest son, such are the figures, and no others, to which you must henceforth apply yourself: for all other studies help but little to acquire that saving knowledge

¹ This may not be the prudence of this world; but it is the prudence of the just, of those who have formed a true estimate of the value of earthly things.

² *Propter sui decorem et infallibiles necessitates.* R. B., f. iv. v^o col. 2.

which is better than all treasures, and which you were created to obtain. Bear in mind that I have never yet deceived you. Trust me, and lay aside those useless pursuits: spend the watches of the night over those studies from which you may derive the fruits of abundant consolation."¹ Edmund, regarding this vision as a manifestation of the Divine will, forthwith laid aside all other pursuits, and applied himself to the study of theology.

We learn, however, from our biographer that it was not without an effort that Edmund tore himself away from the attractive study of the liberal arts in order to embark on the unexplored ocean of theological speculation: he remarks, moreover, that it was especially the arts comprehended in the "Quadrivium," that is, music, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy, which exercised a fascination over him and rendered him loath to devote himself to other studies.² This reluctance which he felt inspired his delicate conscience with alarm lest some sin on his part should have rendered him unworthy and unfit for this vocation. Hence he had immediate recourse to the sacrament of penance in order to purify his mind and heart, and render them apt for such sublime studies.

This discipline soon restored his equanimity; and, with the assistance of Divine grace, he threw himself with all the ardour of his soul into the study of theology, which now exercised a fascination over him far surpassing anything he had yet experienced; so that, as Friar Robert observes, he esteemed all that he had learned before as nothing but "lath and plaster"³ in comparison with theological science.

¹ R. B., f. v. r^o col. 1.

² Sed cum adhuc delectabili acerbitate et acerba delectatione liberalium artium, maxime Quadrivialium, adhuc dentes ejus obtepescerent, non sapiebant ei Divine pagine rudimenta. E., f. 127 r^o.

³ "Lutum et laterem reputavit." R. B., f. v. r^o col. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

EDMUND AS THEOLOGIAN AT OXFORD.

(*About 1214.*)

IT is nowhere stated that Edmund, having resolved to give himself to the study of theology, returned to Paris in order to go through the theological course; but, as we have already hinted, it is not at all improbable that he did so. The same reasons which led his mother to send him to Paris to acquire a proficiency in the liberal arts applied with far greater cogency to the study of theology. When the chair of theology was occupied by such men as Alexander of Hales and John of St. Giles and others of world-wide fame, Edmund would hardly have hesitated to have availed himself of the unrivalled opportunities which Paris afforded for theological study. Not only this, but certain expressions in the few incidents recorded of this part of his career, seem to countenance the supposition.

Moreover, if our chronology is correct, Edmund's vision happened most opportunely at a time when a great disaster befel the university, which would compel him to leave it at least for a time. We have supposed that Edmund took up his quarters at Oxford as *Regens in Artibus* about 1202. We know that he had been teaching arts for six years when the vision occurred. Now, in 1209 the calamity above referred to happened. The circumstances were these: A student accidentally shot a woman whilst he was practising archery. He fled, but the townsmen took some of his fellow-students, clerics, who occupied the same lodgings, and, with the sanction of King John, who was then in the neighbourhood, hanged them by way of retaliation, although they were innocent, and, in fact, unconscious of what had taken place. The indignant

students, to the number of 3000, together with their masters, resolved to abandon Oxford. They did so, some going to Cambridge, others to Reading, others elsewhere. According to Matthew Paris, not a single student remained in Oxford. Strange to say, there is no mention in our Saint's life of this incident, nor of his having migrated elsewhere in order to continue his lectures. We may then suppose that we have been correct in our conjectures as to dates, and that about the year 1209, when the trouble occurred, Edmund relinquished his chair in arts and betook himself to Paris to study theology.¹ The university remained under this cloud for five years until 1214. This would give our Saint ample time to finish his studies—in fact, we may suppose that he would return to Oxford in 1212 or 1213, when, finding the city still unreconciled, he retired to Merton Abbey for “upwards of a twelve-month”. In this way his long retreat there is satisfactorily accounted for. It is also confirmed by a peculiar expression of our biographer, which seems to intimate (*lecturiens*) that Edmund had the intention of lecturing at Oxford when, instead of going there, he retired to Merton.²

The arrival of such a man as Edmund Rich must have done much to restore the prestige of the university after the calamity which had overwhelmed it, and to prepare the way for the great development it underwent at the coming of the friars. The townsmen were not released from their sentence of excommunication until 1214, when Nicholas, the cardinal legate, absolved them on their swearing to observe certain conditions, of which the following are the chief: (1) They are to remit for a period of ten years one-half the rent of all halls let to the students; (2) they are to pay fifty-two shillings yearly for the benefit of poor scholars, and to feast 100 poor scholars every year on St. Nicholas' day; ³ (3) for the future any cleric who is arrested must be handed over to the

¹ Fr. Jaspar assigns the same date for the commencement of Edmund's theological studies.

² “In armariolo . . . cordis, quasi in horreo, messis tempore, dum *lecturiens* apud Mertonam multiplicem segetem postquam exaggerasset, Oxoniam lectum vadit.” E., f. 128 v^o.

³ Subsequently the Abbot and Convent of Eynsham took upon themselves these burdens.

ecclesiastical authorities ; (4) masters who continued reading at Oxford after the flight of the students are to be suspended from teaching for three years ; (5) the townsmen are to do penance. The fourth condition makes it clear that Edmund must have quitted Oxford when the troubles commenced, nor would he resume his lectures until the reconciliation, which took place, as we have said, in 1214.

Returning from this digression, we will assume then that about the year 1209 Edmund once more took up his quarters in Paris, this time with loftier aspirations, and resolved to give himself heart and soul to the science of sciences, the knowledge of God. It is pretty well ascertained what a theological course meant in those days. It meant the study and exposition of the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard ; for Scripture the theological student would make chief use of the manual of Peter Comestor, entitled *Scholastica Historia super vetus et novum Testamentum*, the author of which, after having presided over the University of Paris as chancellor, had not long before (about 1198) died in the retirement of St. Victor's ; for canon law he would, of course, use the celebrated *Decretum Gratiani*.

A teacher of theology, according to the new constitutions now in force, must have attained the age of at least thirty-five years.¹ The rule was for a bachelor to begin by explaining the *Sentences* in the school of some doctor for a year. At the end of that time he was presented to the Chancellor of the Cathedral of Paris ; and if, on examination, he was judged worthy, he received a licence, and became licentiate until he was received as doctor, when he opened a school of his own, in which he explained the *Sentences* for another year. At the end of that time he was allowed to receive some bachelor under him.² Hence we may suppose that Edmund's term of probation until he was fully qualified occupied about three years.

We are naturally anxious to learn the extent of Edmund's library, the costly stock-in-trade of a scholar of that period.

¹ According to our computation Edmund would have attained the age of thirty-five in 1215.

² *Christian Schools*, p. 375.

Fortunately, an anecdote related by the biographer in illustration of the Saint's charity gives us a little insight into this matter. In a time of great scarcity, whilst Edmund was attending a course of Scripture at Paris,¹ he sold a beautiful Psalter, a Pentateuch, a copy of the Twelve Prophets, all of them glossed, as also the Epistles of St. Paul and the Decretals, and gave the proceeds of the sale for the sustenance of poor scholars in Paris. For evidently, in a time of scarcity, the poor scholars who were dependent on the charity of others for the means of pursuing their studies would be reduced to the greatest straits. Some of Edmund's companions expressed their surprise at this heroic stretch of generosity; to whom he replied: "In thus making away with my books, I have done less than I ought; for Christ says: 'If any one will follow Me, let him sell all that he hath and give to the poor'. Since then more things have been given to me than I have given to others, you ought to upbraid me with my cowardice and not with my prodigality."

To appreciate the merit of this act of charity, we must bear in mind what a rare and precious thing a book was at that period.

His disinterestedness in the way of books is well illustrated by the following incident: Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, had such an esteem for our Saint that on hearing that he was in want of books at Oxford² he offered to have a complete Bible, glossed, written out for him specially. Edmund, however, declined the liberal offer on the ground that he did not wish to burden any abbey or priory with such an onerous task. He preferred to do without the book rather than lay such a burden on the monastic scribes to whom the world was then indebted for whatever books it possessed.

But that Edmund's readiness to sacrifice his precious books to the claims of charity and consideration for others did not proceed from want of appreciation for them is evident from a curious fact related of him. The only time in his life in which he was known to lose his temper was on account of a

¹ This is one of the expressions which make a *second* visit to Paris probable.

² "Audierat enim illum Oxoniæ librorum penuriam pati." Vita ap. Surium, cap. xi.

book. When he was returning from Paris to England, he entrusted a Bible which he possessed to the care of a friend, who through his careless negligence lost the precious volume. This vexatious accident moved Edmund's wrath for a while; but his anger was soon appeased when he reflected how foolish it was to grieve over an irreparable loss, and he quickly regained his wonted composure.

One who was so well prepared, as Edmund was, by his previous training; who, moreover, was already so well versed in the science of the saints, could not fail to make rapid progress in the science of theology, when he threw himself into it with all the ardour of his soul. At the same time, the scrupulous delicacy of his conscience inspired him with dread lest his own defects should prove an obstacle to such sublime investigations; and, bearing in mind the admonition of the sage, that "Wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul,"¹ he redoubled his efforts to obtain perfect purity of conscience through the sacrament of penance and the exercises of piety. Thus prepared and equipped, we are not surprised to learn that he quickly overtook and distanced all his compeers in the theological course; so that, in a very short time,² he was called upon to mount the magisterial chair in that faculty. If, as we have supposed, Edmund went through his course of theology at Paris, there can be no doubt that, as soon as he was promoted to the degree of master, he returned forthwith to England and resumed his residence at Oxford. For we find that he was earnestly entreated by the authorities of that university to give lectures in theology,³ and the metrical Life says that "he began at Oxenforde of devenite".⁴

Strange to say, not one of Edmund's biographers gives us the date or even states the fact of his ordination to the priesthood, which no doubt must be assigned to this period of his life, for we now assume him to be upwards of thirty years of age. Only Eustace remarks incidentally that he took upon himself the office of theological lecturer, and

¹ *Wisd. i. 4.*

² "*Post paucos annos.*" *E., f. 127 r^o.*

³ *Invitatus a multis et instanter flagitatus.* *E., f. 129 r^o.*

⁴ *MS. Bodl. 779, f. 101 r^o.*

received all the sacred orders unwillingly and through compulsion.¹ We do not even know whether the French or the English Church can claim the honour of having promoted him to the ranks of the priesthood.

But knowing what we do of his antecedents, we may easily imagine with what rapture he would prepare for and receive this sacred rite, when once his consent had been extorted to accept it. For his humility shrank from these dignities and responsibilities. Indeed, so apprehensive was he of this responsibility, that afterwards when he became archbishop, it was his constant prayer that no benefice might fall vacant to which he held the presentation.

Once, however, invested with the sacred robe of Christ's priesthood, he bound himself, and rejoiced in doing so, irrevocably to the service of Him whom he had chosen for his portion in his early youth; henceforth he was consecrated to the great work of the ransom of souls.

All those who have written on St. Edmund concur in remarking on the ecstatic devotion with which he celebrated the holy mysteries. Indeed, each time he offered the holy sacrifice, he seemed to be present on Calvary and vividly to realise the sufferings of our dying Redeemer; so much so that Robert Rich tells us that the corporals on which he celebrated were bedewed with his tears.²

That he held ecclesiastical benefices at various times is quite certain, though of what nature they were, or where situated, we are not informed. This only we know, that he never held a benefice without residing. Consequently, whenever he wished to devote himself to the work of lecturing, or to retirement, he invariably threw up whatever benefice he held at the time; an example which, the biographer naïvely informs us, was "unheard of amongst our people up to this time". His love of solitude and retirement is a conspicuous feature of his character all through his career, even in its busiest portions, and shows itself in the closing episode of his life. It is apparent also in the beginning of his course as

¹ "Invitus et coactus." R. B., ap. E., f. 137 r^o.

² "Corporalibus frequenter ymbre lacrimarum perfusus." R. R., f. 182 r^o col. 1.

lecturer in theology. For we learn that, before commencing his lectures, he spent upwards of a twelvemonth in retirement. The place which he chose for this long retreat was Merton. Merton was a monastery of the Austin Canons, situated in the county of Surrey. It was founded in 1117 by Gilbert Norman, sheriff of Surrey. The fact that Edmund chose this place for his retreat suffices to convince us that its reputation stood very high for strict observance of religious discipline. It was St. Edmund's favourite resort, not only on this occasion, but subsequently, for he would often leave his occupations and go there to refresh his spirit with the exercises of religious life.

In fact, we are told that he went in and out as one of themselves; the canons on their part being charmed with his society and conversation. He never omitted to assist at any of their religious offices and conformed to the most minute observances of their rule. So great was his modesty and reserve, that we are told he was hardly able to recognise again the features of the brother who had waited on him at table for a whole year. Whilst Edmund set himself to study the example which these fervent religious gave him, they, on their part, were put to shame when they saw one in the secular habit setting them an example of exalted virtues and austerity of life.

We may here, before our attention is called away by the public affairs with which the Saint came to be occupied, put together a few of the details which Bertrand gives us of the Saint's private life. As he was Edmund's chamberlain, he may speak authoritatively on such points. We need not repeat what we have already said on the Saint's austerities, but may now supplement them by the following observations of Bertrand. Edmund never used baths; his clothes were of grey cloth, neither costly nor mean, but such as beseem a clergyman, always close-buttoned and reaching to his heels. These, when cast off, he would bestow on respectable widows and maidens. He did not wear gloves nor head-covering. Those welcome guests at the hearths of our ancestors, the wandering minstrels, had no attraction for Edmund, and if he did entertain them it was only out of charity and consideration

for his guests; nor would he ever countenance games or entertainments by his presence. If he ever felt any symptoms of rebellion on the part of his body against the severe discipline to which it was subjected, he would apostrophise it thus: "Thou wouldst play the wanton; well, then, thou shalt be all the more chastised and humbled".

We may here also add an interesting description which Bertrand gives of the Saint's personal appearance. "His features," he says, "were well-proportioned; and there was about him a subtle and winning grace; his complexion was ruddy, much more so than is usual with men of studious temperament." We learn from P. Massé that an examination of the Saint's body was made, by order of the bishop, by Dr. Lambert in 1853, who ascertained that St. Edmund's height was 1 m. 82 c., equal to about 5 feet 11½ inches in English measurement.

Another personal peculiarity is made known to us by a curious incident related by Matthew Paris.¹ He says that Edmund had an unsightly tooth. Once, when he was amusing himself with his chaplains at recreation, he laughed so heartily that this tooth became very prominent. One of his chaplains observed it and said: "I wish I had that tooth in my purse. Pray, have it extracted and give it to me"; adding in a whisper in his companion's ear: "I would rather have it than ever so much gold". Edmund replied: "My brother, I am not going to mutilate myself for you whilst I live, but, when I am dead, you are quite welcome to it; I make you a present of it". After the Saint's death, the same cleric, whilst reverently stroking the face with his hand, found the Saint's tooth fall into his hand. He, of course, preserved it as a sacred treasure.

In his new sphere as lecturer in theology, Edmund soon achieved a widespread reputation. It was not merely the solidity of his arguments nor the clearness of his demonstration, nor the depth and variety of his erudition which impressed his hearers; but they were, so to speak, spell-bound by the extraordinary unction and fervour which pervaded all

¹ Addit., vi. 129.

his utterances ; so that they who listened to him were not only enlightened by his doctrine, but still more enkindled and inflamed with the love of holiness. He was in truth "a consuming fire" ; and in him was verified that saying of our Lord : It is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father within you.¹ We might apply to him the eulogy which St. Bernard pronounces on St. John the Baptist, in proclaiming him "a burning and a shining light". It is little to burn, he says, and little to shine ; but to burn and shine too, this is the perfection of an apostolic preacher : and such was St. Edmund whether in the magisterial chair or in the church pulpit. Science, of itself, tends to dry up the fountains of devotion. Such was not Edmund's science, drawn, as it was, not so much from books, as from the Divine source of pious contemplation. He poured forth a fertilising stream of doctrine over the hearts of his hearers, pervaded with such unction that, in listening to him, they were wont to lay down their pens and their books, and dissolve in tears.

The effect of Edmund's discourses is thus described in the metrical Life (MS. Laud. Misc. 463, f. 107 r^o) :—

So pitousliche he wolde rede and so gret grace hadde thereto
 That his scolers that him herde ofte niste² what to do.
 Ac seton as in another world and ofte hidden her eye
 And wope that the teres orn³ adoun, that al aboute men it seye.
 Unnethe any herd of hym that the bettere ne com,
 And many leved al this world and to religion hem nom.⁴

Many were those, among the ranks of the nobility and the clergy, who, in consequence of his burning exhortations, renounced their benefices and all worldly prospects in order to embrace the monastic life. What was it that gave his words such power and unction ? It was the purity of the source from which they flowed. In him there was no admixture of self-seeking, of aught that was earthly or impure ; therefore, his words were as darts of living flame, searching the heart and the reins, lighting up the conscience, and moving the will to holy and heroic purpose.

A remarkable instance is furnished by the biographer of

¹ Matt. x. 20.

² Knew not.

³ Ran.

⁴ Betook themselves.

the effect which Edmund's lectures had on his hearers. One day he was giving his accustomed lecture, when the Abbot of Quarr¹ walked into the school and sat down to listen. Now, on the preceding night, Edmund had dreamed that he saw a great conflagration in the midst of his school, from which seven blazing brands were extracted. Whether or not this dream contributed to give unusual power and energy to his discourse, at all events, when the lecture was over, and the abbot arose to depart, seven of Edmund's pupils followed him, and straightway put on the monastic habit. Edmund, so far from regretting the loss of these promising pupils, rejoiced in their happy vocation.² One of these seven (the most famous) was Stephen of Lexington,³ who afterwards became Abbot of Stanley, and finally rose to the dignity of Abbot of Clairvaux in 1242. He also founded the Bernardine College in Paris in 1246, the first collegiate house in that university. But this did not meet with the approval of the chapter-general, as being contrary to the spirit of the order, and he was deposed in consequence in 1255.

Stephen de Lexington was one of those who sacrificed their benefices to become monks. For, according to Le Neve,⁴ Stephen de Lexington was presented to a prebend in the Church of Southwell, 23rd May, 1215. This date is important, as it must have been subsequently to this that he was a pupil in Edmund's theological school; and so far it confirms our chronology.

Another eminent disciple of Edmund's (we can hardly call him a pupil, as he was more probably a fellow-student) was Robert Bacon. Like Stephen, he embraced the religious life,

¹ A Cistercian abbey near Ryde, I. W. It was founded from Savigny by Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, in 1133.

² R. B., f. v. r^o col. 2.

³ There were several eminent men, at this period, who had the same surname. John de Lexington was justice in eyre to hold pleas of the crown in the north of England (Surt. Soc., vol. 88). He held the great seal in 1249 after Neville's disgrace. In 1253, on the death of Robert Grosseteste, Henry de Lexington was chosen to succeed him as Bishop of Lincoln. Yet a fourth member of the family was Andrew de Lexington mentioned in the Monumenta Franciscana as holding office of authority in the order of Friars Minor.

⁴ Fasti, vol. iii. p. 447.

but chose the newly-founded order of the Friars Preachers, of which he became a distinguished ornament. He was the first to lecture in theology at their school of St. Edward in Oxford. He ever remained united to our Saint by the closest bonds of friendship, and wrote his *Life*, to which we are indebted for many precious details hitherto unknown. The work will be found in our appendix. In Echard's *Script. Ord. Pred.*¹ the following notice is given of Robert Bacon: "He was a fellow student of St. Edmund, and taught theology at Oxford. After entering the Dominican Order, he continued his theological course in the schools of St. Edward for several years. Pitseus ascribes the following works to Robert Bacon: (1) *Glossas in plures sacræ Scripturæ libros*; (2) *Super Psalterium*; (3) *Sermonum variorum Summam*; (4) *Vitam S. Eadmundi Cantuar. Archiepiscopi*; (5) *Lectiones Ordinarias*. "But," continues Echard, "as Pitseus does not say where these works are to be found, and they are not mentioned in any English catalogue of manuscripts, they must have perished through the ravages of time, or through the destruction of the houses of the order in England." It is a great satisfaction to us to have rescued from oblivion one, at least, of these lost works, the *Life* of St. Edmund, and to have restored to Dominican literature this missing contribution which must have been a true labour of love on the part of its author. Robert Bacon died in 1248. His still more famous relative (probably nephew), Roger Bacon, whose testimony with regard to Edmund's teaching at Oxford we have already quoted, became a Franciscan, and died at the close of the thirteenth century.

With Robert Bacon was intimately associated another eminent scholastic of the time, Richard Fitzacre, who also entered the Dominican Order. They both lectured at Oxford; and M. Paris says that their superiors, or even their equals, in theological and other sciences, were not to be found among living men. Besides lecturing in the schools, he says, they assiduously preached the Word of God to the common people. They both died in 1248. As they were united in life, so in death they were not divided.

¹ Vol. i. p. 118.

Another distinguished pupil of St. Edmund was Sewal, who afterwards became Archbishop of York. He seems to have attracted Edmund's special notice. For we are told that he once addressed him in these terms: "O Sewal, Sewal, you will quit this world a martyr, whether by the sword or by the heavy and insupportable afflictions by which you will be assailed and overwhelmed. Nevertheless, I bid you take consolation from Him who inspired the Psalmist to say: 'Many are the tribulations of the just, but out of them all the Lord will' some time or other 'deliver them'.'" ¹ The martyrdom which St. Edmund predicted for him consisted in the persecutions which he underwent on account of the firmness with which he resisted the provision to ecclesiastical benefices of persons whom he deemed unworthy or unfit. He followed, in fact, closely on the traces of Robert Grosseteste, and seems to have imitated rather his inflexibility of character than the gentleness and yielding disposition of his saintly preceptor. He was smitten with papal censures and deprived of his archiepiscopal cross, besides suffering many other vexations from the civil power. He died in 1258 with the most edifying sentiments; appealing to God to bear witness to the purity of his motives and to the sincerity of his loyalty to the Holy See against those who had traduced him.

There remains to be mentioned yet another of Edmund's pupils, of whom Matt. Paris speaks in terms of the highest praise. This "was Thomas of Hertford, brother of the Abbot of St. Albans". Whilst at Oxford, he was not only a diligent student at Edmund's lectures, but also an ardent imitator of his virtues, so as to cause the Monk of St. Albans to couple his name with those of Edmund and Richard de la Wych, as being not unworthy to form with them a trio of learning and sanctity. He was ultimately promoted to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. He died in the odour of sanctity in 1253, and bequeathed his body to be buried in a very poor Carmelite Friary, probably that of Holm, one of the very earliest houses of that order in England. Though he was never canonised, his tomb, according to Matt. Paris, was illustrated by many miracles.²

¹ Ps. xxxiii. 20.

² M. Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, v. 382.

St. Edmund had amongst his contemporaries the reputation of being a keen and subtle disputant: but it was from the Father of Lights that he derived his insight into spiritual things, as will appear from an incident which he himself related to a friend. He was once going to lecture on the Holy Trinity, and was already seated in the pulpit awaiting the arrival of his scholars. He was turning over the subject in his mind when he fell asleep. In his sleep he saw the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, descend upon him. The dove brought the body of our Lord in its beak, and placed it on his tongue, as if to give him holy communion. After this, the dove flew away and Edmund awoke. He at once began to dispute with such subtilty of argument and sublimity of eloquence that his pupils were enraptured, to whom the profundity of his conceptions, and the admirable skill with which he proposed difficulties and solved them, seemed altogether to surpass the natural powers of man.

Bertrand, who had often watched our Saint when occupied with his studies, thus describes his attitude when so engaged. "Whilst the books lay before him on the table, there was placed above them and facing him an image of our Blessed Lady in ivory of consummate workmanship. She was seated on a throne, round which were carved medallions representing the mysteries of redemption. Thus he ever kept before his eyes the visible representation of those truths which the Scripture inwardly suggested to his mind. Study furnished him with material for his lectures: by prayer he prepared himself for the work of preaching, whilst study and prayer combined supplied him with food for devout contemplation. Thus his life ran on: study, prayer, and contemplation succeeding each other in grateful succession. When he was released from the duties of the lecture-hall, he would shut himself up in his room, from early morn until the dinner-hour; so that no one might interrupt him in his devout and studious exercises. The only exception he made to this rule was in favour of those who wished to make their confession to him. He used to say that the time spent in three occupations was time lost, namely, the time spent in eating, sleeping, and riding. He always prayed on his knees, which

became in consequence like those of a camel, as it is recorded of St. James the Less. When overcome with fatigue, he would still keep the kneeling posture, resting his body on his heels, and when that was no longer possible, he kept on making profound inclinations with his head. The smiting of his breast and the frequent genuflections, which were the outward expression of the inward fervour that animated him, were so demonstrative that the clerics in the apartment underneath were hardly able to sleep in consequence. Many of them, on this account, left his service on some other decent pretext, not being able to relish the example of sanctity which he gave them. And what was to others an odour of life became to them "a rock of offence and a scandal".

Like the great saint whose disciples he so much admired, St. Augustine, he held the vice of detraction in special abhorrence: a vice which is often found even in those who make profession of a holy life. Whenever any such uncharitable remarks were uttered in his presence, or even if any topic were started which suggested such a thing, he at once took pains to change the subject; and if that were ineffectual, he would peremptorily silence the detractor. Nor was his charity less effusive when he himself was the object of attack. In fact, he seemed to lavish more kindness on those who injured him than upon his friends, much to the annoyance of the latter, who complained to him in consequence. But to their remonstrances he only replied: "The salt sea billows are the milk on which we must be nourished. Like the Baptist, we must eat wild honey in the desert of this world: God has reserved to Himself the sole right of taking vengeance: for my part, I do not care to make others' faults an occasion of spiritual loss to myself."¹

He recited every day, not only the Office of the Day, but also that of our Lady, of the Holy Spirit, and the Office of the Dead. Once when he was staying at Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire,² he was observed to remain erect and

¹ Higden, Polychron.

² A Cistercian abbey, founded from Waverley in 1150 by Richard de Camville. Edmund was probably brought into the neighbourhood of this abbey on occasion of some visit he paid to his sisters at Catesby.

immovable before the altar during the whole time that matins lasted.

In the service of the altar he wept profusely, so that the corporal on the altar was drenched with his tears. It was evident that in the Holy Sacrifice he had Christ present before him, whose passion and death were visibly represented to his devout contemplation.¹ His manner of administering the sacraments was so profoundly reverential as to inspire the beholders with faith and devotion.

The great work which St. Edmund was accomplishing by the example of his life and by his teaching did not fail to excite the jealousy of the evil one, who, finding the Saint proof against all the stratagems with which he usually ensnares mankind, proceeded to wreak his vengeance upon him in an open and visible way. It happened once that he had been more than usually occupied in repeating, for the benefit of his pupils, the preceding lessons, so as to impress them the more upon their memory. Exhausted with fatigue, he threw himself down to get a little sleep, without having made his accustomed meditation on the passion of Christ. He had no sooner done so than the enemy of man appeared. The Saint, in order to drive him away, was about to make the sign of the cross ; but the devil seized his right arm to prevent him from doing so. Edmund then raised his left hand for the same purpose, which the devil also seized. The Saint, finding himself overpowered, prayed fervently for the Divine assistance, and not in vain ; for the devil was obliged to relinquish his grasp, and fell back vanquished. Edmund at once took the offensive, and seizing the enemy by the throat said : " I adjure thee, by the sprinkling of the Blood of Christ, to tell me how I can do thee the greatest injury, and hinder thee from molesting me further ! " The devil answered : " By That which thou hast just named ". Then he disappeared. Nor was this the only occasion on which he wrestled with the enemy of God and man. It was his custom every day to adore the several members of our Crucified Redeemer, one by one, and at each adoration to utter this

¹ R. B., f. vii. vº col. 1.

ejaculation: "We adore Thee, O Christ, and we bless Thee, because by Thy blood Thou hast redeemed the world!" We give in the appendix some devout prayers of singular beauty and unction which Edmund is said to have used in making these adorations. They are taken from MS. 57 in the Bodleian. (See appendix ii.)

It has already been remarked that Edmund's work as theological lecturer was not continuous. To one so enthusiastically devoted to his favourite study, and so conscientious in the discharge of his duty as teacher, there was danger of the constant strain proving too much for his physical strength. He dreaded, moreover, the applause of men, which he won by his brilliant lectures, and feared lest it should tempt him to vainglory. Hence he occasionally sought relief in change of occupation by accepting from time to time some ecclesiastical benefice. For, in his case, recreation meant, not cessation from work, but change of work. As it has been observed, he never accepted such benefice without residing and faithfully discharging the duties thereof. Knowing what we do of his character and disposition, we shall have no difficulty in picturing to ourselves the zeal with which he would devote himself to the care of souls when he assumed the pastoral office; though, unfortunately, his biographers have not recorded any details of this phase of his life; except in one instance, for which we are indebted to Eustace. But even this writer has not thought it necessary to give us the name of the church in question. From him we learn that, besides other prelates, the two archbishops, Stephen Langton of Canterbury and Walter de Gray of York, moved by the widespread fame of Edmund's accomplishments as a teacher and preacher, vied with each other in offering him dignities and rich benefices. The writer then proceeds to relate the circumstances of one such overture. On one occasion the archbishop (he does not say which; probably, the southern prelate) sent a message to Edmund, offering him a certain church of the value of 200 marks per annum. Master Edmund took some time to consider the matter. After making the necessary inquiries, he obtained an interview with the envoy, and the following conversation took place. Edmund said: "My friend, are you aware in

what condition are the chancel, the vestments, the service-books and other things which the rector has to provide in the church which his grace offers me?" The envoy replied: "Undoubtedly, they are in a very bad state". Then Edmund said: "Tell your prelate that I accept his offer, for fear some Roman, or some one like the Romans, who care nothing for the sheep except their milk and wool, should lay greedy hands upon it". This is the first intimation we have of the view which Edmund had formed to himself of the black spot which darkened the condition of the English Church at that period; namely, the intrusion of mercenary foreigners into English benefices, who either did not reside and only farmed the revenues, or if they did reside, were utterly unfit to discharge the duties of the office of which they enjoyed the emoluments. It was destined to be one of the great difficulties of Edmund's future episcopate, and we shall hear more about it in the sequel.

Once installed in his parish, Edmund set to work to enlarge the chancel, to re-roof and decorate it; to buy new vestments, new books, and whatever else was requisite for the seemly conduct of Divine worship. In this way he expended on the church every penny that he received from it, without reserving anything for himself. This course, the writer says, he pursued for some years, until the church was completely furnished in every respect.

To this period must belong an incident related by Bertrand,¹ who says that when Edmund was "only a rector" he did not hesitate to excommunicate a nobleman who had invaded the rights of the Church. The nobleman complained to the king, who honoured our Saint with the royal indignation. Edmund, when told of the king's threats, calmly replied: "If the king chooses to banish me from the kingdom, I shall simply go to Paris and give lectures there on Holy Scripture; if he puts me to death, I shall esteem it the greatest honour he can do me". This incident, perhaps, was one of the reasons which induced him to throw up his benefice. For, when he had completed the restoration of the church, he

¹ B., col. 1822.

resigned his benefice, because he dreaded the responsibility of the care of souls and the annoyance of being drawn into forensic business. He was, moreover, anxious to return to his theological chair and lectures.

But the time had now arrived when, according to the decrees of Divine Providence, Edmund was to be promoted to the higher dignities of the Church, in order that he might have greater and wider opportunities of diffusing the light of his sanctity and learning throughout the Church of this country. A prebend fell vacant in his native diocese of Salisbury, to which was attached the office of treasurer. We have seen in what esteem Edmund was held by the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm; and, no doubt, his prudent and generous administration of the church of which he held the rectory for a considerable time marked him out as a fit subject of preferment to some post of dignity and authority in the Church. At the same time we may be quite sure that the dignity was not of his own seeking, but, as in the case of all his preceding promotions, whether to office or honours, was thrust upon him against his own inclination. In fact, our biographer states that he only accepted the preferment when he was overcome by the importunities of his friends; whilst Robert Rich, a good authority on all that regards Edmund's interior sentiments, says that he accepted the office because "he was apprehensive lest the ardour of theological disputation should tempt him to vainglory,¹ hence he resigned his theological chair". But so great was his dread of responsibility and his horror of litigation that in accepting the dignity he took care to obtain from Rome letters dispensing him from attending all capitular meetings of a contentious or litigious nature. Hence we shall find his name attached to comparatively few documents in the Salisbury collection called "St. Osmund's Register".

¹ "Sibi videbatur disputacionum subtilitates sine quadam vana gloria non posse deduci, cessavit ob hoc et Cathedram suspendit magistralem." R. R., f. 181 r^o col. 2.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDMUND AS TREASURER OF SALISBURY.

(A.D. 1222.)

THE See of Salisbury, though of comparatively recent origin in Edmund's time, was yet one of the representatives of the ancient West-Saxon Church founded by St. Birinus at Dorchester in Oxon. in the seventh century. From that obscure place it was soon transferred to Winchester. In the beginning of the eighth century the district west of Selwood Forest was cut off from the Diocese of Winchester and carved out into other dioceses, of which one, Sherborne, comprehended the county of Dorset. At the beginning of the tenth century we find another distribution prevailing. The western counties were then divided ecclesiastically in the following way: The See of Ramsbury (properly Ravensburgh) included Berks and Wilts; Sherborne embraced the county of Dorset; Wells that of Somerset; and Crediton, Devon and Cornwall.¹

Just before the Norman Conquest the Dioceses of Sherborne and Ramsbury had been united by Bishop Herman, who, in 1076, transferred his episcopal see to Old Sarum in consequence of a decree of a council held in London in 1075, which ordered that episcopal sees should be transferred from obscure villages to important towns. There it remained until it was again transferred to New Sarum by Bishop Richard Poor just about the time of Edmund's installation as treasurer, so that the new see rejoiced in the singular juxtaposition of a bishop who was Poor and of a treasurer who was Rich.²

¹ *Pasti Eccl. Salisb.* (Rolls), p. 1.

² As Edmund's family name is latinised "Dives," so Bishop Poor's name is rendered "Pauper," like that of his brother and predecessor, Herbert;

That excellent prelate had been transferred from Chichester to Salisbury, that is, Old Sarum, in 1217. But he soon grew dissatisfied with the state of things there, especially on account of the proximity of the royal castle with its rude and lawless garrison. Peter of Blois (quoted by Canon Jones) had already compared the church of Old Sarum to "the ark of God shut up in the temple of Baal". Hence he resolved to transfer the see elsewhere, and selected the present site of New Sarum. This took place in 1220. Robert Bacon alludes to this transfer and its motive when he styles Bishop Richard "*Urbis translator magnificus propter injurias amovendas quibus clerum vexabant satellites*".¹ The bishop immediately set about the erection of the magnificent cathedral which remains a lasting monument of his munificence, piety, and zeal.² The cathedral was not consecrated till 1258, by Bishop Bridport, after St. Edmund's death. But a portion of the sacred edifice was dedicated to the Divine service, and three altars consecrated as early as 1225. As this ceremony was performed with great solemnity, it is sometimes described by writers of St. Edmund's life as the consecration of the cathedral. The date of Edmund's appointment can be determined very closely. His predecessor in the treasurership, Abraham, was discharging his office in 1219. Edmund's first signature as treasurer occurs in 1222. The Bishop and Chapter of Salisbury in their postulation for his canonisation say that he lived among them about ten years; and as he was elected archbishop in 1233 we cannot be far wrong in assigning 1222 as the year of his appointment as treasurer.

If we had to depend on our biographers for details of his administration there would not be much to say. But,

however, Canon Jones thinks that the name is of Norman origin, and is only another form of "puer," and therefore equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon "childe," meaning a scion of a noble house, as, e.g., "Childe Harold". Certainly Pauper was as inappropriate to the bishop as "Dives" was to St. Edmund; for it is to his princely munificence that we are indebted for the foundation of the city and cathedral of Salisbury.

¹ R. B., f. vi. v^o col. 2.

² At its inauguration five foundation-stones were laid, the first for the king, the second for the archbishop, the third by the bishop, the fourth for the Earl of Salisbury, and the fifth for his countess.

fortunately, we are able to supplement their meagre details from a collection of documents recently published in the Rolls Series, and edited by Canon Jones. It is entitled "St. Osmund's Register". But the editor shows that though it embodies the work of St. Osmund it is in reality a compilation dating from the very period when St. Edmund held the treasurership. It is unnecessary to remind our readers of the great celebrity which the Sarum Ritual achieved for itself in this country in Catholic times; how it gradually superseded the earlier "uses," *e.g.*, those of York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln, and came to be acknowledged as the standard liturgical text throughout England, Wales and Ireland.

Such is the testimony of Abbot Bromton of Jervaux, who, writing about 1198,¹ says: "Osmundus composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quam consuetudinarium vocant, quo fere nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur et Hibernia". It was introduced into Ireland by the Synod of Cashel in 1172; and into Scotland about 1240. The new cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, was constituted exactly according to the Sarum Rite by Henry de Loundres, 1213-1228, who was present at the partial dedication of Salisbury Cathedral in 1225 and took away with him a copy of the Ritual.

For this great work the English Church is indebted to St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (1078-1099), who made it his study to reduce to unity and harmony the varying usages which he found prevailing at that time. He was assisted in his work by the able men whom he selected as his canons, of whom William of Malmesbury extols the proficiency in church-song and literature. "Canonicorum claritas cantibus et literatura juxta nobilium." Osmund seems to have had a special genius for this kind of work. He was one of the most

¹ In the new edition of the *Sarum Breviary*, vol. iii. app. ii. p. 69, it is stated that Mr. Bradshaw takes exception to this date of Abbot Bromton. He says: "Bromton, I believe, died in the fifteenth century. He quotes Higden, not Higden him." Ralph Higden died about 1367. On which the editor remarks that Canon Jones could refer to several well-known books as authorities for the earlier date of Bromton's Chronicle. But according to Mr. Bradshaw's opinion those authorities are untrustworthy in this point. The matter is of no great importance to our argument.

able and active of the commissioners for carrying out the Domesday Survey.

But it is not so well known that the Church is also indebted to St. Edmund for the part he took in this liturgical work. For, as the compilation, as it now exists, dates from his time, there can be no doubt that, holding the position he did in the church of Salisbury, he had a hand in the work. But we had better let the editor speak for himself:¹ "Who can doubt that Edmund Rich, who held the dignity of treasurer, lent a willing hand in the same good work (the re-editing of St. Osmund's Register)? It is almost impossible to read § 5 (p. 9) of the Consuetudinary, which explains the office and duties of the treasurer of the cathedral, and details the heavy charges on that dignitary for lights and other accessories of Divine worship, recollecting at the same time that it was now that the Prebend of Calne was permanently annexed to the treasurership, for the very purpose that they who held that dignity might be able to continue to supply such lights and other ornaments, in the same generous and unstinted way as Edmund Rich had done, without coming to the conclusion that that great and good man helped forward a work, the special object of which was the more seemly and reverent worship of Almighty God."

Such being the case, we shall not be wandering from our subject if we give a brief summary of the contents of this remarkable work. It contains, in the first place, the Consuetudinary of the church of Sarum; a sort of directory prescribing how the Divine office had to be performed at the several seasons and on the various solemnities of the ecclesiastical year. It begins by stating that there are "*quatuor personæ*," *i.e.*, four dignitaries attached to the church: the dean, the precentor, the chancellor, and the treasurer. These occupied the terminal stalls; the treasurer's stall being opposite the chancellor's on the north side of the choir, nearest to the high altar. Then follows a minute account of the duties of the treasurer, which, as it is most probably St. Edmund's own composition, as it stands at

¹ *Intro.*, p. xx.

present, we give in the appendix.¹ Here we will only give a summary of it :—

“The duty of the treasurer is to keep the vestments and treasures and to furnish lights.” Then follows an exact statement of the number and position of lights to be furnished at the various offices at stated periods and solemnities of the year. “He is also bound to provide sacristans at his own expense ; to see that the church bells are properly hung, and kept in good order, and to provide everything required for their use. He must, also at his own expense, keep the vestments in repair ; supply bread, wine and water, and candles for the several altars, except the parochial one ; and provide incense, charcoal, straw, rushes and mats, for the whole year.” The straw, rushes and mats were to be severally supplied according to the rank of the festival. To meet all these requirements, the office of treasurer had, from St. Edmund’s time, annexed to it in perpetuity the Prebend of Calne.²

Besides this benefice, the office was also endowed from the churches of Figheldean, Alderbury, Pitton, and Farleigh. The charter by which Bishop Poor assigns Calne to the office of treasurer will be found in the appendix.³ The following is an extract from it : “Whosoever henceforth shall hold the office of treasurer, along with the aforesaid prebend, shall maintain the additional number of lights, exactly and without diminution, as it is well known was generously practised by our beloved son, Master Edmund”.⁴

Before we proceed with our Saint, a few words must be said about the excellent prelate with whom he was to stand in such intimate relation for a period of seven years. Richard Poor, born at Tarrant in Dorset, after worthily

¹ App. iii.

² From a document, dated 1240, it appears that Edmund had made an agreement with a certain Sir Robert de la Mare about the tithes of Calne, which agreement the said Sir Robert had not kept : whilst, in another document, Edmund makes an amicable composition with the Rector of Compton Bassett as to burial fees and tithes. Calne was given to the church of Sarum by Henry I. in 1115.

³ App. iii.

⁴ The annexation was confirmed by Gregory IX., Sept. 2, 1230.

filling offices of dignity in the church of Salisbury under his brother, Herbert Poor, was made Bishop of Chichester in 1215: from which see, however, he was soon translated to Salisbury (in 1217) in succession to his brother. He immediately set about the great undertaking of erecting the present stately cathedral, on a site provided out of his own patrimony. But ere the work was completed, he was translated once more to Durham, in 1228, where he distinguished himself by his piety and his munificence as he had done at Salisbury. When he felt the approach of death he returned to his native place, Tarrant. He had, during his Sarum episcopate, established a religious house here for female recluses; for whose instruction he is supposed to have drawn up the treatise called *Ancren Riwe*, or *Rule for Anchoresses*, so well known to students of English literature as one of the earliest specimens of English prose written after the Conquest. The following extract from it will give the reader an idea of the solid piety which characterised this good bishop: "If any ignorant person ask you of what order ye are, say that ye are of the order of St. James. If such answer seem strange, ask him what is order, and where he can find it in Holy Scripture more plainly described than by St. James. He tells us what is true religion, and what is right order. 'Pure religion and without stain,' are his words, 'is to visit and help widows and orphans, and to keep himself pure and unstained from the world.' This is what St. James calls religion and order."¹

He died at Tarrant, April 15, 1237, and left his heart to be buried there: his body being conveyed to Durham. Tarrant subsequently became a Cistercian convent. At the dissolution in the time of Henry VIII., the deed of surrender of Tarrant convent contains twenty signatures, all signed in the same hand.²

The following members of the capitular body, with which Edmund was now associated, deserve special notice. The dean, William Wanda, was an excellent ecclesiastic, and it was mainly through his indefatigable exertions that the

¹ St. Osm. Reg., introd., p. 127.

² Gasquet, ii. 228.

cathedral of Salisbury rose to completion. So great were his merits that, on the translation of Bishop Poor, he would probably have been elected bishop had there not been some doubt about his birth. He has left us a most interesting account of the translation of the see from Old to New Sarum. He also drew up a record of a visitation he made of the churches of the diocese, of which we shall have something to say later on, as illustrating the state of the Church in St. Edmund's time. The chancellor of the diocese was Henry de Bishopstone; who had read the decretals at Oxford, and was now, by virtue of his office, director of the episcopal school at Salisbury. We shall hear again of this eminent canonist in the controversy with the monks of Christ Church. Another canon, who was afterwards associated with Edmund when archbishop, was Elias de Derham. He was an eminent architect, and, as *Magister Fabricæ*, superintended the construction of the cathedral. We shall see later that Edmund had secured his services for the construction of a prebendal church at Maidstone, though the scheme was never carried out.

It has been observed that in the Salisbury collection is contained the record of a visitation made by Dean Wanda in 1220; that is to say, just about the time of Edmund's appointment: it is interesting, therefore, as showing the deplorable ignorance then prevalent amongst the inferior clergy, and throws a vivid light on the state of the rural parishes of this period—the condition of the fabric—the quality and condition of the vestments—the service-books in use—and a number of other particulars of great interest to the ecclesiastical archæologist. But what more immediately concerns us is a statement which discloses an appalling ignorance on the part of the rural clergy. It shows how much needed at the time were the labours of St. Edmund in the cause of higher culture.

It appears, then, that the dean, in the course of his visitation, came to a place called Sunning, not far from Reading. The vicar of this place employed the services of a number of clerics whom the dean thought it fit to submit to an examination. The first who was examined was one Simon,

who said he had been ordained sub-deacon and deacon by an Irish bishop, acting as the Bishop of Lincoln's delegate.¹ He was ordained priest by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln,² in 1218. The examiners first tried him with the gospel of the first Sunday in Advent, but he could not translate it. They then turned to the canon of the mass, and pointing to the words *Te igitur clementissime Pater*, asked him in what case *te* was. He did not know, nor could he say by what word it was governed. They told him to look at the text, and try to find by what word it was governed. Simon then said it was governed by *Pater*. Asked why he thought so, he replied "that he was under the impression that the Father governed all things"!

The examiners, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, pursued their inquiries, but elicited nothing from Simon. He did not know the different antiphons; nor the hymn-tunes; not even *Nocte surgentes*: he did not know by heart any portion of the Divine office or of the Psalter. When the examination was over, he ventured to observe that he thought it very unbecoming that the dean should examine him after he had once been ordained. Whereupon he was asked on what he was examined when he was ordained priest. He replied, he could not remember. We are not surprised to find that he is pronounced *sufficenter illiteratus*. When the other chaplains were informed by Simon of the heckling which he had received, they resolved not to answer any questions put to them: and it was only the threat of censures which induced some of them to reply. There was evidently much need of men of St. Edmund's stamp to cope with this deplorable ignorance. As one result of the visitation, the vicar was ordered to provide efficient chaplains; otherwise the dean declared that he would take the benefice into his own hands.³

¹ One wonders who looked after the spiritual interests of the Irish people, as we continually meet with Irish diocesan bishops acting as auxiliaries to English prelates at this period.

² Hugh Wells, not St. Hugh, who died in 1200.

³ The vicar was called Vitalis: if, as the name seems to indicate, he was a foreigner, we probably have here a practical illustration of the mischievous effects of "provision" to ecclesiastical benefices.

Following the record of the visitation in the Salisbury Collection is a series of chapter acts, which we naturally examine with interest, in order to see what part Edmund took in the proceedings. His name, however, occurs only two or three times; thus confirming what our biographer says of his reluctance to take part in capitular proceedings, especially those of a litigious nature. In one case, he shows his zeal for the purity of the clerical state by assisting at the deposition of an incontinent cleric; in another, certain churches are exempted from the archdeacon's jurisdiction; whilst in a third, a composition is effected with the Abbot of Westminster respecting certain property of the See of Sarum, near St. Bride's, Fleet Street, London.

The next document is Dean Wanda's interesting narrative, explaining all the circumstances of the transfer of the see from Old to New Sarum. The sixth refers to the election of Bishop Robert de Bingham in succession to Bishop Poor, who was translated to Durham in 1228. The last document of the collection contains a list of the treasures of the church of Salisbury at this period. Since St Osmund's Register was published, a third volume has just been issued, supplementary to the two former, entitled Sarum Charters. It was prepared for the press by Mr. Macray, chiefly from the notes of the late Canon Jones. By the aid of this work we shall be able to trace St. Edmund's steps to a certain extent throughout the period of his residence at Salisbury. On 25th April, 1224, he witnesses to a document granted by Bishop Poor respecting the Church of Caundle. In the year 1225 took place the partial dedication of the cathedral. This ceremony was performed by Bishop Poor, who consecrated the three altars on 28th September in the presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin. The former prelate (Stephen Langton), on the following day, the Feast of St. Michael, preached the sermon and afterwards celebrated pontifical mass. St. Edmund must have been present at this interesting ceremony; for his name appears, amongst those who were summoned to assist, in Dean Wanda's narrative. The first person who was buried in the new cathedral was William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury,

on 8th March, 1226. St. Edmund's relations with him—and still more with his countess—demand a more detailed notice of this remarkable personage. He was half-brother to King John, and by his royal descent and prowess in the field held foremost rank amongst the English barons. Though superior to his royal relative in martial courage, he imitated him in his contempt for the ordinances of religion. But he was more favoured than John in having an excellent wife. Ela, his countess, was a devoted disciple of St. Edmund; and it was no doubt to their united prayers and influence that the earl was indebted for his tardy conversion. He had been engaged on a military expedition in Gascony in 1225. On his return he was overtaken by a violent storm in the Bay of Biscay. All on board gave themselves up for lost, when the earl perceived hovering over the mast a figure of celestial beauty and radiant splendour, which seemed to assure him of safety. He came safely to land; and the exhortations of St. Edmund, to whom his countess introduced him, working upon a mind prepared by the vision he had seen, brought about his thorough conversion. After his first interview with our Saint, he said to the countess: "I believe, beyond all doubt, that that man is really a saint". He humbly submitted to make his confession to a hermit in St. Edmund's presence; and sealed his reconciliation to God with the holy communion of our Lord's body. He did not survive his conversion long.¹ Indeed, it is said by the chroniclers of the time that he was poisoned by his rival, Hubert de Burgh—a rumour which probably owes its origin to the fact that the earl was taken suddenly ill after being entertained at Hubert's house.

The account of his death given by Matthew Paris is most edifying, and well illustrates the deep and strong faith even of men who led irreligious lives, which, when once awakened, was capable of supplying the groundwork of a thorough and sincere conversion. It also shows in what fashion the Christians of that time wished to make their exit from this world.

When the earl found he was dying, he sent for the bishop

¹ He returned to England, 10th January, 1226, and died on 7th March following.

who brought him the Holy Viaticum. As soon as the bishop entered the chamber of death, bearing the precious burden, the earl threw himself out of bed on to the floor, divested of his outer garments, and placing a rough halter round his neck, with a flood of tears, loudly proclaimed himself a traitor to the King of Heaven and a guilty transgressor of His precepts: nor would he allow himself to be moved from that position until he had sealed his reconciliation by confession and communion of the life-giving Sacrament.¹

The Countess Ela, by the death of her husband, was now free to follow the pious aspirations with which Edmund had inspired her, and, later on, she founded two religious houses, into one of which she retired herself, as will be related in its proper place.

In the same year, 1226, on 15th August, Edmund was summoned to attend a chapter meeting in order to consider the grant of a subsidy to the king. The chapter report to the bishop that such a matter ought to be settled by a common understanding amongst all the dioceses of the province. Accordingly, a meeting of proctors of the various dioceses took place at London, 14th October, at which it was agreed that a subsidy of one-sixteenth should be paid to the king. But, in the meantime, on 29th September, Edmund received an admonition from the dean and chapter to the effect that his contributions to the fabric fund of the cathedral were in arrear, and he was required to pay them before 30th November. For, when the cathedral was commenced, the canons agreed amongst themselves to devote one-fourth of their income for the next seven years to the building fund. It is not recorded whether Edmund complied with the demand; and we can only hope that his lavish benevolence to the poor did not leave him exposed to the consequences threatened by the dean if he failed to comply with the admonition. The next document is an interesting one, as we gather from it what was the exact amount of his income at this period. It is an assessment roll, stating the various amounts at which the canons were assessed to meet the subsidy granted to the

¹ M. Paris, vol. ii. p. 280.

king. From this document it appears that Edmund was assessed at five marks : his whole income being eighty marks ; that is to say, twenty marks from his canonical stall, and sixty marks from his prebend. This would be equivalent to an annual income of upwards of £1000 in modern currency.¹ In addition to his fixed stipend, the treasurer, in common with the other three *personæ* or dignitaries, received a double portion out of the common capitular fund for distribution.

Bertrand informs us that Edmund occasionally retired to his prebend at Calne, in order to give himself to Divine contemplation and to direct the flock committed to his pastoral charge ; and it was here, as we shall see later, that he received the announcement of his elevation to the archiepiscopal see. Not far from Calne there was a Cistercian abbey at Stanley, called Empress' Stanley, from the fact of its having been founded by the Empress Maud and her son, Henry II., about the year 1154. It was founded from Quarr Abbey ; and at this period had for its abbot, Stephen of Lexington, Edmund's former pupil, who, as we have seen, was moved, by his master's fervent discourse, to put on the Cistercian habit in Quarr Abbey. Edmund was a frequent visitor there, and recreated himself with the observance of religious discipline and the company and conversation of his friend.

The treasurer, like the other prebendaries, was bound to residence at Sarum ; but permission was granted them to absent themselves for a legitimate cause ; as, for example, to visit their prebends, for one-third of the year. St. Edmund gladly availed himself of this dispensation, in order to enjoy his much-coveted retirement, and to devote himself to the care of souls.

Another reason for his occasional retirement was that his lavish generosity in alms-giving compelled him to throw himself upon the hospitality of his friend, the Abbot Stephen. His unbounded charity to the poor and profuse hospitality so much straitened his resources that they hardly sufficed for his

¹ From a parliamentary return of 1835, it appears that the treasurership of Salisbury, with its annexed benefices, was returned of the annual value of £2955. For this information the author is indebted to Mr. F. J. Baigent.

maintenance during one-half of the year ;¹ whilst one-fourth of his income, as we have seen, was sacrificed to the building fund of the cathedral.

Hence, during that portion of the year when his resources failed him, he was a frequent guest at Stanley Abbey. Abbot Stephen gently remonstrated with him on his imprudent liberality, and told him plainly that he ought to measure his expenses in such a way that his income might suffice for the whole year. But the only answer Edmund gave him was this, that he wished to avoid giving scandal. It was commonly asserted that Churchmen were avaricious. He did not, therefore, wish to give any colour to this accusation by restricting his outlay. Moreover, he said, he found it expedient to entertain gentlemen at his table in order that he might thus have an opportunity of engaging them to a life of piety and of the love of God. The abbot was evidently only wasting his breath when pointing out to Edmund the advantages of a balance-sheet ; for he could never be induced to examine accounts ; he would never inspect the cellars, store-rooms or other offices of his household. He must indeed have been a deplorable administrator ; and we are not surprised to hear that he was always in debt. When at meals he had a large dish placed before him, to which he would transfer a portion of the best of everything on the table to be distributed to the sick ; and no poor person ever went away from his door empty-handed. He was especially fond of giving alms with his own hands to poor pilgrims. After he became archbishop, the small tithes, the offerings at the altar, and the fines levied in his consistorial court, were all scrupulously devoted to pious uses.

On 3rd October, 1227, occurs Edmund's signature, as a witness to a deed of Bishop Poor respecting the church of Farrington. The signature runs : " Edmundo thesaurario

¹ " He spende so muche for goddes love al in almsdede
That unnethe he myzt myd his rente half zer his lif lede,"
And so " to the abbey of stanleye he wende . . ."
and " sojourned there for defaute, fort² his croppe come".

—MS. Bodl. 779, f. 102 v^o.

² Until.

sancto ecclesiæ Sarum". The qualification must of course have been added after his canonisation, and shows the affectionate interest with which his brother canons must have followed his course. In fact, we have a direct testimony to this appreciation in Bacon's Life, who says that Edmund "so conducted himself" at Salisbury "that the clergy of that city still keep his memory in affectionate remembrance : they neither hope to get so good a treasurer, nor can they remember a better".¹

In 1228 Bishop Poor was translated by the Pope to the See of Durham. As the See of Salisbury thus became vacant, Edmund, along with the other three dignitaries, waited on the king at Windsor,² on 28th July, in order to obtain the royal licence to proceed to an election. The licence was granted on the following day, and the election was duly held on 9th September. The result was that Robert de Bingham was elected bishop. Edmund's name appears along with the others as consenting to this election, which had been made according to the method termed "Compromise". For it had been agreed in chapter that the election should be made by a small committee selected for the purpose. The rest of the capitular body afterwards unanimously ratified the choice which had been made. In 1230 Edmund witnesses to the endowment of a stall ; and in the same year is a witness to an act which he must have regarded with the greatest satisfaction, as it was the outcome of the pious training which he had bestowed on his illustrious penitent, Ela, Countess of Salisbury. It was the charter of foundation, granted by the new bishop to the abbey of Laycock, founded by the countess. It is dated 20th April, 1230. The house itself was situated in Wiltshire, not far from Stanley ; and no doubt the selection of the site was determined by its proximity to Edmund's favourite resorts, Calne and Stanley. It was intended for Augustinian nuns. Religious observance was inaugurated in the new abbey on 16th April, 1232 ; and on the same day the pious countess

¹ R. B., f. vi. v^o col. i.

² This is the first record we have of an interview between Henry III. and Edmund.

opened a monastery for Carthusian monks at Hinton in Somerset—the monks for the new foundation being transferred from Heythorp.¹ It is well known what an heroic part the Carthusians sustained in the persecution under Henry VIII.; and some interesting details with regard to the suppression of this house will be found in Father Gasquet's work.² The countess herself put on the religious habit in 1236, and eventually became Abbess of Laycock. We may be sure that Edmund would take the greatest interest in an institution which was the fruit of his own suggestion, and was no doubt regulated according to his views. He must have been a frequent visitor there; and it may have been with reference to his relations with the pious foundress that certain anecdotes are related by the biographers, which we must now mention. Thanks to the life-long discipline by which he had chastised his body and brought it into subjection, and also to the victories which he had gained over this common enemy, Edmund enjoyed a perfect immunity from all temptations which are incident to frail and corrupt nature. At the same time, there was strongly developed in him that chivalrous respect and devotion towards the female sex which is such a marked characteristic of these mediæval times; but which, in his case, was not a mere natural sentiment, but was dignified in him with a supernatural character: for he recognised and revered in woman the personality of the ever-blessed Mother of God.³

Thus it happened that his simplicity of character and abhorrence of anything like affectation would lead him sometimes into compromising situations, or what seemed such to persons of a censorious disposition, who, unable to appreciate the simplicity of guileless innocence, judge the actions of others by a standard which may do well enough for those who are subject to ordinary human frailties, but which cannot fairly be applied to those who have triumphed over them.

¹ Eulog. Histor.

² *Engl. Mon.*, vol. ii. pp. 298 *et seq.* and 486 note.

³ "Sexum quidem femineum ob honorem B. Virginis et suam devotionem semper honoravit, et religiose coluit: per hoc tamen nec in cogitatione vel aliter semetipsum vel tenuiter maculavit." B., col. 1806.

The biographers furnish us with one or two illustrations, which we will now relate, though they do not all refer to this period of his life, some of them belonging to the time of his episcopate. We are told then that Edmund's close and familiar conversations with a lady of considerable personal attractions caused some surprise to one of his attendants. The Saint, noticing the unfavourable impression, made this remark : " Often as that lady visits me, and familiar as we are with each other, you must understand that her presence makes no more impression on me than does that wall yonder ".

Another story is briefly related by the biographer of a memorable answer given by the Saint to " one of his clerics," who remonstrated with him on similar grounds. But we know from the Life of St. Richard by Ralph Bocking that this cleric was no other than his faithful friend, Richard de la Wych. Hence the story belongs to the episcopal period, and we shall give it in Ralph's words, as his account is more circumstantial, and was derived from Richard's own lips : " St. Edmund was always glad to visit religious women and those whom he thought to stand in need of his exhortation, whether to counsel them to a good way or to encourage them to advance further in perfection. So it happened that he once paid a visit to a certain handmaiden of the Lord. Whilst his attendants remained waiting outside, the Saint engaged in a long conversation with this person. One of his household occupying a superior position took the matter ill, and began perversely to suspect something wrong : and is reported to have been heard muttering some such expressions as these : ' There is a snake lurking in the grass ' ; ' a fox in a lamb's fleece ' ; ' all that glitters is not gold ' . Then he added more plainly : ' Our archbishop, under the pretext of these conferences which he holds with women, has some other object in view than what is supposed ' . But the servant of Christ, Richard, who told me this story himself, was struck dumb with horror on hearing such expressions. It was as if you had struck him on the forehead with a hammer, so that when the archbishop came forth from the apartment where he had held the interview, Richard, by his downcast looks, betrayed the sadness of heart which he was unable to conceal. The

archbishop, who was accustomed often to scan Richard's features, noticed his dejection, and called him, saying: 'Master Richard, why are you so downcast, and why is your countenance more sad than usual? Hide it not from me; for I am sure there must be some reason for it.' Master Richard answered respectfully: 'Such and such things have just been said about your grace: things of such a character that my features are not able to disguise the sadness I feel at heart'. Then Blessed Edmund, in a spirit of meekness, consoled his son and excused himself, saying: 'My good master, do not let this matter distress you; and do not lay it to heart; for I would have you assured, that if it is a question of women; if all that I have ever done in regard of such a sin were written openly and publicly on my brow, I should have no cause to blush'. Oh, what a glorious testimony of the purity of the prelate's conscience! Oh, what loving solicitude in the disciple for his master's reputation! The master's conscious innocence dispels the disciple's sadness; whilst the grief of the disciple furnishes the master with an opportunity of establishing his innocence." Edmund's avowal is certainly a remarkable one, coming from one compounded of our sinful clay—from one, too, who was as far removed from boasting or arrogance as heaven is from earth. We need no other evidence in order to be convinced of the angelic purity of mind and body to which he had attained by a life-long struggle.

For the next incident of a similar character we are solely indebted to the Lanercost chronicler, as he is the only writer who has mentioned it:¹ "In the county of Norfolk there was a certain young lady, the only child and heiress of a baron now deceased. By the advice of St. Edmund, she resolved to remain single; and eventually, at his suggestion, she entered the Convent of Catesby, where Edmund's sister was now prioress. He himself conducted her thither. There she devoted herself to the exercises of the higher spiritual life, assisted meanwhile by the counsels of Edmund, who ever maintained most affectionate relations with her, and despatched frequent messengers to inquire after her welfare. It

¹ Chron. Lanerc., p. 36.

happened one time that the archbishop was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the convent, and he sent a message to his sister the prioress, directing her to send this person to the place where he was holding his court for the Easter festival, then near at hand, in order that they might find mutual consolation from the interview ; she was, moreover, to bring a friend with her as a companion. They accordingly arrived at the archbishop's court on Easter Eve, but somewhat late, as Edmund was already washing his hands for the solemn function. But true affection knows no restraint ; so, as soon as he saw the chaste spouse of Christ, he took her to his arms, and said : ' You are welcome, indeed, and if the world in its judgments were not too harsh for the purity of our intentions, nothing should ever separate us from each other '."

Before we dismiss the Countess Ela from these pages, we may here record a grace which was vouchsafed to her through St. Edmund's intervention. She was at one time seized with a serious illness, and sent to inform the Saint of her condition, that she might obtain the benefit of his prayers. He replied by sending her a relic of the blood of St. Thomas, his martyred predecessor. She received the gift with the utmost faith and devotion ; and, through the merits of the holy martyr and of the devoted friend who was so solicitous for her welfare, she obtained her perfect restoration to health.

In gratitude for the favour she had received, the countess pressed the Saint to accept several jewels of priceless value. But he, so far from being willing to accept them, would hardly condescend even to look at them.

We must now close our narrative of Edmund's administration of the office of treasurer with the following extract from the Sarum Register : On 19th October, 1233, that is, just one month after his election to the archiepiscopate, he is named as one of the canons who renewed their engagement to contribute as before to the building fund of the new cathedral for the next seven years, with the reservation however that they did it out of mere grace.

Then the document goes on to add : " But *Saint* Edmund the treasurer, under the same protest, at the request of his brethren, granted out of mere grace, for the same period of

seven years, the same supply of wax and candles which he had hitherto furnished ”.

It has already been observed that, whilst he was Prebendary of Salisbury, Edmund discharged the functions of an apostolic preacher of the crusade. But as this forms a distinct episode in his life, and is mentioned by the biographers with many circumstantial details, we shall devote a special chapter to this subject ; although much sameness and iteration will be found in the details, which we trust our readers will excuse as our only object is faithfully to reproduce the records of the past.

CHAPTER IX.

EDMUND PREACHES THE CRUSADE.

(A.D. 1227.)

THIS crusade had been originally solemnly proclaimed by Pope Innocent III. at the Fourth (Œcumenical) Council of the Lateran in 1215. In fact, the crusade was one of the two chief objects which the Pope had in view in summoning that council, namely, the recovery of the Holy Land from the hands of the infidel, and the reformation of abuses in the Church.

In furtherance of this crusade, besides despatching a host of itinerant preachers, Innocent ordered a public procession of the faithful once every month, and certain prayers to be recited every day after mass, namely, the 78th Psalm : "O God, the heathen are come into Thy inheritance" ; and the following prayer : "O God, who disposest all things with admirable providence, we humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldst rescue from the hands of the enemies of the Cross, and restore to Christian worship, the land which Thy only-begotten Son has consecrated with His own blood, by mercifully guiding in the way of eternal salvation the aspirations of the faithful who sigh for its liberation. Through," etc.

Innocent died immediately after the council, and was succeeded by Honorius III., who endeavoured in vain to induce the emperor, Frederic II., to redeem his vow of undertaking the crusade. That monarch, intent upon his own selfish and ambitious plans, evaded his obligations until Gregory IX., the successor of Honorius, excommunicated him in 1227. Frederic, so far from submitting to the sentence, wreaked his vengeance on the Pope by driving him

out of Rome ; after which, as if in defiance, he went to the Holy Land, though still under sentence of excommunication. There, as the fruit of some singular negotiations, he obtained from the Sultan a qualified cession of Jerusalem, and returned to Italy, where, by a feigned submission, he obtained a relaxation of his sentence in 1230.

Previously, however to these transactions, Andrew, King of Hungary, made a heroic effort to carry out the decree of the council in 1217, and led an army of crusaders to Egypt, where they besieged and captured Damietta. Then they marched upon Cairo, but, being decimated by the plague, the attempt proved abortive, and the survivors returned to Europe. The accession to the pontifical throne in 1227 of Gregory IX., who, in spite of his great age, showed himself an able and vigorous administrator, caused a fresh outburst of enthusiasm for the holy war, and a general movement took place throughout Europe, which the Pope took care to encourage by despatching missionaries in every direction to advocate the holy cause. Edmund's reputation as a theologian and the fame of his sanctity had by this time travelled as far as Rome, and the Pope deputed him as one of the papal missionaries to preach the crusade in England. He appears, from the details furnished by the biographers, to have had assigned to him as the field of his labours the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, and Oxford.¹

It is noteworthy and characteristic of our Saint that he refused to avail himself of the papal privilege entitling him to receive "procurations," that is, remunerations from the several churches where he preached the crusade. The Metrical Life contrasts this disinterestedness of his with the rapacity of the archdeacons in their exactions on "poor parsons":—

He ferde not as these erche deknes ne these other nothemo
That persones & pouere prestes overal doth full wo.²

¹ A French Life of the Saint, published about the end of the seventeenth century, makes Edmund preach the crusade against the Albigenses in France. Moreover, the fiction is adorned with a circumstance by representing him as arresting a downfall of rain whilst preaching in the fields at Bigorre near Bordeaux. (Life, by P. Charlet, p. 14.) Evidently, the Wigornia (Worcester) of the biographers has been here transformed into Bigorre.

² MS. Laud. Misc. 463, f. 107 v^o.

Edmund executed his commission with indefatigable zeal, and his labours were rewarded with considerable success: for as many as 40,000, some say 60,000, combatants joined the ranks of the expedition from England alone. We are told that his stirring exhortations made a wonderful impression on all sorts of people, both high and low, moving them to abandon all things, to take the cross and go and do battle with the infidel.¹

Nevertheless, through the treachery of Frederic, who appears to have been in league with the Sultan, the crusade had a disastrous termination. The crusaders waited in vain at the several ports for the transport vessels which the perfidious emperor had promised them: until 40,000 of them perished through hunger and pestilence.² In the Sarum Register, which, as we have seen, dates from St. Edmund's time, there is a letter of Honorius III. dated 1226, and addressed to Otho, who was then the Pope's legate in England, reciting at length Frederic's letter of the preceding year, in which he gives his solemn pledge to undertake the crusade forthwith, and to provide the necessary transports; the Pope also exhorts Otho to use his utmost endeavours to expedite the crusade.

We may be sure that Edmund would accept the commission laid upon him with the utmost alacrity: for Bertrand assigns as the reason why he gave up lecturing and accepted the treasurership, that he might have greater opportunity of preaching the word of God "without scandal and without burdening his hearers": without scandal must mean that he could not now be accused of neglecting his duties in the lecture-hall for the sake of preaching; whilst the *auditorum gravamina* must refer to the income of his prebend rendering it possible for him to refuse the accustomed procurations granted to papal preachers.

The same author observes that our Saint was remarkable for three special graces—in lecturing, in dogmatic disputation, and in preaching.

At this period it was the custom to preach in the open air, especially on the more stirring occasions. The pulpit

¹ All the faithful, without exception, were bound under pain of ecclesiastical censures to assist at these sermons.

² Wykes' Chron.

still exists at Magdalen College, Oxford, from which the preacher used to address the students assembled in the quadrangle. In London, sermons were preached to the citizens at Paul's Cross in St. Paul's Churchyard. One evident drawback to this arrangement was that the preacher and his audience were at the mercy of our somewhat capricious climate; and the preacher, at the climax of some eloquent period, might find himself suddenly deserted by his audience in consequence of the descent or even the threatening of a shower of rain. It is in connection with such a mishap that several anecdotes are recorded by the biographers in the course of this preaching tour. For, on several occasions, Edmund, by his prayers, dispelled the clouds which threatened to disperse the congregation assembled to listen to him. Once, when he was preaching on the borders of Wales, the storm-cloud burst over the people's heads, but not one of the audience was wetted. Similar examples happened in the cities of Hereford and Worcester, and at a place called Crook. A more circumstantial account is given of a similar fact which occurred at Oxford. Edmund was preaching there during the Rogation Days at All Saints' Church. The sermon was delivered, as usual, in the churchyard on the north side. It was about nine A.M., and a great crowd was assembled. All at once a dense, black cloud began to gather in the west, and lowering overhead, obscured the daylight. The people began to move away: but Edmund, making a sign with his hand, arrested the fugitives, and said: "Stay, in the name of God, and I will ask my Lord that the devil may have no power to obstruct my sermon". The people obeyed, and Edmund went on with his sermon; whilst the cloud discharged its contents on the south to such a degree that a torrent of water was seen to flood the street on that side, whilst those who stood to listen to the sermon were untouched by the rain. When the sermon was over, the people all exclaimed: "We have seen plainly that the Lord has wrought this miracle for the blessed man's sake".¹

¹ "Lord, muchel is thi myzt: fayre miracle uas there." *Metrical Life*. These metrical Lives give a very graphic description of the storm at Oxford. See, as a specimen, the *Life of St. Edmund* (London, 1845), p. 91.

The same grace is recorded to have been vouchsafed to Edmund and his audience on other occasions at Oxford; once, in the churchyard of St. John's, and another time, when he was preaching before the place where the king held his court.

Another instance of the same sort happened at Worcester. On that occasion, when the usual threatening symptoms appeared, Edmund, making the sign of the cross, said: "I command thee, thou wicked spirit, to depart hence, and not to disturb this congregation". As soon as he had uttered this adjuration, the sun burst through the clouds where the people stood, whilst the storm continued to rage in the neighbourhood.

The biographers also mention two or three instances of another class of signs which accompanied Edmund's sermons—the overcoming of the moral as well as the physical obstacles which the devil opposed to his preaching.

Thus, when Edmund was preaching the crusade at Leominster, a certain young man who listened to him was inspired with a desire to take the cross, and was about to do so, when his cloak was plucked by a woman who kept him back from carrying out his intention. Immediately, the woman felt that her hand was paralysed, and she cried out in an agony of pain and fear. Edmund, hearing the cries, asked what was the matter; having learned what had happened, he said to the woman: "Are you willing to take the cross?" She replied in the affirmative; and, at the moment of receiving the cross, her hand was restored to its former vigour.

A similar occurrence took place when he was preaching at a place called by Bertrand, Stradeyvy. A young man wished to take the cross, but was prevented by a woman who was attached to him. She was immediately struck blind. But the Saint, by his prayers, obtained for her the restoration of her sight; and, being now enlightened both physically and morally, she returned home praising and glorifying God.

On another occasion the Saint was preaching at Buckland,¹ where there was a convent of Cistercian nuns. A

¹ Probably Minchin Buckland in Somerset; although, according to Tanner (Notit., p. 469), there were no Cistercian nuns there, as stated in the text. The

deceased nun appeared to one of the sisters and said: "Master Edmund has come hither to preach; mind you give him a web of cloth which you will find in such a place to make crosses therewith". And so it fell out; and many were there who were invested with the cross from that piece of cloth.

Once when he was preaching a certain woman of ill-fame said to her companions: "Let us go and have a look at that canting hypocrite".¹ The fervent discourse of the preacher made such a salutary impression on her that she was converted, and abandoned her wicked way of life.

It was Edmund's custom when preaching to hold a crucifix in his hand, on which he would gaze intently, alternately shedding tears, and anon relaxing into a smile. When he was asked why he did so, he replied that he could not refrain from weeping when he thought that out of so many hearers of the word there were so few who practised it, although they had before their eyes the image of Christ's passion, and the example of His saints; whilst, on the other hand, he smiled when he thought of the unutterable benefits which had accrued to the world through the passion of Christ.

Robert Bacon, in his sworn deposition, remarks of Edmund's preaching, that many wealthy noblemen, when they heard him preach, took the cross, and left all things for Christ's sake; and exposed themselves to all the perils of the sacred pilgrimage. Others again entered into monasteries, or, if they had the requisite qualifications, gave themselves to the study of theology. In his *Life of the Saint* the same author observes that Edmund, in his zeal, visited various parts of the kingdom to bring back to the way of truth those

house was founded in the reign of Henry II. for canons regular; but, in 1180, it was given to the knights hospitallers, on condition that they should transfer thither all the sisters of the order hitherto scattered about the different preceptories; but afterwards it was withdrawn from the control of the knights and became a hospital under Augustinian nuns. At the time of the dissolution the deed of surrender, dated 10th February, 1538-9, contains no signatures, which shows that the nuns refused to sign it. There was another Buckland, in South Devon, where there was a Cistercian abbey, but apparently for monks, not nuns; and it was not founded until 1278, long after our Saint's time. It was founded from Quarr by Amicia, Countess of Devon.

¹ "Ad papalardum illum."

who had gone astray, and to instruct the rude and ignorant. He considered himself a debtor both to the wise and the unwise: to the latter that they might learn their duty, to the former that they might be moved to do it. Whatever his audience might be, he preached the same doctrine to all. Burning with a zeal for justice, he denounced the vices of all classes without sparing any one. He lashed the clergy, and especially theologians, for their lofty airs and pretensions, and pointed out the inconsistency of their conduct with the humility which they had to preach to others. Such a reproach could not be laid to Edmund's charge. He was humility itself, and not only humble, but gentle, patient, cheerful, bountiful, temperate, and continent; and could therefore, with perfect freedom, argue against the vices of the proud, the arrogant, the revengeful, the moody, the avaricious, the intemperate, and the dissolute.¹ Amongst the salutary effects of his preaching upon the people, the biographers mention the influence which he exerted on their minds, causing them to adhere more firmly to the Catholic rule of faith: to remain steadfast in the observance of the sacred ordinances, to be submissive to the decrees of the civil power, and not to oppose the execution of public censures.²

Before we close this chapter, we would here mention some special graces which were vouchsafed to the Saint, apparently about this period, according to the testimony of his biographers. A Carthusian monk was once seized with a sudden illness in the night time. Being unable to call any of the brethren to his assistance, in his sore distress, he recommended himself fervently to the Divine protection. Scarcely had he done so, when he observed a person of grave and reverend aspect, who entered the apartment and approached the side of the sufferer. He extended his hand and imparted a blessing to the monk, who immediately felt

¹ R. B., f. vii. r^o col. 1.

² Several MSS. have "*nec publicis executionibus adversari*," but Cleop. B. I., f. xxvi. v^o, has, apparently more correctly, "*ne publicis excommunicationibus adversaretur*". The importance of this injunction may be estimated from the fact that, in those lawless times, the sentence of excommunication was the ultimate resource which the Church possessed against evil-doers. Hence the necessity of preserving the inviolability of this sanction.

relieved of his malady. Full of joy and gratitude, he eagerly inquired: "Who art thou?" The reply was: "Know that I am Edmund of Abingdon"; and the figure disappeared.

Edmund himself once suffered from an ulcerated foot. The remedy he adopted was this: he took a quill pen and marked with ink¹ three or four crosses on the wound. The next morning he found that the ulcer was completely healed without leaving the slightest trace.

So zealous a preacher must needs have had a profound veneration for the written Word of God. Indeed, Bacon tells us that every time he took up the Scriptures to read them, he first kissed the book most reverentially. A providential incident seemed to reward his piety in a visible way. One night, whilst on a preaching tour, he was studying the Scriptures by candle-light when he was overcome by sleep. Whilst he slept, the candle fell upon the page he was reading; it burnt itself out and left its ashes on the book. But when he awoke, to his great surprise and joy, not a trace of fire appeared on the sacred volume. Another time, when he was studying by night, he fell asleep. During his sleep a mouse got on to the table, and in the course of its capers upset the lamp and extinguished it. When Edmund awoke and found himself in darkness he had recourse to our Blessed Lady, and immediately the lamp was re-kindled, and he rejoiced in Him of whom the Psalmist sings: "The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom shall I fear?"² In these days we can hardly realise the difficulties our forefathers had in kindling a light; but the following anecdote from the Lanercost chronicler will help us to realise it.³

Edmund gave orders to his chamberlain always to leave a light ready for him in the night, in case he should feel inclined to get up to study or pray. One night, in winter time, he rose up and went out to the church door to pray. The domestic heard him stirring and bethought him that there was no light. He immediately ran down to the kitchen

¹ "Ex incausto," Lamb. MS., f. 127 v^o col. 1. In this text the complaint is called by the French name, "le feluns".

² Ps. xxvi.

³ Chron. Lanerc., p. 37.

in hopes of finding some half-extinguished brand ; but in vain, there was no light there nor in any part of the house. He then went out into the village and searched from house to house ; but all was in utter darkness. At last, at the extreme end of the village, he observed a faint glimmer of light. He made for the spot, and finding the door open went in and procured a light. He hastened back and found Edmund in the churchyard praying for the dead : for he had just had a vision. He saw all the graves open, and the dead emerged half-way from them ; amongst them he noticed one whom, by his tonsure, he recognised as a priest, and heard him address his fellow-corpses thus : " My brothers, let us make a grateful return to him who, whilst he lived, moved the hearts of men to pray for the dead ". Then he began the " De Profundis," which the others sang with him alternately. Having recited the Lord's Prayer and the Collect, the priest concluded " Requiescamus in pace," to which all the others answered " Amen," and all sank back into their graves. Having related this vision, Edmund said to his minister : " But where did you obtain that light ? " He replied that at the end of the village there was a house in which a poor man was lying dead, who, he was told, used, when living, to go about with a bell, and ask all Christians to pray for the souls of the faithful departed. Edmund then understood that this was the benefactor for whom the priest had asked the prayers of the dead. And he was much consoled with the vision, and returned thanks to God " whose mercy endureth for ever".¹

¹ Ps. xcix. 5.

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF ENGLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

(A.D. 1216-33.)

HITHERTO we have followed Edmund through his silent, unobtrusive career, relying on such scanty details as have been preserved to enable us to trace his course from his birth to his election to the primatial throne of Canterbury. We have now arrived at the year of grace 1233: and, henceforth, Edmund's life will be merged in the life of the great nation of which he became the spiritual head: his acts and policy became part and parcel of the history of the time: and, truly, it was an eventful history.

Past the little town of Abingdon flows the placid Thames; its unimpeded current meanders smoothly between pleasant pastures tenanted by lowing herds, dotted here and there with peaceful homesteads; its banks are fringed at times with poplars and willows and waving rushes. Sometimes it traverses the more stately domains of the wealthy and the noble, and lends beauty to the wide-stretching park with its secular oaks. Its clear, sparkling waters know of no commotion save the ripple caused by the passing breeze, or the rising of the finny tribe to catch the fleeting prey. But let us follow the silver Thames some fifty miles in its onward course, and what shall we see? It is now a majestic river, swollen with scores of tributaries: it pours a mighty flood past populous cities and the vast capital of the empire. Its banks are now lined with colossal structures destined to carry on the trade and commerce of that empire: it bears on its ample breast argosies freighted with the wealth of nations: its course is no longer smooth and unimpeded, for it has to

encounter the still more mighty reflux of the imperious ocean, to which it has to yield, as it is borne back upon itself: its waters are no longer clear and sparkling, for they are charged with the off-scourings of millions.

Do we not see in all this an apt representation of the fortunes of our Saint? Cradled in the quiet town of Abingdon, his life had been spent in studious retirement and devout contemplation; and now, after fifty years thus spent, he is all at once plunged into the vortex of tumultuous politics. He is charged with the spiritual destinies of a whole nation: he is placed at the head of those venerable churches, whose prelates, as his suffragans, are, as it were, tributaries to his greatness. But he is no longer able to pursue the calm and serene tenor of his former life; he has to encounter the overbearing power of the crown, the fierce resistance of the barons bent on the gratification of their ignoble passions; he has to bear in his bosom the sins of the people. No wonder, then, if he is borne back upon himself, if he goes to lay his weary head and broken heart in the peaceful cloisters of Pontigny. At his election he might well have made the same remark which St. Anselm made when Rufus selected him for the same dignity: "They are going to yoke a silly sheep with a savage bull".

It was St. Edmund's lot to be elected archbishop at a time when Henry III. had but lately emerged from the trammels of a long minority. This king was endowed with a pious and gentle disposition; and had his early years been brought under proper influences, he might have developed many noble qualities. But, unhappily, he fell into the hands of those whose interest it was to flatter and foster his evil tendencies in order to promote their own sordid aims. Peter Langtoft, who wrote a rhyming chronicle (in Yorkshire French) during the reign of Edward I., speaks highly of Henry's kindness to the poor and generosity to the Church:—

Prodhome fu tuz jours, des povers avait mercy :
Plus ama saint eglise ke nul ray devaunt ly :
Clers ke ben chaunterent tost sunt enrychy ;
Eglises et provandres ne sunt pas esparny,
Ke clerk de la chapele n'ayt porcioun parmy.

The prose continuator of Robert of Gloucester affirms that Henry assisted at three sung masses every day, besides other private masses when his occupations permitted. St. Louis, the French king, suggested to him that he might hear fewer masses and more preaching. To which Henry replied that he preferred to see his Friend often, rather than hear Him spoken of often. The same writer tells us that he was of average stature, had a drooping eye-lid, was strong of constitution, but unwise in his actions.

Though he was far from possessing the rash and ungovernable temper of his grandfather, Henry II., and greatly surpassed his impious and dissolute father, John, in regard for religion and morality, yet he inherited from them the characteristic obstinacy of the Plantagenet race; their impatience of control; their persistence in stretching the royal prerogative; and their assertion of usurped rights, which brought him continually into conflict with the Church and with his haughty and domineering barons, who, intrenched in their strongholds and surrounded by armed bands of retainers, were always ready to act the tyrant, the brigand, or the rebel, as occasion served. Hence the Pope, Honorius III., in a letter to his legate Pandulph, dated 28th May, 1220, writes: "We enjoin that no one, no matter how loyal he may be, or intimate with the king, should be allowed to hold in his possession more than two royal castles, as we deem this precaution most expedient for the said king's advantage".¹

Dante shows his appreciation of Henry's weakness by placing him in Purgatory amongst those who had neglected their opportunities of doing good in the high station in which they had been placed:—

Vedete il Re della semplice vita
Seder là solo, Arrigo d'Inghilterra;
Questi ha nei rami suoi migliore uscita.²

The long tutelage in which he had been kept developed in Henry a tendency to lean upon others, and to give his confidence, unhappily, to those who were utterly unworthy

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., civ. p. 121.

² The "better issue" is of course his son, Edward I.

of it. This, in fact, was the bane of his long and turbulent reign; and, later on, plunged the whole kingdom into the horrors of civil war.

In his childhood the affairs of the kingdom, at a critical conjuncture, when the dauphin of France held possession of the capital and a great part of the realm, were ably administered by William, Earl of Pembroke, the earl marshal. But he died soon after the settlement of terms with the dauphin (May, 1219), and Hubert de Burgh succeeded to the chief administration of affairs, under the title of justiciar. He was a typical specimen of the baron of the period, and made use of his sovereign authority to serve the ends of his rapacity and ambition. In 1227 the king declared himself of age, and revoked all his previous concessions, the charters which he had signed, and the privileges which he had granted. Those who wished them renewed had to pay immense sums, which were levied at the justiciar's discretion. The blame of this wanton and arbitrary act was laid upon Hubert. Hence his name became hateful to every one, and they devoted him to confusion and death: by his unjust exactions he heaped upon his head the hatred and the curses of all ranks.¹

But he had a powerful rival to reckon with in Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. This crafty and unscrupulous prelate was entrusted with the guardianship of the young king, and made use of his influence with him to counteract that of his rival, Hubert. Himself a Poitevin, he laboured to surround the king with foreigners, and alienated from him the affections of his native subjects. Peter had in his service creatures on whom he could depend to carry out his policy, for whom he obtained offices of trust. Foremost amongst these were Peter of Rievaulx, Stephen Segrave, and Robert Passelew. The bishop, by these means, succeeded in getting the upper hand over Hubert, who fell into disgrace and was incarcerated in the Castle of Devizes, when Segrave was made chief justiciar, and Passelew treasurer (1232).

¹ Barth. Cotton (Rolls), ad ann. 1227. But it must be borne in mind that the monastic chroniclers sometimes use stronger language than the occasion warrants; or, rather, they are too apt to generalise from isolated facts. This remark applies especially to Matthew Paris.

The immediate occasion of Hubert's disgrace was his being implicated in a conspiracy formed at this period against the foreign ecclesiastics. So great was the exasperation against the foreigners that a number of men banded themselves together in a secret society with the object of driving them out of the country. The "plan of campaign" was this: they sallied forth at night in small bands with masked faces in order to rifle and burn the barns and other properties of the objectionable incumbents. They even went so far as to waylay, maltreat, and murder the papal couriers. They obeyed the orders of one leader. "Captain Moonlight," in this case, was a Yorkshire knight called Robert Thwinge, but who took the name of William Wither. He was one of those who felt themselves aggrieved by his right of presentation being suspended through the papal "provisions," and accordingly adopted this summary method of procuring redress of his grievance. Though the actual conspirators were comparatively few in number, yet many influential persons, amongst both clergy and laity, were cognisant of their proceedings and countenanced them. It was even alleged that Hubert de Burgh had issued letters patent in order to shield the culprits from the consequences of their depredations. This sealed his downfall.

The sequel of Robert Thwinge's adventure is curious. He was despatched to Rome with a letter signed by such leading barons as the Earls of Chester and Lincoln, asking the Pope to put an end to the grievance of which they complained. The mission was quite successful. Gregory IX. not only restored to the Yorkshire knight the right of presentation of which he had been deprived, but issued a rescript addressed to the legate, in which he ordered that all lay patrons should be reinstated in their rights, which, moreover, should not for the future be derogated from by any papal provisions. On which rescript Matthew Paris moralises thus in his wonted fashion: "In this way the rights of the laity are safeguarded; whilst those of ecclesiastical persons and poor helpless religious are left to the mercy of the spoiler. And so the world threatens to rush headlong to ruin."¹

¹ Jamjam in integrum chaos mundus ruerе comminatur.

But though Hubert was in disgrace with his sovereign and covered with execration by the people, he had one friend in the Pope, Gregory IX., who wrote to Henry (Oct. 17, 1233) a touching appeal on his behalf and on that of his wife, imploring merciful consideration for him on the ground that he was willing to render an account of his stewardship, and to go to the crusade if released.¹ In fact, this letter seems by its reticence to throw some doubt on the accusations that have been made against him by the chroniclers of the time, whose violent party-feeling is well known, and may have led them to exaggerate the case against the ex-justiciar.

Henry was now his own master, except so far as he allowed himself to be ruled by Peter des Roches and his Poitevins. The bishop soon showed the extent of his power over the weak-minded monarch. In 1232-3 Henry kept Christmas at Worcester, on which occasion, at the suggestion of Peter, he removed from their offices all the Englishmen employed in the king's service, and substituted Poitevins in their place.² It is not likely that the barons would submit tamely to these proceedings. And a confederation was formed in which the lead was taken by Richard, the earl marshal, brother of William Marshall, the younger, who had recently died. The king had summoned a parliament to meet at Oxford, but the barons refused to come, fearing some ambush on the part of the Poitevins, who were now carrying all before them. But the intrepid Dominican, Robert Bacon, Edmund's friend, was determined to utter his mind on the subject, and, preaching before the court, boldly declared that there never would be any peace in the kingdom until the king had dismissed from his counsels Peter des Roches and his minion, Peter de Rievaulx. Meantime the confederate barons sent Henry their *ultimatum*, announcing that if he did not dismiss his obnoxious ministers, they would depose him and choose another king. One would have thought that, with the fate of his unhappy father before his eyes, Henry would have paused in his career at such a threat as this. But he was infatuated, and allowed himself to be persuaded

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., app., p. 553.

² John de Oxenedes.

by the Bishop of Winchester to take up arms against the barons and to give their castles and possessions to the Poitevins on whom he could rely. Henry complied with his minister's counsel and went vigorously to work, confiscating the estates of his opponents, beginning with those of Basset and Siward, leading members of the opposition. The barons met at London (Aug. 1) to confer together under the leadership of Richard Marshall. But he, being warned of a trap which was laid for him, fled to Wales, where he openly "defied" his sovereign; that is to say, renounced his allegiance to him. Llewellyn, the Prince of Wales, espoused his cause, and open war broke out between Henry and his subjects on the borders of Wales. The king took up his quarters at Gloucester, and the crafty bishop succeeded in detaching from the opposition the Earls of Chester and Lincoln, and Richard, the king's brother. He also brought over from the Continent a foreign contingent, strengthened by which, Henry moved forward his standard to Hereford. About this time the Bishop of Carlisle,¹ who had been removed from the office of treasurer, was escaping to the Continent, but was intercepted by the king's messengers, who laid violent hands on him. Just at that moment Roger, Bishop of London, was landing at Dover on his return from Rome. Hearing what had taken place, he excommunicated the royal messengers, and posted at once to Henry at Hereford, in order to remonstrate against his arbitrary proceedings. Henry's military operations were not very brilliant: consequently, he summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster for the end of September, to arrange some terms, and promised to redress grievances. Parliament met on 9th October; but as no satisfactory result was obtained, the bishops resorted to extremities and excommunicated the Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rievaulx, Segrave, and Passelew.

Meanwhile Hubert de Burgh escaped from durance, and joined the marshal in Wales. Henry once more marched to the west against this new combination of his opponents. At

¹Walter Mauclerc; he subsequently (June 29, 1246) resigned all his dignities and offices, and became a Dominican. See an interesting account of him in Drane's *Life of St. Dominic*, p. 444.

Gloucester a messenger of peace made his appearance. It was no other than Fra Agnello, one of the first twelve disciples of the Seraph of Assisi, who came to try and pacify these turbulent spirits.

The king spent that Christmas at Gloucester. The marshal crossed over from Wales to Ireland, and so fell into the trap which had been laid for him by Peter des Roches. That wily strategist had instigated some of the Irish chieftains to ravage the marshal's Irish estates, in order to draw him over to Ireland. When that was accomplished, Peter wrote to his Irish agents to secure the person of the earl marshal, alive or dead, and promising them, if they were successful, the possession of his estates. He also furnished them with the royal warrant, having persuaded Henry to sign the document without knowing its contents.¹

As the Irish chiefs were not satisfied with this authority, they applied for a warrant with the royal signature, which accordingly, surreptitiously obtained, was sent to them.

Armed with this authority, the bishop's agents, by a series of treacherous manœuvres, entrapped the marshal into a situation where he was taken at disadvantage, and he fell mortally wounded. He died of his wounds, April 16, 1234. Robert of Gloucester, in describing the marshal's death, rises almost to heroic strain. When Richard's friends advised him to retire from the field in face of the odds which stood against him, he made this answer:—

Wat seiste quath this gode erl: wan richard the Marschall
Upe is stede iarmed is & atiled ² thoruoutal
& toward is fon ³ in the feld hath is wombe iwent ⁴
Ssolde he turne hom is rugh; ⁵ he was neuere so issent.⁶
Vor,⁷ he ne dude it neuere; ne neuere iwis ne ssal;
Fram such ssendnesse ⁸ crist ssulde ⁹ Richard the Marssal.

¹ The following is the letter as given in Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe), iv. 293: "Significamus ergo vobis, ut fidelibus Domini regis et juratis, si casu in Hiberniam venerit (Richard Marshall) illum vel vivum vel mortuum comprehensum regi præsentare corporaliter studeatis, quod si facere curaveritis, totam hæreditatem ejus et possessiones de terra Hiberniæ quæ nunc in voluntate Domini regis sunt, concedet vobis inter vos dividendas et jure hæreditario possidendas. Super hac Domini regis promissione fideliter vobis tenenda nos omnes quorum consilio rex et regnum regitur, fidejussores constituimus, si rem prætaxatam perducere curaveritis ad effectum. Valet." Digitized by Google

² equipped; ³ foes; ⁴ turned his front; ⁵ back; ⁶ disgraced; ⁷ before;

⁸ disgrace; ⁹ shield.

CHAPTER XI.

EDMUND IS ELECTED ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

IN the preceding chapter we have given a brief sketch of the position of affairs in England when Edmund was called to the arduous task of reconciling the discordant elements which kept the country in a state of continual turmoil.

We must now relate some of the circumstances of the vacancy at Canterbury which preceded Edmund's election. The great Stephen Langton died in 1228. He was succeeded by Richard Grant or Weatherhead, who, after a short pontificate, died on his way home from Rome, whither he had gone to settle the interminable disputes with the crown and the Christ Church monks. Upon his death, on August 3, 1231, the monks assembled in chapter to elect a successor. It was and always had been the privilege of the monks of Christ Church to elect the Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, they may be said to have held a position unique in all Christendom. For, when the see was vacant, all jurisdiction fell into the hands of the prior and chapter; so that from them alone could be derived the right to crown the reigning sovereign, or to confirm or consecrate any one of the seventeen suffragan bishops. These and other points are strongly urged by Edward III. in his petition to the Holy See, by which he asks that the monastery of Christ Church shall remain exempt from all jurisdiction exercised by the provincial of the English Benedictines, as also from being compelled to attend the general chapter.¹

But, great as this privilege was, it must be conceded that it was fatally destructive of the monastic spirit—at all events, at the period with which we are now dealing. The Norman

¹ Liter. Cantuar., vol. ii. p. 398 (anno 1360).

and Plantagenet kings were too conscious of the enormous influence wielded by the primate to look on with indifference whilst the monks made the election. They thrust their nominees upon the unwilling chapter, and thus rendered the right of election almost as nugatory as it is in the Anglican Church at the present day.

In the Sarum Register there is a bull of Innocent III. dated 1214, in which the Pope recites and confirms a concession made by John, who had now been brought on his knees, in which the king grants that in all monasteries and churches, whether cathedral or conventual, there shall be free election of all prelates, whether of higher or lower rank; permission to elect having first been obtained from the crown, "which we will neither deny nor defer". It is provided also that after the election the assent of the crown should be obtained, "which we will not deny except for a reasonable cause". This bull established the normal order of proceeding in ecclesiastical elections, but its provisions were constantly violated by the crown.

Again, the suffragan prelates, with much more show of reason, claimed a voice in the appointment of one who was to be their chief and representative in the Catholic hierarchy. But the monks fiercely contested their claim to a concurrent election;¹ and the prelates had to be content with a veto which they sometimes exercised. We have seen an instance in the case of the Abbot Faricius, ch. ii.

It may easily be understood how the possession of such a privilege was prejudicial to the religious discipline and tranquillity of the monastery. Instead of being an asylum of peace and seclusion it became the very focus of political intrigues and ambitious aspirations—a very hot-bed of rival factions. The monastery was thus kept in a state of continual agitation, either indulging in mutual recriminations on the results of a past election, or concocting schemes in view of a future one. Sometimes the elections themselves

¹ In the archives of Canterbury there is a bull of Pope Innocent (the second ?) by which he confirms to the chapter of Christ Church the privilege of electing the archbishop without any intervention on the part of the suffragans. It is dated Dec. 20, in the ninth year of his pontificate.

were a scene of discord when cross elections were made by rival factions; and it is quite a relief when we find the Holy See intervening, setting aside candidates so chosen, and nominating one whom it deemed worthy of the office. These remarks will find their illustration in the circumstances preceding Edmund's election, which we will now relate.

The chapter, having received the royal licence, thought they would propitiate their sovereign by electing Ralph Nevile, then Bishop of Chichester and royal chancellor. An attempt had been made to secure his election on the vacancy left by the death of Archbishop Langton, as appears from a singular intrigue at the papal court, the particulars of which are related by Martin Philip de Arden in a letter to his employer, Ralph Nevile (see appendix iii.). He was duly elected on the occasion with which we are now concerned; and having, of course, received the royal assent, his name was submitted to the Pope for his approval. Dean Hook absurdly maintains that the papal approbation was a recent innovation founded upon the new decretals of Gregory IX., published in 1230,¹ as if the decretals were a new code of laws and not a compendium of the immemorial legislation of the Church. It is a notorious fact that, during the six centuries and more which had elapsed since the mission of St. Augustine, no one had ever been recognised as Archbishop of Canterbury until he had received the approbation of the Holy See.

In the case of Ralph Nevile the usual course was taken, and inquiries made as to the qualifications of the candidate. The Pope had as his English adviser at this juncture Simon Langton, brother of the late Archbishop Stephen. The result of the inquiry was unfavourable; and Ralph Nevile was rejected on the ground of his being a courtier, too much implicated in secular affairs, and but insufficiently versed in ecclesiastical science.² Hook sneers at the reason alleged for the rejection, as though it were only a pretext invented to get rid of an objectionable subject, whereas it was quite in conformity with the practice of the Holy See in similar cases.

¹ They were published in 1233, the year of St. Edmund's election.

² Curialem esse et illiteratum, rapidum in verbo ac festinum.

On precisely the same ground was the election of John de Grey quashed by Innocent III. in the time of John, which action of the Pope led to the memorable quarrel between the Pope and the king, and the subsequent interdict. In fact, says Lingard (vol. iii. ch. i.), the appointment of candidates to episcopal sees who were already burdened with the administration of temporal affairs was a long-standing abuse in the English Church which had been severely condemned by several pontiffs.

After his rejection, the monks applied for licence to proceed to a new election, which, according to Le Neve, they obtained, March 7, 1232. But this date is not quite correct ; for we find that on March 11 Henry writes to the prior and convent of Canterbury, stating that the monks had asked his permission to elect, exhibiting a papal mandate to that effect. The king, however, deems it against his prerogative, and forbids them to act upon it. Especially, if they should send a commission to Rome with power to elect there, he declares such election null without his consent.¹ However, the king seems to have digested his wrath, and the difficulty must have been overcome at some time or other, for, as a matter of fact, the monks did proceed to an election ; and, being rid of the royal nominee, elected John of Sittingbourne, their own prior. He had to go to Rome in order to submit himself to examination to test his capacity for the post. He passed the examination successfully as far as theological acquirements were concerned ; but the Pope objected to his advanced age, and his rusticity, and thought him unfit for such a dignity.² He was therefore recommended to renounce the office, which the good old man willingly consented to do.

The see being still vacant, Peter des Roches, who at this time was all-powerful, suggested a creature of his own, John Blunt, who was, accordingly, elected by the chapter (August, 1232). Blunt was a professor of theology at Oxford, but of a different stamp from St. Edmund. He held, contrary to

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., cccxxii. p. 406.

² "Visum est papæ quod nimis esset senex et simplex, licet sanctus, et ad tantam insufficiens dignitatem: bonus, sed non ad hoc." Gregory himself was about ninety-four at this time.

the canons, and without dispensation, two benefices, to each of which was attached the cure of souls. He also had received from Peter a large sum of money to further the cause of his election. These facts, when proved, sufficed to secure his rejection by the Court of Rome. Wykes assigns as the chief motive of his rejection (and it is probable enough) the fear lest by his election the whole spiritual and temporal authority in the kingdom should be concentrated in the hands of Peter des Roches.

After this third failure, the Pope determined to take the matter into his own hands. Friar Robert informs us that he sent trustworthy envoys to make special inquiries all over the kingdom, to sound the views of the bishops, and to elicit the opinion of the common people, in order to ascertain who was the most fitted for this distinguished but arduous office. As the result of this investigation, the Pope was convinced that no Englishman at that time enjoyed a higher reputation for sanctity and learning than Edmund Rich.¹ Accordingly he issued a mandate to the monks who were in attendance on the Court of Rome that their brethren should elect Edmund to the vacant see.

After the unworthy manœuvres and intrigues which we have been under the necessity of relating, it is quite refreshing to get back to Edmund with his saintly ways, and to our biographer, whom, after this long interruption, we allow to resume his simple story. He describes, with the minuteness of an eye-witness, what the chapter of Christ Church did on the return of their envoys with the papal mandate. "In the year of grace 1234,² by a Divine inspiration, after all the many vexations, on the part of Pope and king, offered to our holy see, which it were a shame to mention, Edmund was solemnly elected as archbishop. For the chapter, to which it is well known the right of election appertains, said: 'Let us elect a man in whom there cannot be found the slightest ground for reasonable exception,

¹ R. B., f. vii. v^o col. 2.

² The Congé d'élire was granted on August 28; the election took place September 20; the royal assent was given on October 10, and the papal confirmation December 20, of the year 1233.

in regard of whom the mouths of all detractors will be effectually stopped'. The aid of the Holy Spirit was then invoked; and after devout prayer and long discussion, in which the electors weighed the claims of many in the balance of their judgment, at length (such was manifestly the will of God) the chapter came to a unanimous decision in favour of Master Edmund of Abingdon, lecturer in theology. The angelic hymn, 'Te Deum Laudamus,' having been sung, messengers were despatched to convey the tidings to Edmund."

On their arrival at Salisbury they did not find Edmund there, as he was then residing at his prebend of Calne. But the dean, as soon as he was made aware of the object of their visit, said: "Your coming is a happy and yet a sad one: happy, because you do our church an honour in choosing therefrom an archbishop; sad, because you take as your pontiff one who is not so much the treasurer as the treasure of our church".

The envoys pursued their journey to Calne, eager to convey to Edmund what they imagined to be most welcome tidings. Arrived there, the whole household was thrown into a state of the wildest excitement by the intelligence; and one of the Saint's confidential domestics, wishing to be the first to bring the good news, burst into the apartment where he was engaged in study, and, with evident elation of spirits, told him that messengers had come to announce his election as Archbishop of Canterbury. The Saint calmly looked up from his book, and apparently thinking that a little asperity was required to check this ebullition, said: "Be off, you booby, about your business; and mind you shut the door, so that no one may come to interrupt my studies".¹ The poor man retired crestfallen and dejected at this untoward reception of his tidings. He was obliged to explain to the messengers, much to their surprise, that his master was not yet visible. They waited accordingly; and, at his usual hour, not a minute sooner nor a minute later, Edmund issued from his apartment and saluted his visitors. They explained the

¹ MS. Vitell., C. xii. ch. xlii. "Vade, stulte, ad officium tuum, et clauso ostio, provideas ne quis studii mei ingerat impedimentum."

purport of their visit, and probably anticipating a refusal from the nature of their reception, they implored him to give his consent. But he burst into tears, and heaving a long-drawn sigh, replied: "I am a worm and no man; my merits and my attainments are not such as you credit me with; the world is deceived in this matter, and you too are deceived". He begged them, therefore, to choose some one else and to release him from this insupportable burden. As they refused to take this answer, he agreed to go with them on the morrow to the Bishop of Salisbury¹ and discuss the matter with him. The bishop insisted on his accepting the office in virtue of holy obedience. His fellow-canons and friends united their entreaties to the same effect. But he was not to be moved, and on the following day he returned to Calne accompanied by the envoys, who used all their endeavours to extort his consent. They affirmed that he would sin mortally if he did not consent, an argument which, as the event showed, weighed more with him than all the others that had been adduced. They said his refusal might result in the election of one through whom the cause of religion might suffer. For the king's council (that is, Peter des Roches and his following) would probably procure the election of some foreigner. Then the monks entreated him on their bended knees, with clasped hands and copious tears, saying: "My lord, you who are said to be so tender-hearted, and are so indeed, suffer us not to be put to confusion after the rebuff which we have already three or four times received".

At length, overcome by their importunities, he consented; and yet, not explicitly, but in this wise; he said: "He who knows all things knows that I would never consent to this election, unless I thought that I should sin mortally by refusing it". Satisfied with this partial consent, they conducted him at once to the church; and there, prostrate with him before the altar, they sang the "Te Deum"; whilst the bells were rung to summon the people to take part in the general jubilation. But the sounds of joy were soon mingled with

¹ The bishop was Robert de Bingham, elected in 1228 in succession to Bishop Richard Poor, translated to Durham. Robert had been one of the canons of Sarum, and was consecrated at Wilton, May 20, 1229.

notes of sadness and lamentation when the people reflected that they were about to lose a pastor who had endeared himself so much to them by his piety, charity and pastoral zeal.

In due course the election received the royal approbation and the papal confirmation, after which the archbishop-elect entered upon the exercise of his exalted functions as primate of the English Church. It was an arduous position, on account of the long time during which the see had been vacant, a circumstance which, in those lawless times, could not fail to prove highly detrimental to the spiritual and temporal interests of the Church ; difficulties, moreover, which were enhanced by the disturbed state of the kingdom through the causes related in the previous chapter (ch. x.).

CHAPTER XII.

EDMUND AS PEACEMAKER.

(A.D. 1234.)

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.
—Matt. v. 9.

ST. EDMUND had no sooner been elected than he, who longed for nothing so much as to retire to one of his beloved retreats to prepare himself in silence and contemplation for his consecration, was called upon by his suffragans to embark on the stormy sea of politics, and to lead them in the attack which they were about to make on the evil counsellors who were reducing the kingdom to a state of anarchy for their own selfish purposes.

In consenting to take this course, Edmund showed his self-sacrificing disposition. Robert Rich observes: "When it was a question of rendering assistance to anybody, he invariably preferred the interests of others to his own pleasure".¹ St. Edmund had the sagacity to see that his first work would have to be to pacify the discordant and turbulent elements which were then agitating the State; for, as our biographer remarks, "he shrewdly perceived that the misfortunes of the subjects were all to be traced to the mutual hatred and discord of the leading men".²

A parliament was held at Westminster on February 2, 1234, at which Edmund was present as archbishop-elect, having now received confirmation of his election from the

¹ "Quando erant quibus prodesse poterat, voluntatem propriam procul dubio postposuit utilitati proximorum." R. R., f. 181 rº col. 2.

² "Satis caute considerans quod a magnatum odio et discordia dependent pericula subditorum." E., f. 131 vº.

Holy See.¹ At this meeting Edmund, at the head of the other prelates, presented a grave remonstrance to Henry, in which he reminded him that he was pursuing a course which had involved his father and the whole kingdom in the greatest calamities; that his conduct was indefensible in superseding his native subjects in places of trust and authority by strangers who made a point of showing their contempt for the English, whilst enriching themselves at their expense. He blamed Henry for giving his confidence to such men as Peter des Roches and Peter of Rievaulx, who were doing their utmost to sow discord between the king and his subjects; and especially were seeking to ruin Richard Marshall, "the best man in the kingdom". To their faction belonged the brigand baron, Faulke de Breauté, who had held out for months in his Castle of Bedford, against all the forces the king could bring against him. "In fact, all the present calamities with which the country is overwhelmed are attributable to their mal-administration. They have in their hands all the castles and strongholds. They have command of the exchequer. The king is a mere puppet in their hands. His signature is of no value, unless it is countersigned by theirs. They have tyrannically abused their powers in dealing with the wardships and marriages of the English nobility." The archbishop concludes by declaring that it would be his duty to excommunicate every one, whoever he might be, who should stand in the way of reform, and prove an obstacle to the welfare of the nation and the interests of the commonwealth.

This powerful appeal made an impression on Henry, who promised to give it his serious consideration, and to return an answer in the course of a few weeks. If his object was merely to gain time, the delay did not profit him much. For Edmund was not a man to indulge in idle threats, nor to discharge mere perfunctory duties. He meant every word he said, as the weak, vacillating monarch would soon find out.

However, Henry had a powerful auxiliary in the Pope,

¹ He was preconised by the Pope on December 20, 1233.

who, as his sovereign lord, was bound to protect the interests of his vassal, so far as he understood them. On March 11, 1234, Gregory wrote to the Bishops of Durham and Rochester a letter which, so far from supporting the archbishop, was calculated to strengthen the hands of his opponents. "The Pope requires the two bishops to call upon the archbishop and his suffragans to excommunicate the disturbers of the peace (meaning thereby the confederate barons along with Llewellyn). The bishops," the Pope continues, "had previously been required to do this, but declined to act : (being better acquainted with the state of affairs). He, the Pope, now renews the order : and hopes that the new archbishop will so comport himself, that by his honest endeavours and exhortations he may bring the nobles of the realm to render fitting honour to their sovereign, and conciliate his affection for them, so that the fruits, which were hoped for in his promotion, may be manifested in the tranquillity of the realm brought about by him, and that we may be able to commend his devotion towards us."¹

It will be seen from this letter that the Pope had the best intentions to bring about peace and conciliation between the contending parties. The only question was, whether the means suggested by him were more suitable to obtain that end than the line of policy already inaugurated by Edmund and his suffragans. Only three weeks after this, Gregory writes to the archbishop himself in the same sense. The letter is dated April 3, being the day after Edmund's consecration. But before the letter could have reached him he had already taken the decisive step which we are about to relate, and which rendered it impossible for him to carry out the Pope's wishes. The Pope says : "It is your duty and your interest, embracing all alike in Christ, to induce all those who dwell in the kingdom of England, both natives and subjects of whatever other nations, by earnest exhortations, to bear mutual charity towards one another, that they may become one people. You must warn Englishmen not to be jealous if foreigners obtain honours and benefices there.

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., app. xxxiv. p. 554.

You must exhort all who are employed in the king's service to be loyal and devoted to his majesty. He hopes that the favourable rumours respecting him (Edmund) which have reached the apostolic see may be realised in fact: and that he may rejoice in finding that the hopes he had conceived of him are not frustrated."¹

Meantime, all parties enjoyed a truce whilst Edmund was preparing for his consecration. That ceremony took place in Canterbury Cathedral on "Lætare" Sunday (the fourth Sunday in Lent), which fell that year on April 2. The consecrating prelate was Roger, Bishop of London.² The king was present; whilst thirteen bishops and four earls assisted at the imposing function. The names of nearly all these assistant prelates have been ascertained from various sources and published by Dr. Stubbs in his "Registrum Sacrum". They were Peter des Roches of Winchester, Jocelin of Bath, William of Worcester, William of Exeter, Ralph Nevile of Chichester, Henry de Stamford of Rochester, Robert Bingham of Sarum, Hugh Norwold of Ely, Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, and John, Bishop of Ferns.

On this occasion Edmund, now invested with the pallium which had been sent him³ by the Pope, solemnly celebrated Pontifical Mass. The biographer notes with evident exultation the coincidence that, whilst Edmund was consecrated on "Lætare" Sunday, he was subsequently canonised by Innocent IV. on "Gaudete" Sunday (the third of Advent), as if to signalise the Saint's predilection for penance and mortification; and at the same time to express the universal joy and exultation which he was the means of procuring to the Church of God by his saintly life and virtues.

¹ "Bonæ opinionis odor, qui de te ad apostolicam sedem pervenit, in effectum probetur; et nos . . . in re invenisse, quod in spe concepimus gaudeamus." R. Lett. Hy. III., app. xxxvi. p. 556.

² Eustace is profuse in his commendations of this prelate: "Consecratus est sanctus a sancto, theologus a theologo, Virgo a Virgine, ciliciatus a ciliciato, archiepiscopus a suo decano". Roger le Noir had been Archdeacon of Colchester; he was consecrated Bishop of London at Canterbury, June 10, 1229, by the Bishop of Rochester; the See of Canterbury being then vacant.

³ Eustace takes note that it was sent "gratis". It was brought from Rome by Simon of Leicester, a Christ Church monk.

Dr. Stubbs, in his preface to *Gervase of Canterbury*, p. xxii., says that a detailed account of Edmund's consecration is to be found in the Dover annals.¹ As this record would be unique we have eagerly searched for it in the MS. quoted, but failed to find it. The annals are very brief, but under the year 1234 there is an entry referring to the election and consecration of Edmund as archbishop, followed by a very long paragraph, which, if one did not take the pains to decipher it, one would suppose to be occupied by details of the consecration. But, in reality, it is not so; it is entirely concerned with the doleful adventures of the Prior of Dover. As they are not wholly unconnected with our Saint, and have never seen the light before, it may interest our readers to become acquainted with them. It appears, then, that Master William, the Prior of Dover, who had been a monk of Canterbury, when he heard that the chapter was about to elect an archbishop, thought that he had a right to assist at the election, and presented himself accordingly. The chapter, however, refused to admit him in spite of his energetic protests. Master William was indignant, and pathetically exclaimed that it was an infamous thing not to admit him, a son of the Church of Canterbury, to be present at the espousals of his mother. Expelled from the chapter, he betook himself to the nave of the cathedral, and there, before all the people, asserted his just claims, and publicly protested against the manner of the election, taking care to add that he did not protest against the person elected. Further, he appealed to the Holy See, and posted off to Rome to prosecute his appeal. Here he seems to have fallen into the discreet hands of Simon Langton, who succeeded in calming his perturbation, and got him to consent to the following arrangement: He withdrew his protest to the present election on condition that the Pope should grant that he and all his successors in the Priorate of Dover should have a right to be present at the Canterbury elections.

He also obtained the papal confirmation for his rights to certain churches, namely, of Apuldre, of St. Margaret of Cliff,

¹ Cotton MS. Jul. D. V. This manuscript suffered much from the fire.

and others ; also a very singular privilege, that he might for this time visit all the exempt abbacies and priories of the black monks throughout England.¹ Returning to England, he set to work to carry out his visitation commission. But, meantime, the Christ Church monks, who were watching his proceedings, waited on St. Edmund, and maliciously suggested to him that the same prior had appealed against his election personally to the Holy See ; and they earnestly begged the archbishop to allow them to punish him in chapter according to his deserts. Now, continues the annalist, the archbishop, being quite ignorant of the rights and privileges which he enjoyed in the Church of Dover—a church peculiarly his own, which he was bound to defend in its spiritual and temporal interests, and to guard its immunity from subjection to any one but himself—weakly consented to forego his rights, and yielded to their urgent petition. The consequence was that the said prior was summoned once, twice, and thrice to appear and submit himself to the sentence of the chapter. The poor prior, seeing that he was deserted by the archbishop, was reduced to the necessity of appearing before the chapter, where he renounced all the privileges he had obtained, and said : “ I have sinned against my mother, the Church of Canterbury ; I beg for mercy and not judgment ”. Then the prior and chapter treated him in a shameful way : they deposed him from the priorship, and made him sit in the cloister.² There he was so effectually brow-beaten that they made him sign an agreement against the rights of the Church of Dover, preserving, however, intact the rights of the archbishop in the said church, according to the tenor of his privileges. And so William returned to his monastery, certainly a sadder and, we hope, a wiser man, and no doubt wishing that he had never left it.

Edmund's elevation made no difference either in his interior sentiments or in his outward demeanour. He was as humble as before. He partook of the same frugal fare ; wore the same coarse clothing ; he watched and prayed with the same

¹ Concessit eidem dominus papa hac vice quod omnes abbatias et prioratus nigri ordinis exemptas per totam Angliam visitaret.

² “ Eundem in claustrum sedere fecerunt,” apparently a sort of monastic pillory.

assiduity ; his intercourse with others was marked by the same affability and gentleness, so that there was absolutely nothing to mark the distinction between "Master Edmund" and "Archbishop Edmund" save the outward tokens of the pontifical dignity.

If there was any difference it was simply this : that the position in which he was now placed furnished his charity with a wider scope for its exercise. But even the large revenues of his diocese did not suffice for this purpose ; and, when all his income had been spent on the poor, he would borrow sums of money from merchants that no poor person might suffer want.¹

Edmund was not long allowed to revel in the spiritual consolations of the sacred unction which he had received. We have seen that he was consecrated on the 2nd of April, and already on the 9th, within a week, he was called on to confront Henry once more, at the head of the prelates and barons. On that day Henry was again reminded of the just complaints of his subjects, which, in spite of his promise, he had failed to redress. This time Edmund came to close quarters with the king, and clearly and unmistakably gave him to understand that he would excommunicate him personally, along with his accomplices, unless he gave the required satisfaction. Henry at last yielded, being now fairly brought to bay. The Bishop of Winchester was sent to his diocese, which must have seen very little of him hitherto. Peter of Rievaulx was deprived of his offices and banished the court ; whilst the Poitevins were packed out of the country, as well those attached to the court as those who garrisoned the castles, and the king issued orders that they should see his face no more.² The way being thus paved to a reconciliation, Edmund was sent to co-operate with the Bishops of Coventry and Rochester, who, together with several Dominican and Franciscan friars, had been sent into Wales to treat with the disaffected and bring them to terms. The commission seems to have lost no time in carrying out

¹ R. B., f. viii. r^o col. 2.

² *Præcipiens ut faciem suam non viderent.* John de Oxenedes, ad ann.

its pacific work, for a letter of Henry III., dated April 15, ratifies a truce made at Brocton on March 6 with Llewellyn and Richard Marshall to last until July 25 of the same year. The same letter speaks of a conference to be held at Shrewsbury after Easter in order to negotiate a permanent peace.

After Easter, Henry moved his court to Gloucester, in order to be near the scene of the negotiations. On the way, at Woodstock, he heard the tidings of the marshal's death, which, as we have said, occurred on April 16. He was deeply affected on hearing the sad intelligence, and at once ordered a solemn requiem to be sung for his soul.

At Gloucester Henry was met by the archbishop, who informed him of the successful result of his labours in the cause of peace; Llewellyn having agreed to prolong the truce for two years from June 30,¹ on condition that a complete amnesty should be granted to the confederates.² To this Henry consented, and summoned a parliament for the purpose, to meet at Gloucester on May 29. Edmund took the precaution of procuring a safe conduct for all implicated in the late proceedings. Hence all attended at the time and place appointed. There were present, amongst others, Hubert de Burgh, Basset, Siward, and the brothers of the slain Earl of Pembroke.³

In this parliament Edmund got up and publicly read the treacherous letters which the royal ministers had despatched to their agents in Ireland. Henry solemnly protested his utter ignorance of their contents. The archbishop then said: "Search your conscience, O king: for every one of those who procured those letters to be sent, and were aware of this act

¹ Subsequently renewed for one year from July, 1236.

² The archbishop, in relating the course of his negotiations, observed that the truce was not extorted from Llewellyn's fears of the king's power: for when the king's party and the clergy began to menace him with threats of what would happen, Llewellyn replied: "I am more afraid of the king's alms than of all his men-at-arms and all his clergy to boot".

³ Letters patent of Henry III., dated May 26, 1234, at Gloucester, grant safe conduct to Gilbert Marshall, to Walter and Anselm, his brothers, to Hubert de Burgh, and W. Basset, under the protection of the archbishop. R. Lett. Hy. III., ccclv. p. 438.

of treachery, are as guilty of the marshal's murder as if they had slain him with their own hands". Henry, who was sincerely grieved at the earl's untimely fate, summoned his late ministers to appear and answer for their conduct on June 24. But they, fearing the vengeance of the earl's brothers, fled and took sanctuary—the two Peters at Winchester, Segrave at Leicester, whilst Passelew was nowhere to be found.

Edmund, still acting as peacemaker even in behalf of these unworthy objects, obtained from Henry that they might appear under the archbishop's own safe conduct. A day was fixed for their appearance at Westminster, July 14. The culprits duly presented themselves. Peter de Rievaulx confessed the enormities laid to his charge, and threw himself on the king's mercy; but begged for time to settle his accounts. The king said he should have time enough in the Tower of London. Peter said: "I am a cleric, and ought not to be imprisoned," to which Henry replied: "Well, here is the archbishop, and I will hand you over to him to answer for you". Edmund took him to Winchester, and set him free. He also begged a further space of time, that is, until Michaelmas, in behalf of Segrave, that he might prepare to meet the allegations made against him.

Edmund next applied himself to reconcile the king with the late confederates who had taken up arms against him. But there was a special difficulty in the case of Gilbert, the eldest of Earl Richard's surviving brothers, on the ground that the earl had been slain in arms against the king, which operated as a bar to his succeeding to the inheritance. But the archbishop, who loved Gilbert much (for he was indeed lovable), and pitied his misfortunes, as he ever pitied those who were afflicted, went off in haste to the king, then residing in his manor of Woodstock. When he was ushered into the royal presence, the king rose up and saluted him with a reverent and affectionate embrace, and said: "Welcome, my father; and what is the motive of your visit and of such a fatiguing journey?" Edmund replied: "Sire, the motive is a serious one: nothing less than the salvation of your soul, and the prosperity and welfare of your kingdom". He then prefaced his pleading for Gilbert with an eloquent commen-

dation of the virtue of charity, and proceeded with clasped hands and streaming eyes to supplicate the king on Gilbert's behalf, saying that one brother ought not to suffer for another's misdeeds, and that the fault of the guilty should not be visited on the head of the innocent. These and such like appeals on religious motives he strengthened with all the weight of his own authority as archbishop, earnestly imploring the king that he would not only lay aside all animosity, but would put Gilbert in possession of his inheritance and of his hereditary office. The king, being much moved, answered with a smiling countenance: "My dear archbishop, your entreaties have impressed me much; and a certain superhuman persuasiveness in your speech has quite changed my preconceived resolve, and inclined me to clemency, and to a favourable judgment, which before seemed hopeless". Then he added in the vulgar tongue, with a quiet smile: "Oh! how well you know how to pray; pray like that to God for me, and I make no doubt, as God is more merciful than I, that He will graciously hear you. I grant your petition on this occasion: let it be done as you wish." And, sending for Gilbert, the king was reconciled to him, and restored him, not only his inheritance, but also the office which belonged to him by right of birth, placing in his hands the staff of earl marshal.¹

The letters patent granting this power to Gilbert Marshall are dated May 26, 1234, and stipulate that he should hand over his Castle of Striguil to the custody of the archbishop during the king's pleasure. It is also stipulated that all animosity arising out of the marshal's death should be laid aside by both parties.² He was knighted by Henry on June 11.

Edmund's beneficent task as peacemaker was not yet fully accomplished. Hubert de Burgh had lain, as we have seen, for some time under the king's displeasure, and had suffered many hardships in his various imprisonments. The

¹ This interesting incident is not mentioned by Bertrand, nor indeed by any other writer but our biographer; and we believe it is now published for the first time. We think no one can read it without being convinced that it is written by one who was present at the interview.

² R. Lett. Hy. III., ccclxvi. p. 439.

archbishop now laboured to effect his reconciliation with the king, in which he succeeded, as also on behalf of Basset and others, all of whom he not only reconciled but rendered devoted adherents of the crown.

Thus did St. Edmund exercise his mission as an angel of peace; extending his paternal solicitude with the utmost impartiality to all the various factions which divided the kingdom; so as to bring all into harmony with each other and with the crown. Thus, too, did he carry out the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff, and bring about the desirable results so earnestly and feelingly suggested by the Pope in his letters on the subject, though the measures which he took to accomplish that end were somewhat different from those which the Pope had suggested.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDMUND'S MANNER OF LIFE AS ARCHBISHOP.

He took care of his nation and delivered it from destruction.—Eccli. I. 4.

IN the midst of these anxious cares and labours on behalf of the commonwealth, Edmund did not by any means neglect the care of his own diocese. One might have supposed that the secluded life of studious retirement which he had hitherto led would have incapacitated him for the administration of the affairs of the metropolitan see. But it was not so. Details, indeed, of his administration are, unhappily, wanting in his biography; but one incidental remark made by the Dunstable annalist throws a light on the subject, and makes it evident that the archbishop both understood his duties and set himself energetically to discharge them. The see had been vacant several years, and had suffered in consequence considerable dilapidations in its temporal estate. The annalist, under the year 1234, informs us that the estates of the archbishopric, through fraud and negligence, were lying waste and uncultivated. The new archbishop had them brought under the plough and sown with three months' corn; he took care also that the farm buildings should be put in thorough repair;¹ to accomplish all which he was obliged to saddle himself with heavy debts, borrowing money from the king and others.

He traversed his diocese in all its length and breadth, everywhere hearing the confessions of his flock, and providing that they should have ample opportunities for frequenting the sacraments. Zeal for souls was the supreme motive that

¹ Annal. Dunst., p. 136. "Arata sunt et tremisio seminata et staurum restauratum."

inspired all his actions. Before all others he had a tender regard for true penitents and those who led a penitential life.¹ When he was on a journey, if any one, no matter how poor, asked to confess to him, he would at once alight from his horse and hear the confession with the greatest kindness and tenderness ; nor would he omit to do so in consequence of the state of the weather, or because the resting-place for which he was bound was near at hand. He followed the same practice in the case of those who wished to be confirmed by him.

Robert Bacon, in summing up his administration, says that he always visited his diocese personally, never leaving it to subordinate officials : nothing which needed correction or reformation escaped his notice. In dealing with the powerful he was inflexible, whilst he was all tenderness to the poor : but just to all when he had to decide suits. He was very quick at detecting imposture : clear and precise in pronouncing judgment : backward in asserting his temporal rights, he was full of zeal to promote the Divine glory. In all the vicissitudes of life he preserved a perfect equanimity : never elated in prosperity, always cheerful in adversity.² So great was his humility that he would take off his shoes himself, and carry his cross from the chapel to his chamber. He never wore purple or fine linen, but his ordinary white or grey tunic. Thus he became "all things to all men,"³ preaching the Gospel incessantly to soldiers and civilians, to the regular and secular clergy, to all the faithful of both sexes. His words had an unction that was irresistible. His very appearance was in itself an eloquent sermon, inspiring the beholder with the love and desire of the holiness which beamed from his countenance. All who came in contact with him, rich and poor, old and young, whatever their state and condition of life, might find in him something to admire, something to imitate. He was, in very truth, a true shepherd "made a pattern of the flock from the heart".⁴

¹ "Zelum animarum habuit super omnia ; et vere penitentes et penitentiam agentes præ aliis dilexit." R. R., f. 181 v^o col. 1.

² R. B., f. viii. r^o col. 2.

³ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

⁴ 1 Pet. v. 3.

Wherever he went the news of his arrival gave the signal for a vast concourse of the poor who thronged his doors, whom he relieved with bountiful liberality. With delicate discrimination he had all those carefully sought out who had been reduced to poverty from a state of affluence ; or whom shame hindered from mingling with the ranks of the mendicants. Such as these he took care to provide with a better sort of nourishment and more decent clothing ; and this, too, with all secrecy and delicacy ; an attention which more than doubled the intrinsic value of the alms.

The duties of hospitality which now, more than ever, devolved upon him, so far from trenching upon his former temperate way of living, seemed to inspire him with a greater love of abstinence ; and yet he ever preserved a cheerful and smiling countenance in entertaining his guests. The quality of those who now frequented his table compelled him to provide for them the more exquisite sort of viands, but of these he would only just taste, and then distribute them to the guests, or to the strangers at his gates, or to the religious men whom he always entertained at his table.¹ He was never known to be idle, but was always occupied in some profitable way : in prayer, in meditation, in correcting books, in hearing confessions, in holding disputations with the friars on theological questions, or in deciding the law-suits which came before him.² If any one remonstrated with him on this ceaseless round of occupation without a moment's relaxation, he would answer with the old couplet :—

Nunc lege, nunc ora, sacra vel in arte labora :
Sit Episcopi hora brevis et labor ipse levis.

¹ St. Edmund was always and everywhere accompanied by a retinue of Dominican friars (Nic. Trivet., ad ann. 1240). The same author, who had his information about St. Edmund from one of these fathers, then in advanced years, says that Edmund, when compelled to taste any of those savoury kinds of food, took care, by the use of certain condiments, entirely to destroy their flavour: "Talibus utebatur salsamentis per quæ saporis oblectamentum totaliter tolleretur".

² "Semper vel orans vel meditans vel librorum correctionibus vel confessionibus vel inter fratres collatarum questionum solutionibus vel exortarum litium decisionibus occupatus detinebatur." E., f. 133 r^o.

The archbishop's household consisted of his brother Robert, his faithful companion and helper through life, and biographer after his death; Richard de la Wych, his chancellor, about whom we shall have more to say in a subsequent chapter; and, besides these, a large number of clerics who served him in the capacity of chamberlains, secretaries, and chaplains. There was Bertrand, his chamberlain, who, after Edmund's death, took the Cistercian habit at Pontigny that he might not be separated from his beloved master's remains, and there wrote his *Life*. There was Eustace, a Christ Church monk, who attached himself to the archbishop as his chaplain, and also wrote the *Life* which is printed in this work.

Another who is incidentally mentioned in that *Life* is Robert of Essex, for whom Edmund wrote a letter of recommendation to the Bishop of Norwich just before his death. A certain Thomas de Frakenham is mentioned once as one of the three who accompanied St. Edmund to Rome. Others are named in that very interesting document, MS. 154, Corpus Christi, Oxon., which contains the sworn depositions of certain members of the household in the cause of the Saint's canonisation. The first witness is Richard Dunstaple, who testifies that he was in his service for about ten years; hence he must have been with him before his elevation to the archiepiscopate. He afterwards became a Dominican. The details which have been given of Edmund's austerities and manner of life appear to have been chiefly derived from these domestic witnesses. We need not, therefore, repeat their evidence, except where some new facts or features are elicited. Thus Richard testifies to the archbishop's aversion to be present at the hearing of law-suits, or at the deliberations of his chapter, and only did so when compelled; or, as another witness—Stephen—expresses it, he only attended when the interests of his flock were at stake, as, for instance, in matrimonial causes.

The next witness is Stephen, a subdeacon, who testifies that he was cleric, chamberlain, and secretary to the archbishop for six years and more. He as well as the other testifies that Edmund used invariably to rise after his first sleep about

midnight, and never retired to rest again. When he was at Salisbury he always went to matins and remained praying in the church until the first mass. This witness firmly believes that Edmund never stained his baptismal innocence by any mortal sin.

The third witness is Robert, a priest, formerly a canon regular of St. Augustine, but now (at the time of making this deposition) undergoing his probation in the Cistercian order. He also was for "many years" cleric, chamberlain, and secretary to the archbishop. He says he knows by experience what a pious and discreet confessor Edmund was. He mentions amongst his good works the number of poor scholars whom he supported. Alluding to his charity, he says that no one went away from his gate empty-handed, unless it happened through the carelessness of the domestics; and, if such a thing did happen, Edmund took it seriously to heart, and upbraided the delinquent severely. He was always intent on scattering the seed of the Divine Word, preaching to all publicly and privately, and whenever an occasion presented itself of winning souls he exulted exceedingly. The same witness testifies that Edmund supported a great number of poor scholars though they were personally unknown to him; many of whom, like his own pupils, were moved by his example to embrace the religious state. He concludes with a reference to the Saint's miracles, and relates a grace of which he himself was the recipient. He was suffering from toothache, which prevented him from sleeping. He invoked St. Edmund "with prayers and tears stimulated as much by pain as by devotion". He fell asleep, and did not awake until the bell rang for matins; when he awoke he found he was quite cured.

The fourth and last witness is Eustace, who describes himself as a monk, and as having lived with St. Edmund several years as private chaplain (*capellanus accubicularius*). His evidence need not detain us now; for, as was observed in ch. i., the first portion of the deposition is copied verbatim from the corresponding portion of the Life in the Cotton MS. Jul. D. VI. (1), which therefore we suppose to be his composition, as it is evidently the work of a Christ Church monk;

the latter portion of his deposition is borrowed from the Life in the Cotton MS. Faustina B. I., which we have identified with the work by Robert Rich. He has, however, taken care to soften the accusations made in the latter work against the Christ Church community. At the end of the document, however, there are some original observations not borrowed from either of the above-mentioned works. They refer to the Saint's last moments, and we have supposed that they were written when the writer's recollection of that event was much more fresh than when he subsequently completed the Life. We reserve these observations until we come to that period of the Saint's life.

Robert Bacon's deposition has been incorporated by Eustace in his Life, and we have already drawn largely from this authoritative source. In the Life which he wrote there is a short chapter (f. vii. r^o col. 2) on Edmund's "demeanour in church, at table, in the hall and in his private chamber," to which we may now refer. In the church he never sat down, but always prayed standing or on his knees; his attitude at table we have already described. In the hall he took little interest in temporal affairs, but his time was chiefly occupied in hearing the complaints of needy persons, in conversing with strangers, in helping the afflicted, in welcoming wayfarers. So far Friar Robert. When Edmund was compelled to engage in litigation, he always contrived to temper justice with mercy. For example, the manor of a certain knight was legally adjudged to be held by the archbishop, and the knight had to pay a fine of £80 to recover seisin. When the fine was paid, the archbishop distributed the whole sum amongst the four daughters of the knight to find them marriage portions.

Again, it was the custom when a tenant died that the lord of the manor received what was called a "heriot," that is, the best animal in the late tenant's possession. Often the poor widows would come and ask him to remit this obligation. He would answer them thus: "My good woman, this is the law of the land, and custom requires that your lord should claim the best beast in his tenant's possession". Then he would turn to his attendants and say to them in Latin or in

French: "In truth it is an iniquitous law; after the poor wretch has lost her husband, to take from her the best that her husband has left her. It is an infamous custom." Then he would turn to the widow and say in English: "If I lend you the beast will you take good care of it for me?" When she answered: "My lord, I promise to do so," he would order his bailiff to restore the animal to her without delay.

In those days the administration of justice was tarnished by an unblushing system of bribery and corruption. So great was the evil that in one of the articles of Magna Charta John is made to promise that he would "sell justice to nobody". But this article was no more observed than the others.

Edmund felt for this corrupt practice the greatest horror and detestation. He used to say that between "prendre" and "pendre" there was only the difference of a letter.¹ A cleric once brought him from a certain bishop a present of valuable plate. Edmund would not touch it, and sent it all back. The cleric begged him at least to accept a ring which he said was worth 100 marks. Edmund replied that "he had one ring and did not want another; he cared no more for the precious ring than for the dirt under his feet". The same bishop thought at another time he would try him with a present of an ordinary character. So he procured two decent bed-coverlets, one of which, in the first instance, he gave to Edmund's brother, Robert, by way of a feeler. But in vain, for, when the other coverlet came for his acceptance, which his brother begged him not to refuse, he rebuked Robert and said to him: "You may be satisfied with your present, but not I. I know too well what is written in my book." Another religious man offered him a golden pyx for his chapel. He would not accept it, and upbraided the donor for offering it. On all such occasions he would say: "The enemy tries to tempt me with gifts when I am rich and have need of nothing, for when I was poor he could not deceive me in that way. But I hope, through God's mercy, that he will never succeed with me by that means." Then he advanced a pro-

¹ Entre prendre et pendre nath fors une lettre; dont cel ki prent volunters est mot pres de pendre. MS. Lamb., f. 129 v^o col. 1.

position which, says the chronicler, makes one reflect seriously : " By gifts which are given and received not according to God the Christian religion is tampered with, especially in these days, and it will suffer in consequence before the faithful are aware of it, unless, by God's mercy, they strive to rid themselves of this pestilence ". He strictly forbade those who were engaged in the work of visitation to receive anything for themselves or their attendants, except their bare nourishment. Those who transgressed were excommunicated, and the presents they had received were returned to the donors.¹

Our biographer, being now one of the Saint's household, is able to furnish us with particulars from his own observation, of his instance and fervour in prayer. He says that, after a very brief repose, he would spend the rest of the night up to the last cock-crow in genuflections, in tears and contemplation, and only then would he commence what he called his customary daily prayers. " We, however," he continues, " sleepy and sluggish as we were, were hardly able to get up in time to begin matins with him, when he had already finished his round of prayers."

If his episcopal duties ever trenched upon his time for prayer, they never diminished his ardour to engage in that exercise ; and if his clerics were prevented by business from hearing mass at the proper time, he would himself, later on in the day, say mass for them.

He was very rigid in exacting purity of life from all the members of his household ; and, when engaging them, he always stipulated that if ever they transgressed in this respect they should be instantly dismissed from his service. But no amount of provocation, whether on the part of his domestics or of others, could ever disturb the equanimity of his soul or excite his anger, so careful was he to preserve that peace which springs from close communion with God ;² as the world cannot bestow that peace, so neither can the iniquity of the world take it away.

He was also particular in enforcing the rule of silence to

¹ B., col. 1808.

² " Quoniam satagebat sollicitus servare jugiter pacem cordis." Vinc. Bell., Spec. iv. c. 78, p. 1311.

be observed in the church and during the hours of night after compline. He used to quote the saying: "Silence is the minister of justice";¹ and, "He shall sit solitary and hold his peace; because he hath taken it upon himself".²

The biographers compare our Saint with St. Martin, and the comparison is, in many respects, a most happy one. The same purity of intention, singleness of purpose, and simplicity of soul characterise them both. The Church, with that infallible instinct which guides her in the sacred liturgy, has selected for the Gospel of St. Martin the admonition of our Lord: "If thy eye be single thy whole body shall be light-some".³ Both these great saints were so utterly divested of self-love and self-seeking that soul and body, with all their faculties, seem like some harp exquisitely tempered and attuned, from which the Holy Spirit is able to elicit nothing but celestial harmonies, not marred by the discords which human passions ever excite in the breasts of the unmortified. Growth in holiness depends on the degree in which one divests oneself of inordinate self-love and all selfish aims. It is this self-love which constitutes a perpetual obstacle to the working of the Holy Spirit; which hinders the soul's advance in the way of virtue and perfection. And it is only in proportion as this self-love is overcome, and the soul is laid bare, in all simplicity and singleness of purpose, to the operations of the Divine Spirit, that any progress can be made in the way of holiness. It was in this sublime science of the saints that St. Martin and St. Edmund were such great proficient, this rendered their sweet and lovely souls so responsive to the touch of the Divine Spirit. St. Martin's own disciple, Sulpicius Severus, has given us an admirable portrait of his master; every word of which is strictly applicable to St. Edmund: "His time was wholly spent in the service of God; his mind was always absorbed in prayer; plain and straightforward in his dealings, he judged no one, condemned no one; he did not return evil for evil; even the lowest of his clergy might insult him with impunity; no one ever saw him angry or excited, or dejected or elated; he was always the same; his countenance beaming with a heavenly radiance. Piety,

¹ Is. xxxii. 17.² Lam. iii. 28.³ Matt. vi. 22.

peace, and clemency dwelt in his heart; Christ was ever on his lips." In this marvellous picture we can trace the familiar features of St. Edmund. His time was wholly spent in the service of God; he had not, like so many, one eye for God's service and another for the prosecution of his own aims. No, his eye was single. He was always praying; for, in his case, there were none of those manifold and subtle ties which bind the soul to earth and check its heavenward aspirations. He was truly a man of God; hence that rectitude and integrity of soul which led him to refrain from all judgment and condemnation of others: simple, straightforward, and fearing God with that holy reverential fear which proceeds from simplicity of heart; which finds nothing to intercept its view of the Divine Majesty, which is exempt from the base and sordid interests of self-seeking. Such an one has no temptation to judge or condemn others; for all such judgments spring from self-love and pride which lifts itself up against God, which usurps the place of God, and which is an obstacle to that perfect subjection of the whole being to God in which true sanctity consists.

Hence, too, that equable temperament of mind which secured him immunity from the ordinary passions which disturb the tranquillity of the soul; which keep men in a constant ferment of unruly emotions, whether of anger, of sorrow, or of concupiscence. The calm and placid repose of his interior resting on Divine contemplation, as on an immovable rock, manifested itself even on his countenance, transfiguring him with a heavenly beauty and radiance.

There is, moreover, a striking resemblance in their last utterances. St. Martin addresses the enemy of mankind with calm intrepidity: "O malicious one! thou wilt find nothing in me". St. Edmund addresses his Lord brought to him in the holy viaticum: "Thou art my Witness that I have sought nothing else but Thee".¹

¹The writer of the Harl. MS. 2 (f. 92 r^o col. 2) has made the same observation: "*Quis enim ut Martinus veraciter diceret hujus mundi principi: 'Nihil in me funeste reperies'. Quis etiam ut Edmundus audeat regi dicere angelorum: 'Nihil quæsi in terra nisi Te Domine'?*" This manuscript was written by a monk of Pontigny; for, speaking of St. Thomas' promise, he says that the martyr wished to make some recompense for the care which "our predecessors" lavished upon him, f. 96 v^o col. 2.

We have now to consider the deposition of the Archbishop of York,¹ also incorporated by Eustace in his Life. This prelate had the most intimate relations with our Saint from his scholastic days. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*,² he was Chancellor of Oxford in 1205. Hence he would be well competent to testify to Edmund's manner of life both as a scholar and as a professor at Oxford. He says: "The late Archbishop Edmund was, I believe, as far as it is given to man to judge, exempt from every carnal failing. He excelled all whom I have known in the strength of his faith, in the steadfastness of his hope, in the fervour of his charity. He was eloquent in speech, a profound scholar: mortified in his appetite, instant in prayer, ever vigilant and careful of discipline: a learned doctor, an eloquent preacher, a discreet confessor. He always wore hair-cloth and scarcely ever reposed on a bed; whilst the short repose he took was taken without putting off his garments. Every night (except it were some great festival) he received the penitential flagellation, which we call 'discipline,' to such a degree that his body was covered with livid scars, and at times to the shedding of blood; whilst he upbraided those who inflicted it when they were inclined to spare him. Strong in adversity, meek in prosperity, he was affable to all: gentle in speech, he united a cheerful gaiety with a becoming reserve. He sympathised with the afflicted and comforted them: he relieved the poor with liberal alms, so that he might have said with Job: 'I was a foot to the lame, an eye to the blind, the father of the poor,'³ the solace of the suffering. When I call to mind his invincible faith, his mortification, his long conflict with the devil and with the world, I have no hesitation in affirming that, though he did not perish by the sword, nevertheless he suffered a long and cruel martyrdom. He might well say with the apostle: 'To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain'.⁴ A celestial unction inspired all his words—the gift of that Spirit who, appearing to the apostles

¹ Walter de Gray, translated to the See of York, March, 27, 1216. He died after a long pontificate of forty years on May 1, 1255.

² Vol. xvi. p. 405.

³ Job xxix. 15, 16.

⁴ Phil. i. 21.

in fiery tongues, made them powerful in speech and fervent in charity. His conversation possessed a wonderful fascination and persuasiveness, as well from the depth of his thought as from the purity of his diction, which produced an indescribable impression on the hearer. After meals he betook himself to the study of the sacred Scriptures, or to edifying conversation; for he detested idleness above all things, so that 'the enemy' might not mock at his Sabbaths.¹ He seldom had a second meal in the day, and hardly ever drank after dinner. After matins, when the clerics and chaplains retired for the night, he remained in the oratory alone, both winter and summer, and spent the remainder of the night in contemplation mingled with tears and prayers. It was at this time that he had many a conflict with the evil one, when he would be overheard upbraiding him. Once, on a journey between Wrotham² and Otteford, he saw the devil in the form of a dragon vomiting fire, at one time stretching himself up to heaven; at another, lying prostrate on the earth. In this vision we seem to get an insight into the inner workings of the Saint's mind, translating themselves into visual perceptions. In the course of his meditative walks or rides between his two manors (they were about five miles apart), the struggle in which he was engaged with the powers of darkness would present itself to his mind in some such external shape. The prince of this world, with his power resting on the earth, yet daring to lift himself up to heaven, breathing forth his fiery exhalations, would aptly represent the arch-enemy who, after using in vain all his stratagems to pervert our Saint, was now avenging himself by employing all his arts to thwart the archbishop's designs and to hinder him from carrying out his mission, making use, for that purpose, of the baser elements of earthly passions, and even ascending to the higher regions of

¹ Lam. i. 7.

² Wrotham, in Kent, eleven miles W.N.W. from Maidstone. It was one of the archbishop's manors. Otteford was not far distant, where he had another manor, which, in fact, notwithstanding its unhealthy situation, seems to have been a favourite residence of the archbishops from the number of official documents which are dated from that place.

ecclesiastical authority, by tampering with which he succeeded in crippling and annulling all St. Edmund's efforts in the cause of piety and religion."

Here the archbishop's report, as quoted by our biographer, comes to an abrupt conclusion. It is followed immediately in the same Life by a similar testimony from Friar Robert Bacon. It is entitled: "A true and brief relation by Br. Robert Bacon on the sanctity of the Blessed Archbishop Edmund, taken from the depositions in the cause of canonisation". We have already spoken of this document, and need only quote one of St. Edmund's sayings to which he refers.

He says that whilst Edmund treated himself with the greatest severity he was sweetness itself in his dealings with others, and quotes a saying of his, that "the olive-tree keeps the bitterness of its root to itself, but bestows the sweetness, the light and the nourishment of its oil upon others".

To the preceding encomiums we may add that of Matthew Paris:¹ "Whilst he closed his mouth to the gratification of the sensual appetite, it was ever open to the praises of God, ever exercised in acts of thanksgiving. Whatever he said was edifying; his words seemed drawn from the fountain of our Lord's bosom—profound, yet edifying, as became a theologian worthy to be named another Augustine. Like the Blessed Martin, his eyes and hands were ever lifted up to heaven; he made the surrounding air echo his groans and sighs: every one who listened to him carried away some holy impressions."

The first prelate in regard of whom Edmund exercised his privilege as primate by consecrating him to the episcopate was Ralph de Maidstone, whom he consecrated Bishop of Hereford, in succession to Hugh Foliot, on November 12, 1234. He resigned his see on December 17, 1239,² and became a Franciscan at Oxford. We shall see later that the intrigues which accompanied the next election to the vacant see attracted the vigilant notice of Robert Grosseteste,

¹ Vol. iv. 329.

² Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 458.

Bishop of Lincoln, who wrote a letter to St. Edmund on the subject.

But it is time for us to say a few words about this great man and intimate friend of our Saint. To him, therefore, the next chapter will be devoted.

CHAPTER XIV.

ROBERT GROSSETESTE.

(A.D. 1235.)

IN the year 1235 Edmund had the happiness of consecrating his friend, Robert Grosseteste, as Bishop of Lincoln. This great man was so intimately associated with our Saint during this portion of his life that he deserves from us a passing notice as to his previous career. He was probably Edmund's senior in age, and he survived him thirteen years, dying at an advanced age, October, 1253. He was educated at Oxford, and perhaps subsequently at Paris. He was lecturer in theology at Oxford in 1224, when the first Franciscans arrived there. He at once took the warmest interest in the Seraphic Order, and continued ever afterwards their devoted friend and admirer; just as Edmund had been attracted to the Dominican Order at the same period. In fact, Grosseteste was the first rector in theology at the new school of the Minorites at Oxford. Previously to this he had held high preferment in the Church. In fact, he preceded Edmund as a dignitary of the church of Salisbury, for we find him Archdeacon of Wilts from 1214 to 1220, so that he seems to have given up this office just about the time that Edmund became treasurer. He afterwards became Archdeacon of Northampton, and then of Leicester, which office he held when he was made bishop.

Protestant writers have claimed Grosseteste as a pioneer in the work of the so-called Reformation. A more absurd claim has never been made. Undoubtedly he was a man of sterling integrity and unflinching resolution; he spoke out his mind to Pope and cardinals as freely as Paul rebuked

Peter when he thought he was in error. We shall see later on what were the questions which provoked his animadversions ; questions which in no way concerned the doctrines of faith or the government of the universal Church, but merely related to the particular requirements of the Church in this country, over a part of which Grosseteste presided as bishop, and for which he was immediately responsible to God. Indeed, we may safely say (and a cursory glance at his letters will prove the statement) that there never breathed a more ardent and thorough-going supporter of the papal prerogative than Robert Grosseteste. The late Mr. Luard, the able and impartial editor of his letters for the Rolls Series, tells us plainly what he thinks of the claim referred to above. He says :¹ "Grosseteste has been styled one of the harbingers of the Reformation. If (that statement) implies that he had any tendency towards the doctrinal changes then brought about in the Church, or that he introduced any idea of a separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, a more utterly mistaken statement has never been made."

No doubt Grosseteste was a reformer. If there ever was a reformer he was one. Reformation of abuses was the very breath of his nostrils. It was the one object for which he lived and worked. In this he resembled St. Edmund. But he was made of sterner stuff than Edmund ; whilst the latter bowed to the storm when it broke over his head and he felt himself unequal to cope with it, Grosseteste went on fighting to the last, fearlessly denouncing all those, however high their position might be in Church and State, whom he thought in any way responsible for the calamities which then oppressed the Christian commonwealth.

Such was the man who, in 1235, was elected by the chapter of Lincoln to succeed Hugh Wells as bishop. After his election, a curious difficulty arose as to the place of his consecration. The monks of Canterbury claimed as their privilege that every consecration should be performed in their cathedral. This privilege was guaranteed to the chapter by the celebrated charter of privileges granted by St. Thomas.

¹ Preface, p. xiv.

The portion which refers to this particular matter runs as follows: "We forbid any of the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury from being consecrated elsewhere than in the church of Canterbury, to which they are bound both by profession and due subjection; unless they are dispensed by the common consent of the whole chapter of the monks of Canterbury".¹

But for some reason or other unknown to us Edmund declined to hold the consecration at Canterbury. Hence, scarcely a year had elapsed from his own election by the chapter when he was brought into collision with the monks; and the controversies which ensued between them embittered the whole of his pontificate, and became one of the causes which contributed to his premature death. To a man of Edmund's meek and gentle temperament the motive must have been a grave one which led him to ignore an admitted privilege of the monastic chapter; probably he wished to resist what he deemed the exorbitant claims to privileges set up by the monks on this as on other points. Strange to say, whatever the reason was, it was as unknown to Grosseteste as to us. For in a letter of his addressed to the archbishop on the subject he implores him "for the sake of peace to give way, unless some reason, *of which he is not aware*, makes it impossible for the consecration to take place at Canterbury without sin". Elsewhere he seems to hint that the reason may be of an economical nature.² But it seems highly improbable that Edmund, on such grounds alone, would have run the risk of incurring the hostility of the monks. What adds to the mystery is, that it appears from the same letter that Grosseteste had previously visited the monks and talked the matter over with them, which makes it

¹ "Prohibemus etiam ne Episcopi Cantuar. ecclesiæ suffraganei alibi consecrentur quam in Ecclesia Cantuariensi, cui tenentur et professione et debita subjectione, nisi de communi consensu totius capituli monachorum Cantuariensium." "Literæ Cantuar." Ed. by Dr. Sheppard, introd., xlvi.

² "Melius est enim ibidem consecrari cum quantolibet rerum temporalium dispendio, quam alibi cum quantolibet rerum temporalium compendio, adjuncto fratris infirmi offendiculo." Gross. Lett., xii. p. 54. Matt. Paris also seems to assign the same reason; for he says the consecration took place at Reading, "ne labores et expensæ frustrarentur convenientium".

more strange that he should have been ignorant of the cause of Edmund's decision.¹

Whatever the cause may have been, Edmund remained firm, and Grosseteste was consecrated by the archbishop at Reading on June 17, 1235.² Edmund was assisted at this consecration by the following prelates: Roger of London, Jocelin of Bath, Robert of Sarum, Hugh of Ely, and Ralph of Hereford.

At the same time and place Edmund also consecrated Hugh, a Dominican friar, as Bishop of St. Asaph.

In order to safeguard the rights of the Christ Church community, a "cautionary letter" was subscribed both by the consecrating and consecrated prelates, the purport of which is as follows:³ "Since, according to the franchises of the church of Canterbury, the suffragans of the same see may not, on any account, be consecrated elsewhere than in Canterbury Cathedral, in order that the consecration of — to be Bishop of —, celebrated by us in the church of —, may not prejudice the said church for the future, we, by these presents, protest that the aforesaid consecration was celebrated by us in the said place, with the consent of the chapter of Canterbury".

It may possibly have been in reference to this dispute, or to the causes which led to it, that the Pope addressed a paternal letter of admonition to the archbishop in the following terms:⁴ "Though you are zealous, as you ought to be, for ecclesiastical liberty, and it is our wish that you should always keep and foster the same zeal, nevertheless we warn your fraternity, and by these apostolical letters we enjoin that, in defending that liberty, you do not overstep the bounds of moderation, nor lay aside the sobriety which

¹ "Cæterum, illud quod audivistis dici, quod quidam de his qui fuerunt mecum apud Cantuariam, dixerint verba aspera monachis, comminando quod, illis invitis, alibi consecraret, credo veraciter esse figmentum; fuerunt enim qui mecum aderant, viri valde pacifici et discreti, qui mecum humillimas preces monachis effuderunt."

² Some say on June 3.

³ The original letters copied from the Canterbury archives will be found in the appendix iv.

⁴ The letter is dated February 15, 1235.

becomes your office. We trust that it will never be said of you, that your zeal for souls causes you to dig pits for entrapping people. Rather we hope that you will observe episcopal gravity in all your acts, and take care to adopt gentle and pacific methods. We exhort you so to carry out our admonition and injunction that no matter for scandal may hinder the beneficial results which we hoped would accrue to the kingdom and to the Church from your promotion."¹

Once consecrated, Robert went to work vigorously in the cause of reform. In the first year of his episcopate he deposed seven abbots and four priors in his own diocese.²

No power on earth, neither Pope nor king, cardinal nor earl nor bishop, could induce him to institute to a church benefice one whom he judged incompetent for such a charge. It was not, by any means, as some writers represent it, that he was opposed only to "papal" provisions, nor was he actuated by a stupid national prejudice against foreigners; for, as Eccleston points out,³ Grosseteste desired a Franciscan friar to provide six or seven clerks from abroad whom he could benefice in his diocese, to preach by example, though they could not speak English, thus showing, says Eccleston, that he refused the nominees of the Pope and the cardinals, not because they were ignorant of English, but because they sought only temporal things. Again, his objections were not limited to papal nominees, but extended to those who were nominated by English bishops, dignitaries and noblemen. If the nominee was unsuitable the gates of Lincoln diocese were inexorably shut against him, no matter who recommended him. These energetic proceedings naturally brought upon him the vengeance of those who were interested in the

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., app. xxxviii. p. 558.

² The diocese of Lincoln was by far the wealthiest and the most populous of the English dioceses. It extended from the Humber to the Thames. From a return of the amount of Peter's pence collected in the various dioceses in the time of Innocent III. it appears that the diocese of Lincoln contributed just twice as much as that of Norwich, which stands second on the list. Lingard (ed. 1855), vol. ii. ch. v. p. 165 note.

³ Apud Luard, Gross. Litt., pref., p. xvi. note.

maintenance of abuses, the king, the barons, the clergy, even his own chapter who refused to submit to his episcopal visitation; the religious houses also did their utmost to thwart his designs and to hinder the work of reformation.

To obtain an idea of the nature of the difficulties with which he and the archbishop had to contend, we cannot do better than cast a glance at his correspondence with St. Edmund. Unfortunately, we have not Edmund's replies, but the letters of Grosseteste will suffice to show us what attitude the archbishop took in the difficult position in which he was placed. In a letter written in 1236,¹ Grosseteste writes to the archbishop to justify himself from certain accusations. In the first place, Edmund had written to Grosseteste about some complaint which Osney Abbey had made against him. The bishop shows that they had misrepresented the case. Another grievance alleged against him was that he had refused to institute one Hugh de Ravel to a benefice. Hugh had appealed, and Edmund appointed as judge to try the case the Chancellor of Cambridge.² The bishop's answer is that Hugh is much too young for such a charge. The third accusation was that, in a certain suit, he had acted as judge, being the intimate friend of one of the parties to the suit. In this case Edmund had appointed as judges of the appeal the Dean of Abingdon and the Rector of St. Helen's. The bishop declares that he had committed the hearing of the case to delegates who were above suspicion. He hopes that he may not be distracted from his episcopal duties by such frivolous

¹ Lett. xxvi. p. 101.

² The first Chancellor of Cambridge University given by Le Neve (*Fasti*, iii. 597) is Hugh de Hothun under the date 1246. But there was a chancellor there already in 1231, as on May 3 of that year Henry III. writes to the Sheriff of Cambridge complaining that there are many rebellious and incorrigible clerics there who refuse to be corrected and chastised by the chancellor and masters, and others, pretended clerics, who claim exemption from punishment when the chancellor and masters wish to punish them for their misdeeds. He orders that henceforth no cleric shall stay in that town who is not under the discipline of some schoolmaster. The king also writes to the mayor and bailiffs of Cambridge to point out that in consequence of the great multitude of scholars there, both natives and foreigners, house rent ought to be taxed by competent authority, lest by exorbitant rents they should drive away the scholars. R. Lett. Hy. III., cccxxiv-vi. 396-8.

complaints, and begs the archbishop in his prudent discretion to prevent this mischief as far as possible. He concludes by asking Edmund's advice on the following point : The bishop, in his court, on questions of bastardy, pronounced according to the provisions of canon law, to which the king objected, and required a return formulated according to the common law of England. As he refused to do this, he had been cited to appear before the king's bench. He says that the king alleges that Edmund and the other bishops have consented to this course. He wishes therefore to know whether he has consented, and, if so, what course would the archbishop advise him to take, for he is afraid of offending God by complying with the king's order ; but if the other bishops have consented, and he does not, he will have to take the consequences. Unless, therefore, the archbishop can indicate some way out of the difficulty, he prefers to fall into the hands of men, from whom God can deliver him, rather than into the hands of God, from whom there is no one who can deliver him.

In another letter¹ written in the same year (1236), Grosseteste writes to the archbishop protesting against the action of the king in appointing the Abbot of Ramsey one of the justices in eyre for the counties of Beds and Bucks. The bishop urges that the justice must hear all sorts of causes, including capital ones, contrary to the Scriptures and the canons ; such things being interdicted to any cleric, much more to a Benedictine abbot. Nor would he evade the difficulty by rising from his seat before sentence is pronounced, as that would prejudice the case of the accused by giving an intimation of his proximate condemnation. Besides, clerics are forbidden by the canons to exercise any jurisdiction under the authority of seculars. He therefore begs Edmund to admonish the king to withdraw his mandate. But if the king refuses, then he asks Edmund to advise him what course to take, as he does not see how he can even tacitly approve such proceedings without prevaricating from his episcopal duty ; whilst, if he does compel the abbot to desist from exercising this office, the emissaries of the king will lay waste

¹ Lett. xxvii. p. 105.

his estates and make him a laughing-stock to the world. But he does not care for that. In fact, he is ashamed to ask for advice as the case is so clear. However, he wishes Edmund to warrant him by his authority in opposing this appointment. For "my puny strength," he says, "supported by the sanction of your well-guarded authority, may well get the better of the schemes of the malignant".

It seems that his appeal to the archbishop was ineffectual, for he no doubt alludes to this case in his letter to the legate Otho, written on a similar subject in 1239. He asks Otho to prevent the Abbot of Croyland from acting as itinerant justice. He says he has no other remedy except to apply to the legate, "especially as, on another occasion in a similar case, I had recourse to the venerable father, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to ask his help; nevertheless, I did not succeed in accomplishing my desire".

Still in the same year (1236) he despatches another letter to the archbishop¹ on the same subject, and takes occasion to call attention to another grievance—the old grievance against which St. Thomas protested with his life's blood, that of summoning clerics to appear before lay tribunals. He writes to Edmund because it is his office to provide a safe refuge for those who are dependent on him. The king has threatened him for opposing these abuses. The archbishop had already twice answered him that it was better to wait until a council could be summoned.² But meantime his conscience was smitten, and he wants a plain answer to a plain question: "Are these things sinful or are they not?" If they are sinful, how can we bishops wink at them? There can be no question but that they are sinful. He then quotes the canons and examples from the fathers to show that they are sinful. He does not even see how clerics, not in sacred orders, can be excused from disobedience by consenting to such proceedings. If their prelates do not resist, they will betray their sacred trust; much more, if they make themselves the tools of the royal tyranny by compelling clerics to

¹ Lett. xxviii. p. 118.

² A council was held in the following year, but there the archbishop's authority was overshadowed by that of the papal legate.

appear before such lay tribunals. By so doing they violate their consecration-oath. He wishes, therefore, a distinct answer from the archbishop, whether religious or clerics so acting, or the prelates who sanction it, commit sin or not? What, moreover, is he to do, according to the wisdom which is from above? He calls upon the archbishop TO STAND UP LIKE A BRAZEN WALL; to act as a LEADER IN THE CAMP OF ISRAEL; to fight the battles of the Lord like that valiant warrior, Judas Macchabeus.

The last document which we shall quote on this subject is rather a manifesto than a letter, though it was sent to the archbishop for his perusal and approbation. It contains a summary of all the grievances of which he had to complain in the violation of ecclesiastical liberties by the arbitrary power of the crown.¹

(1) The appointment of abbots to be itinerant justices to hold pleas of the crown is condemned by the authority of Saint Gregory the Great (Pastor., ii. c. vii.); St. Bernard (de Consid., i. c. vi.); St. Jerome (adv. Jovin., ii. 12). It is especially unbecoming in abbots, in whose rule it is stated that they should be strangers to worldly ways (Reg. St. Benedict., c. iv. 20); and that the abbot holds the place of Christ in the monastery (c. ii.), who Himself has said: "Man, who hath appointed Me judge or divider over you?"² Hence, they cannot accept such an office without grievous sin. The sacred canons prohibit clerics from such employments. Civil law has no power to overrule ecclesiastical law. It is lawful for no one to judge the judgments of the Apostolic See, or to revise its decisions, or to adulterate its decrees.³ Ecclesiastics ought not to obey civil laws which contravene Divine or canonical prescriptions. Prelates sin who do not oppose these violations of church-right. If it be objected that some are bound to render these services in consequence of holding baronies from the crown to which such obligations are annexed, he answers that, in that

¹ Lett. lxxii. p. 205.

² Luke xii. 14.

³ "Neminique licet de sedis apostolicæ judicio judicare, aut ejus sententiam retractare . . . vel apostolicæ sedis decreta temerare."

case, they must act by a deputy who can lawfully exercise the office, just as they do in military service, not by taking arms themselves, but by hiring soldiers who may lawfully take arms. In the same way, they cannot fill the office of sheriff or steward of secular property : there have been many sad examples in the English Church of the contravention of this prohibition : cases in which clerics employed as secular stewards have died without clearing their accounts ; so that bishops have had to apply the revenue of their benefices to make good their defalcations, thus alienating sacred property to an improper use.

(2) He next proceeds to the abuse of compelling clerics to appear before lay tribunals, which he shows to be in contravention of the teaching of the Old and New Testament. The priesthood is of higher rank and authority than the royal dignity. In fact, the Church is the fountain-head of all authority ; even of that which, for convenience' sake, is exercised in civil affairs by lay judges. Hence, when civil courts have no higher authority to appeal to, they appeal to the Church. Hence, all who submit to these practices, and those who countenance them, commit sin. Better a thousand times to suffer injustice, spoliation, exile, imprisonment, death itself, than suffer the liberties of Mother Church to be shamefully violated. Yet some bishops actually compel their clergy to submit to this iniquitous proceeding. No individual cleric has a right to forego a privilege, when by doing so he would prejudice his whole order.

(3) Another injustice is that secular judges determine whether a certain case belongs to the ecclesiastical or civil forum, which can only be determined by an ecclesiastical judge ; for ecclesiastical jurisdiction is universal, civil jurisdiction limited. At the same time he would distinguish between persons and things. Whilst he claims immunity from civil jurisdiction for ecclesiastical persons, he admits that the property of clerics, if it is a lay fee, may be subject to lay jurisdiction. It is also objected that if a layman sues a cleric he may bring the case before a lay tribunal. Here, again, he makes the same distinction : so far as it is a question of lay property, it may be tried before a lay

tribunal, but not when it is a question of the act of a clerical person. If it is alleged that the king is in possession of this right, of which he cannot be arbitrarily deprived, the answer is that the right is nothing, because it is sinful, and sin is nothing; therefore, in depriving him of this right, we deprive him of nothing.¹ He also protests against the abuse by which the king issues writs forbidding ecclesiastical judges to proceed in certain causes, the only effect of which is that such causes are never decided at all. The wolf of the secular power wreaks his fury, but there is hardly a dog that barks, and fewer still are the shepherds who come to the rescue and resist.

(4) In the next place, he refers to bishops being called to account by the king for the manner in which they admit or refuse presentees to benefices. In this matter a bishop is wholly independent of the crown. It is objected that such a principle would nullify the king's right of presentation; to which he replies that lay presentation and lay jurisdiction in patronage questions are anomalies which the Church indeed tolerates; but, supposing they were lawful, this right of lay persons to present cannot deprive bishops of their Divine right of judging of the presentee's fitness. In exercising that right the bishop does not, in the least, call in question nor prejudice the right to present. A king cannot order a bishop to do or not to do his episcopal and spiritual office. As he cannot order a bishop to say mass or confer orders or consecrate chrism and the like, so neither can he order him to institute such a person to a benefice with care of souls, nor ought a bishop to be accountable to him or any lay authority for doing or omitting any of these functions. Hence he suggests that the royal writ ought to run in these terms: "We order you to consider such a person as the real patron of such a church; and that you do not refuse any one presented by him as being presented by one who is not the real patron". The Council of Oxford, held in 1222, launched sentence of excommunication against all who infringe the liberties of the Church; and the bishop thinks

¹ A characteristic instance of the scholastic method of argument.

that the king and certain barons, fearing they had incurred this censure, at a conference held in St. Catharine's Chapel, Westminster, asked Archbishop Edmund to absolve them, which he did on condition that if they should violate the charter subsequently, they would, *ipso facto*, fall again under the same sentence.¹

The manifesto concludes with a list of royal writs (he quotes eight of them at length), in which Henry III. has rendered himself guilty of each and all of these violations of ecclesiastical rights and privileges.

That Grosseteste, in opposing papal and other "provisions," was animated solely by a conscientious motive of solicitude for the flock committed to his charge, and not in any way from a spirit of opposition to the papal prerogative, is evident from the following extracts from his letters. In letter xxxv.² he quotes the chapter of St. Benedict's rule: "*Si impossibilia fratri injungantur*": "If a brother is ordered to do something impossible" (ch. lxviii.). He says: "If, according to St. Benedict's rule, one must conscientiously and confidently attack an impossible task when the superior commands it, how much more should this be done at the command of him who is placed, not merely in the position of prior, but in the highest place, the place, namely, of Peter, prince of the apostles and of the whole world". Writing to Otho, the Pope's legate in England,³ in the year 1238, he excuses himself for refusing a prebend to Otho's nominee. He says: "Neither tribulation, nor constraint, nor persecution will, with the help of Christ's grace, separate my lowliness from the obedience due to the holy Roman Church, which is rendered, not out of fear, but with affectionate love". He says he is ready, "if the Pope orders it, to go and preach the Gospel to the Saracens. . . . I know that it is in the power of my lord the Pope and of the holy Roman Church freely

¹ The manifesto is not dated, and Mr. Luard thinks it was probably written in 1236; but the allusion to the incident which took place in St. Catharine's Chapel on January 28, 1237, proves that it was written subsequently to that date. We shall have occasion, later on, to speak more at length of that memorable incident.

² Luard, p. 124.

³ Letter xlix. p. 144.

to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices ; but I also know that whoever abuses this power builds up for hell-fire.* I know, also, that whoever uses this power, not for the promotion of faith and charity, abuses it." He then goes on to show that interference with the rights of patrons is sure to cause scandal, and thus endanger both faith and charity, and entreats Otho to withdraw his nomination.

In a pamphlet which he addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln in 1239¹ he clearly lays down the relations between the Pope and the bishops. The Pope can, of his own power, settle all affairs, as well of communities as of individuals, whether the affairs be great or small, or the persons concerned be high or low. He can correct what ought to be corrected ; reform what ought to be reformed. Whatever position the Pope holds in regard of the universal Church, such is the position of a bishop in the power which he has received from the apostolic commission in respect of his own diocese. He compares the Pope to the sun, and says that all other prelates are, in respect to him, as the moon and stars, receiving from him whatever power they have to illuminate and nourish the Church. It belongs to the Pope's province, by his watchful supervision, to scatter the darkness of every evil, to foster and nourish the seeds and germs of all good. In his presence all other authorities must give way, just as the moon and stars give place to the solar rays.

Nevertheless, he retained to the last his invincible objection to the system of "provisions," and in the very last year of his life (1253) thus energetically enunciated his views:² "As power was given to the Pope for edification, and not for destruction of the Church in England, I, acting from filial motives and out of obedience, refuse to obey such 'provisions'; I gainsay them ; I rebel against them. These 'provisions,' as they are called, are not for edification, but for manifest destruction ; therefore, they are not within the competence of the Apostolic See. For 'flesh and blood' (it was a question of instituting the Pope's nephew to a Lincoln prebend), which shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, have revealed them,

¹ Letter xlix. p. 127.

² Letter cxxviii. p. 436.

and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who is in heaven." ¹

The difference in character between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln was clearly appreciated by their contemporaries, and is well illustrated by a manifestation which, according to Matt. Paris, was vouchsafed to a certain discreet person some four years before Grosseteste's death. This person, then, fancied he heard a voice addressing him and saying: "*Dilexit Dominus Edmundum in odorem benignitatis; et dilexit Dominus Robertum in odorem fidelitatis*". "The Lord hath loved Edmund for an odour of sweetness, and Robert for an odour of steadfastness."

Robert Grosseteste died in 1253, and was succeeded in the See of Lincoln by Henry de Lexington.

¹ Matt. xvi. 17.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY'S MARRIAGE—STATUTES OF MERTON—PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

(A.D. 1236.)

THE foregoing letters will have served to illustrate the state of affairs in England at the period when St. Edmund was called on to preside over the English Church ; and will help us to appreciate the difficulties with which he had to contend. Trained as he had been from his childhood in the school of Christ, in the practice of mortification and self-denial, untainted by worldly ambition or selfish aims, he must have been keenly sensible, more so even than Grosseteste, of the many evils which afflicted the Church at that epoch, evils which it was his duty, as far as possible, to eradicate. But what a task ! especially to one of his gentle, retiring disposition. For though he realised and deplored those evils, yet he instinctively shrank from the harsh methods which alone could effectually deal with them. The exquisite purity of his conscience rendered his soul a mirror (a true *speculum ecclesiæ*) in which were only too faithfully reflected the calamities of the times ; but he lacked the stern resolution of a Robert Grosseteste to grapple with them and to overthrow them. And though it was impossible that so pure and holy a soul could ever come to terms with iniquity, yet his gentle demeanour, his humility and yielding disposition, furnished his adversaries with a handle whereby they might multiply his difficulties and aggravate his discomfiture. They said : " Let us examine him by outrages and tortures, that we may know his meekness and try his patience ".¹

¹ Wisd. ii. 19.

It will have been observed that Henry's attitude towards the holy archbishop was at first one of docility and filial reverence. We have seen it in the way in which he yielded to the Saint's remonstrances, and banished from his councils the Bishop of Winchester and his Poitevins. We have seen it also in the graceful way in which he conceded the archbishop's request on behalf of Gilbert Marshall. Robert Bacon styles Henry "a most Christian king," and attributes his opposition to the archbishop to the malignant suggestions of his advisers, by whom he allowed himself easily to be led without understanding the merits of the questions at issue.¹

Hence the docile temperament which had such beneficial results when the king was amenable to Edmund's influence became a lamentable weakness when he gave his confidence to these evil counsellors; and henceforth Edmund's relations with the king are an uninterrupted series of vexations and contradictions, which eventually compelled him to relinquish the struggle and leave the kingdom to its fate.

On January 14, 1236, Henry married Eleanor of Provence. There had been a previous contract with Joanna, daughter of the Count of Ponthieu; but, for some reason or other, that match was broken off. The Pope wrote to the archbishop, instructing him to declare the contract null on the ground of consanguinity. The nuptials of Henry and Eleanor were celebrated with extraordinary splendour. Edmund, of course, officiated as archbishop at this ceremony, which was solemnised at Canterbury.

The coronation of the young queen took place, according to custom, in Westminster Abbey on January 20, at which ceremony also the archbishop officiated. Matthew Paris² gives a glowing account of the ceremony. The citizens of London exhibited shows and pageants of unprecedented magnificence. All the great officers of state were present

¹ Quum igitur, ignorans elenchum, se leviter trahi permittit ad inconveniens incurrendum, rex, licet Christianissimus, sinistris quorundam consiliis adquiescens sacrum antistitem attemptavit. R. B., f. viii. r^o col. 2.

² Hist. Maj., iii. 337. By the king's invitation he sat near the steps of the throne, in order to take notes of the ceremony, and subsequently write an account thereof.

to discharge their several functions. Thus the Earl of Chester carried the sword of St. Edward, called the "curtein"; the Earl of Leicester acted as constable in keeping the mob of people in something like order; the Earl of Pembroke, as earl marshal, regulated the order of proceedings in church and hall. The barons of the Cinque Ports carried the poles of the canopy under which the king walked. As the Earl of Arundel was a minor, the Earl of Warren took his place as cupbearer; Master Michael Belet acted as butler; the Earl of Hereford as steward; whilst William de Beauchamp was almoner. The forest justiciar placed the dishes at the king's right hand. The citizens of London supplied abundant wine in vessels of untold price,¹ and the citizens of Winchester furnished the viands. The Abbot of Westminster gave the aspersion of holy water, and the treasurer carried the paten as sub-deacon. The coronation itself was performed by Archbishop Edmund, assisted by the Bishop of London as his dean.

Shortly after the marriage, on January 23, 1236, a great council of the realm was held at Merton Abbey in Surrey, Edmund's favourite place of resort in former days. But on this occasion his visit was with a very different object. When he entered the hallowed precincts, how must his thoughts have travelled back to the happy days he once spent there in contemplation, prayer, and the Divine psalmody; in the observance of religious discipline, "going in and out even as one of the brethren of the house". Free from all care and responsibility, except what regarded his own sanctification, he had then nothing to molest him, nothing to interrupt his sweet communications with God. Now he enters those familiar courts and cloisters at the head of the English episcopate, whose ranks are swelled by the abbots and priors summoned as spiritual peers of parliament, who all look up to him for counsel and direction. Instead of enjoying his much-loved solitude, he is jostled by mail-clad barons and their rude retainers. There, too, is Henry, surrounded by his courtiers, foremost amongst whom are

¹ They are said to have brought to the entertainment 360 goblets of gold and silver.

the Provençals and other strangers whom Eleanor had brought over in her train, and who are now the special objects of Henry's predilection. He no longer looks on the archbishop with that filial respect and affection with which he at first greeted him, but rather as an antagonist and as an obstacle to the indulgence of his pet inclinations and caprices. The deliberations of the council resulted in the enactment of several statutes, which need not detain us, as they do not come within the scope of this work, except only one question which gave rise to an animated discussion. The statutes of Merton may be found in the *Merton Annals* (p. 251) and in *Matthew Paris* (*Hist. Maj.*, iii.). The chief of them were directed to the protection of widows from unjust spoliation; to secure to freeholders their customary rights of common pasture; to prohibit usury in the case of minors; and to guard against the abuse of the royal right of pre-emption and purveyance. But the question which most interested Edmund and his suffragans was that of the laws of bastardy. According to English common law, children who are born out of wedlock always remain illegitimate, even if their parents are subsequently lawfully married. According to Roman civil law and the ecclesiastical canon law, the subsequent marriage of the parents legitimates the pre-nuptial offspring. It is evident that this diversity between the two judicatures must inevitably lead to serious complications and conflicts. For matrimonial causes came within the competence of the ecclesiastical courts, the judges of which would have to pronounce sentence according to the principles of canon law; whilst questions of property arising out of the same case might find their way into the civil courts, the judges of which would decide the case on the principles of common law. The result would be a collision between the two courts, from which no issue was possible. We have seen in Bishop Grosseteste's correspondence¹ a practical illustration of the difficulties arising from this cause. Indeed, we cannot doubt that he took a leading part in the agitation of this question. He had received a mandate from the king, ordering him to make his decisions

¹ Letter xxvi. p. 101.

conformable to common law. The bishop thought he was bound in conscience to disobey the mandate, and appealed to the archbishop for his advice. Hence we can understand why the archbishop and his suffragans made an earnest appeal to the king and barons at the Council of Merton to bring the laws of the country, on this point, into harmony with the principles of canon law, by which the Church was guided in her decisions. They pointed out that the canon law was conformable to the principles of justice, to the interests of morality, to the peace of families, to the security of property, to the avoidance of litigation, to the welfare of the commonwealth, all of which were jeopardised by the barbarous provisions of English common law. But to all their arguments the illiterate barons made only one answer: "Nolumus Angliæ leges mutare": "We will not have the laws of England changed". Strange to say, several writers have chosen to invest this stupid and irrational "dictum" with a halo of rhetoric, as if the laws of England were as irrevocable and immutable as those of the Medes and Persians.

In the year 1236 Edmund published his Provincial Constitutions. There is no mention in the Life of the synod at which they were promulgated. They may be found in Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 635, and are forty-one in number. In the appendix we give a brief abstract of their contents.¹ Here we will merely call attention to one or two points which illustrate the character of our Saint, or the circumstances of the times in which he lived. The fifth decree is a feeling exhortation to mutual peace and charity. The archbishop says: "Dearest children, we are under the strictest obligation of keeping peace, since God Himself is the Author and Lover of peace, who came to pacify with each other not only those in heaven but those also on earth. And, since we can never arrive at eternal peace except through the temporal peace which dwells in our mortal breast, we admonish you and strictly charge that, as far as possible, you keep peace with all, and admonish your

¹ Appendix v.

parishioners that they be one body in Christ, in the concord of faith, and in the bond of peace; that you carefully suppress any enmities that may arise in your parish; that you foster friendships; that you reconcile those at variance; and, as far as possible, that you do not permit the sun to go down upon the wrath of any of your parishioners.”¹

In the sixth decree clerics are forbidden to frequent or to encourage what were then called scot-ales; that is to say, the drinking-bouts in which our forefathers indulged.

From the eleventh decree we learn that the use of the French language was still so common in England that it was recognised in the administration of lay-baptism. The fifteenth decree shows St. Edmund's solicitude for the young lambs of his flock, and reminds us of the narrow escape he had himself from being buried as a still-born child. “Women must be admonished to take great care of their children. They must not place tender babes by their side during the night lest they be overlaid; they must not leave them alone without protection in houses where there is fire, or near any water. Let this decree be read every Sunday.”²

The Saint's solicitude that a good example should be given by prelates is shown by the twenty-first decree: “In every deanery there shall be appointed two or three God-fearing men, whose duty it shall be to denounce all public faults of prelates or other clerics”. The twenty-third enlightens us as to who were considered the public pests of society at this period: “The sinners who are to be publicly excommunicated thrice a year (at the three great solemnities) are fortune-tellers, dealers with the devil, abusers of the sacraments, incendiaries, freebooters, and those who maliciously hinder the execution of wills”. By the thirty-fourth decree physicians are forbidden to prescribe any remedy

¹ Eph. iv. 26.

² This constitution might well be applied now-a-days—and read every Sunday, too—when we consider the appalling sacrifice of infant life from the very causes mentioned by St. Edmund, as manifested by coroners' inquests. The registrar-general's statistics show that, in 1890, no fewer than 1544 infants were smothered in bed, without counting those who perished by fire or water.

which could be injurious to the soul; they must warn the patient to call in the spiritual physician.

Already in the thirteenth century bishops were much exercised by the multiplication of religious communities following different rules. Hence the thirty-fifth provides as follows: "Whereas the excessive variety of religious communities causes great confusion in the Church, we ordain that those who wish to found a new hospital or asylum for the destitute must first obtain from us a rule and constitution, so that the inmates may live according to rule and in a religious manner".

The thirty-ninth decree illustrates the discipline which then prevailed as to the administration of the sacrament of Confirmation: "Parents must take care to have their children confirmed betimes.¹ They must not wait till the bishop comes, but take them to him whenever he may be in the neighbourhood, taking care to bring with them the requisite bands to bind round the child's head; which, on the third day, are to be removed, and the child's head to be washed in the baptismery."

By the last, the forty-first constitution, public officials are forbidden to invade the property of clerics or religious, or to infringe ecclesiastical liberties, under pain of excommunication.

The eminently practical character of these forty-one constitutions will be seen at a glance, and they make manifest how deeply earnest was Edmund's solicitude to discharge the duties of his pastoral office in such a way as to promote both the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock. See also his touching Confession, ch. xxv.

In the same volume of Wilkins' *Concilia*, at p. 650, there is another collection of *Synodal Constitutions*, taken from a Cotton MS. Vesp. E. III.² No bishop's name is attached to them, and they are without indication of time or place, but they evidently belong to the same period as the Provincial

¹ In the "*Speculum Ecclesie*" the limit of age is stated to be five years.

² In the MS. the heading is: "*Constitutiones cujusdam Episcopi ex Concilio*".

Constitutions. Moreover, they are identical with them in phraseology, but much fuller in detail, and embrace a wider scope than the latter. They are thoroughly characteristic of Edmund's spirit and style, especially in the amplifications.

Hence one might suppose that the Provincial Constitutions are only an abstract of the complete text—or perhaps that text was destined to be published throughout the province of Canterbury (hence they are entitled Provincial Constitutions), whilst the text of which we now speak was intended to be promulgated only in the diocese of Canterbury, and so are entitled Synodal Constitutions.

The following is a summary of the contents of these Synodal Constitutions:—

They begin with a profession of faith. Then follow practical instructions for the administration of Baptism—of Confirmation—on the Sacrament of the Altar—on the ministers of the Church—on Penance—on Extreme Unction—on Matrimony—on the monastic and religious State—on Tithes—on Sentences—on Archdeacons—on Crusaders. They conclude with an exhortation from St. Augustine against drunkenness and a commendation of sobriety.

CHAPTER XVI.

RICHARD DE LA WYCH.

(A.D. 1197-1253.)

THE mention of St. Edmund's legislation in the preceding chapter naturally suggests the name of the eminent canonist, Richard de la Wych (better known to us as St. Richard of Chichester), who occupied the important post of chancellor to the archbishop, the confidant of all his secrets, the partner of all his labours and solitudes, the companion of his exile, the indefatigable labourer in the cause of his canonisation, and above all the faithful imitator of his saintly life and virtues. Our work, therefore, would not be complete without some brief notice of this remarkable man.

His Life (which will be found in the Bollandists, April, vol. i. pp. 277-318) was written by his intimate friend, Ralph Bocking, a Dominican, who acted as the Saint's confessor.¹ From his authentic narrative we proceed to give some particulars of St. Richard's career, and especially of his relations with St. Edmund.

St. Richard was born at Droitwich in 1197. In his youth he served his elder brother at the plough and in other rural occupations so faithfully that his brother left him his heir. But Richard renounced the inheritance, as also a proposed marriage, and went to study first at Oxford, then at Paris. So destitute was he that he and two others had only one tunic among them; hence they had to take turns in going out of the house. He lived on bread, pottage, and a little wine; he never saw meat or fish except on Sundays and

¹ The Life was written before 1273, and is dedicated to Isabella, Countess of Arundel.

holidays; and yet he used to say that those were the happiest days of his life. Having taken his degree as master of arts, he went to Bologna and studied canon law for seven years with such success that he occasionally took the master's place in lecturing. Here he again refused another eligible match that was proposed to him, and returned to Oxford, of which university he eventually became chancellor. Whilst he occupied this position, St. Edmund and Robert Grosseteste, who were both well acquainted with his merits and talents, at the same time, but unknown to each other, made overtures to him to accept the chancellorship in their diocese. He accepted the archbishop's offer, and became his chancellor. Edmund congratulated himself on having made such an acquisition to his staff, on whose integrity, learning, and skill he could implicitly rely; one, moreover, who would be an ornament to his household. Nor was his confidence misplaced: Richard discharged the duties of his office most efficiently, and at the same time without ostentation. His great object was to spare the archbishop as much trouble as possible, for he knew that the object of his predilection was to sit with Mary at our Lord's feet rather than to be occupied with much business; hence he took upon himself the hearing of the causes which were brought before the archbishop's court. Edmund rejoiced at being delivered, by his chancellor's industry, from the tumult of affairs; whilst Richard rejoiced in the privilege of having constant intercourse with one so holy as the archbishop. Thus they were a mutual help to each other; the master to the disciple, the disciple to the master; the father to the son, the son to the father; one Saint to the other. In fact, one might compare them to the two cherubim protecting the ark of God, the church of Canterbury, regarding each other with the eye of a pure intention; touching each other with the wings of fraternal charity; their faces ever turned towards the mercy-seat, that is, towards Him who is the propitiation for our sins. Again, these two cherubim had been wrought by the art of the workman, that is, fashioned and shaped by dint of the hammer's stroke. For both Saints were made perfect—the

archbishop by suffering, and his disciple by sharing his sufferings and labours for the liberty of the Church and for justice' sake. For this they endured countless trials and tribulations, loss of property, and spoliation, bodily fatigue and suffering, insult and reviling, expulsion from their home, and exile. In this way was the pure gold beaten by the hard and repeated blows of the hammer upon the anvil of their patience; and that without the ringing sound of a murmur being heard. They might also be compared to the two rods of the prophet Zachary,¹ one of which he called Beauty, that is to say, the archbishop, on account of the grace of the contemplative life which adorned him; whilst the other, which he called a Cord, signified the chancellor, on account of the manifold occupations of the active life, whereby he divided to every one by a line of distribution,² in all their controversies.

One might also say they were the two great luminaries placed in the firmament of the church of Canterbury, which did not eclipse one another by their proximity, but illuminated the whole Church with the splendour of their united rays.

Richard remained faithfully attached to the archbishop all through his persecutions at home and in exile abroad, for he knew that they who are partakers of the sufferings shall also be partakers of the consolation;³ and that they who suffer together shall also reign together.⁴

Edmund's affection for him is sufficiently evinced by the terms of the bequest which he made to him on his death-bed: "We bequeathe our drinking-cup to our beloved chancellor, who has for this long time entwined himself in our heart's affection".⁵ The legate Otho used to admire this expression, and often had it repeated before him. Having finished his course, Edmund, released from the body, exchanged his exile

¹ Zach. xi. 7. "And I took unto me two rods, one I called Beauty, and the other I called a Cord, and I fed the flock."

² Ps. lxxvii. 54.

³ 2 Cor. i. 7.

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 12.

⁵ "Quem jam dudum nobis invisceravimus."

for a home in heaven ; and his spirit returned to the God from whom it came, to join the exulting choir of angels ; whilst his mortal remains, still invested with incorruption, were interred at Pontigny. The clergy and people of England were naturally much distressed at being deprived of such a treasure. And yet it seems a just judgment of God that it was so : that his body should rest in peace, and that his persecutors should be deprived of this consolation. Richard, when he found himself bereaved of his beloved father's society, would, perchance, have given way to excessive grief had he not feared to oppose the decrees of Providence by murmuring ; moreover, he comforted himself with the thought that his dear father had exchanged the miseries of this present life for the glory of a blessed immortality. Though Edmund was dead, yet in one sense he continued to live, inasmuch as he left behind one like himself, if not in all things (of which God alone is Judge), yet, at all events, one who aspired to imitate him as far as human frailty would permit. Edmund's revered name was always on his lips. When anything was said or done which had reference to St. Edmund's saintly life, he would always say in conclusion : " Thus did my Lord Edmund act, thus did he speak, thus did he comport himself, thus did he preach ". He was never tired of rehearsing his deeds, his virtues, and his words, but he was much more eager to imitate them.

After St. Edmund's death Richard went to Orleans, to the house of the Dominican Friars, and studied theology. He was ordained priest there, and, with the consent of the bishop, built an oratory in honour of St. Edmund, in which he celebrated mass. After discharging parochial duty for some time, he was re-appointed by Edmund's successor, Boniface, to the office of chancellor. In 1244 the See of Chichester fell vacant ; the canons elected the notorious Robert Passelew,¹ but he was rejected by Boniface and his suffragans (amongst whom was Robert Grosseteste) on the ground that he was incompetent both in learning and character. Richard was then unanimously elected. When

¹ He had recovered the favour of Henry, and was one of his clerks.

the king heard that his clerk's election had been quashed, and that the see had been given to his "enemy," as he styled him, because he had stuck to St. Edmund in the disputes which he had with the king, he was furious, and ordered the estates of the see to be confiscated. Richard in consequence had to put up with many annoyances and insults. He went to the Pope for redress, but found Henry's proctor beforehand with him. Innocent IV., however, confirmed his election, and consecrated him himself.¹ On his way back from Lyons Richard visited his beloved master's tomb at Pontigny. On returning to England he found all the property of the see dissipated, and the king had forbidden any one to lend him money. Thus reduced to beggary, he was obliged to take shelter with a benevolent gentleman. He made several fruitless attempts to obtain the restitution of the temporalities of his see from the king, but was driven away with insult and outrage. As an example of the treatment he received we may mention the following: One day he waited on the king at Windsor. One of the men whom they call "marshals" looked at him fiercely and said: "How dare you come in here when you know the king is angry with you?" But he, being very bashful, was so confounded with this speech that he meekly left the palace, and went outside among the common people in the open air. Not a reproach nor a murmur escaped his lips, but he returned thanks to God, and prayed for those that persecuted and calumniated him.²

From there he followed the king's movements on foot, suffering much fatigue and privation; for his purse was empty, and the king's prohibition made it almost impossible for him to find any one who would lend him money or give him food.

The Pope ordered two bishops to warn the king that if he did not restore the temporalities he would be denounced throughout England. He then gave way, after two years' persecution, and Richard entered into possession of his estates.

How close an imitator he was of St. Edmund will appear

¹ At Lyons on the first Sunday of Lent, 1245.

² Luke vi. 28.

from the following examples : When his bailiff remonstrated against his too liberal alms, he said : " I can take my meat and drink from cups and platters of earthenware, even as my father used to do ; then let these gold and silver vessels be sold, and with the price of them feed His members who redeemed them and us, not with corruptible silver and gold, but with His own precious Blood ".¹

When he went to see religious men, or was visited by them, and embraced them, he used to say : " It is good to kiss the lips which are fragrant with the incense of holy prayers offered to God with the heart's devotion ". This he did in imitation of St. Edmund.

In the bull of his canonisation Urban IV., speaking of his administration as chancellor, says that he was ever truthful in speech, rigorous in doing justice, gentle, humble, amiable, and ever ready to oblige everybody ; he helped the poor with his alms, the rich with his counsel ; the faithful counsellor of his archbishop, a minister of justice, a learned storehouse of profitable knowledge, which, moreover, he dispensed with eloquent fluency of speech.

John Fitz-Alan married one of the co-heiresses of Hugh, Earl of Arundel, who seems to have treated the bishop much as the earl had treated St. Edmund, for the bishop had to excommunicate him. He, nevertheless, invited him to his table, and, whilst he remained with him, relaxed the sentence of excommunication, and also interceded on his behalf with the king.

A priest of the Norwich diocese appeared in the presence of St. Richard and his own bishop in lay costume. Richard exclaimed indignantly : " How dare you appear before your bishop in that guise ? I would have you know that if you belonged to my diocese I should know how to deal with you ; " and he snatched off his head-gear with his own hand.

The bishop had been trained in a good school, and, having served his apprenticeship under such a master as St. Edmund, he knew well how to oppose and resist all those who attacked

¹ 1 Pet. i. 18.

the liberties of the Church. As an instance we may mention the fact that when a certain knight had put a priest in the stocks, St. Richard compelled the knight to carry the stocks round his neck like a yoke through the market-place of Lewes. Possibly St. Edmund foresaw what his disciple would have to suffer in consequence, and it may have been in a spirit of prophecy that he bequeathed to him his own drinking-goblet, as if he meant to say to him what our Lord said to the sons of Zebedee: "My chalice indeed you shall drink".¹

When a certain bishop was staying with St. Richard, the Saint took notice that he did not come to the Divine office, but occupied himself with his affairs. Richard said to Ralph (the writer of this Life): "You see, my brother, how my lord is going on, and applies himself to other business without taking notice of the Divine office; it is your place to give him a hint about it, so that he may correct this failing".

St. Richard, of course, did not fail to assist at the solemn translation of his beloved master's remains, which took place at Pontigny in 1247. The ceremony will be described hereafter. In fact, Richard himself has left us an account of it in a letter which he wrote to the Abbot of Bayham. Bayham was a Premonstratensian Abbey² in Sussex, in his own diocese of Chichester, where he was a frequent and honoured guest. Richard took with him as a companion to Pontigny a noble youth of excellent disposition, Edmund de Lacy, who was snatched away from this world very soon, that he might not see the misfortunes which were about to befall the country, and that malice might not pervert his understanding.³ This Edmund de Lacy was heir to the Earldom of Lincoln, though he did not live to enjoy the title. He was a devoted disciple of St. Richard, and afterwards founded a Dominican convent, near Lincoln, in honour of our Lady, St. Dominic, and St. Richard; consequently after the year 1262. At the time of St. Edmund's translation he would be a youth of about twelve.

St. Edmund, when living, had predicted his friend's future

¹ Matt. xx. 23.

² Translated from Ottegam in 1200.

³ Wisd. iv. 11.

elevation to the episcopate ; and, after his death, a certain pious priest had a vision to the same effect, which Ralph thus relates : " On the night preceding the day when Richard was going to be elected bishop he saw in his sleep a mansion, the exterior of which was very imposing ; then he began to think within himself, and to wonder if the beauty of the interior corresponded to the exterior ; so he went nearer to peep in ; and, looking in, he saw two men arrayed in pontifical robes whom he recognised, the one as Blessed Edmund, once Archbishop of Canterbury, the other as Master Richard, on whose head Blessed Edmund was seen to place a mitre. Whilst the priest wondered at seeing one clad in pontifical robes who, he knew, was not a bishop, and whilst he looked on with anxious gaze, he saw a person of elegant form, clothed in white, stretch forth his hand in the direction of the two prelates, saying of them what the Church in her antiphon says of the apostles Peter and Paul : 'Glorious princes of the earth, as they loved one another in life, so they are not divided in death'." The fact that Blessed Edmund placed the mitre on the head of Richard seems to signify that it was through his merits that he was about to obtain the prize of glory destined for him. Whilst the person dressed in white, who stretched forth his hand and said "Glorious princes," etc., is a sign of an angelical revelation, and proves that both Saints, Edmund and Richard, were to be endowed with dominion over the earth, that is, their own flesh, and with the principality of apostolic rule ; whilst, at the same time, they should be so inseparable through the bond of charity that death itself could not break the tie which united them together, as St. Jerome says : " Those who are united by the bond of charity cannot be sundered by distance of place". "I," says Ralph, "am the more inclined to think so, because Blessed Edmund, when dying, said that Richard had entwined himself in his heart's affections, so that not even death could separate them."

When Richard's own end was approaching, he found himself at Dover. He lodged at a certain house called God's Hospice, and he was asked by the master of the hospital to consecrate a certain church and a cemetery, destined for the

burial of the poor, in honour of his quondam patron, St. Edmund of Canterbury. He gladly complied with the request, and, at the sermon which he preached on the occasion, he observed: "Dearest children, I beg you to bless God along with me, and to praise Him, who, of His Grace, has permitted us to be present at this dedication in His honour and that of our Father Edmund. This is what I have wished for ever since I received episcopal consecration; this was the desire of my heart, that, before I die, it might be my privilege to consecrate one basilica at least in his honour. Wherefore with all my heart I render thanks to my God, who has not defrauded me of my soul's desire.¹ And now, dearest children, I know that 'the laying aside of my tabernacle is near at hand';² I beg you, therefore, to support me by the suffrage of your prayers." This affecting ceremony took place on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, March 30, 1253. On the following morning the Saint went to assist at the Divine office, but he fainted in the choir. When he was dying he embraced the crucifix, kissing the places of the wounds, and affectionately stroking them. He died at midnight, April 3, 1253, aged fifty-six, in the ninth year of his episcopate.

The viscera were taken from the body and buried in the church which he had just consecrated in honour of St. Edmund; a fact which lends still greater significance to Edmund's expression on his death-bed: "*Quem jam dudum nobis invisceravimus*". The body itself was conveyed to his own cathedral at Chichester, and buried before the altar of St. Edmund, which he himself had erected on the north side of the church.

Amongst the miracles recorded of him is one in which he healed a youth who was paralysed by giving him a drink from St. Edmund's goblet. The youth was restored to instant and perfect health.

Pope Alexander IV. ordered an investigation with a view to the Saint's canonisation; it was finished in the pontificate of Urban IV., the promoters being Nicholas de Wych (Richard's cousin) and William de Reading, both of them

¹ Ps. lxxvii. 30.

² 2 Pet. i. 14.

chaplains to the bishop. The canonisation was pronounced by Urban IV. at Viterbo, January 22, 1262. In the bull of canonisation the Pope observes that, "amongst others who recognised the Saint's merit, Blessed Edmund of Canterbury was attracted by the praise of his learning and the fragrance of his holy conversation, admitted him to his special friendship, and made him his chancellor. When intimate acquaintance had convinced the archbishop that Richard was endowed with even more abundant grace than popular rumour had credited him with, he entrusted to him the entire administration of the affairs of his archiepiscopate, looking upon him as his own right hand; the faithful repository of his counsel; his trusty minister of justice; the learned oracle of fruitful science. Not only in these higher offices but also in the more insignificant duties which came under his charge, through the grace of God which ever accompanied him, he so approved himself that in truthfulness of speech, in rigour of justice, in sweetness of patience, in aspect of humility, he exhibited himself amiable to all, useful to all, helping the poor by his alms, the rich by his counsels. Thus, shining as the morning star, as his merits increased his brightness waxed to the splendour of the noonday sun."

CHAPTER XVII.

RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER—THE LEGATE OTHO— THE COUNCIL OF LONDON.

(A.D. 1237.)

WE have seen in chapter xiv. (p. 185) that Bishop Grosseteste alludes to an incident which took place in St. Catharine's Chapel, Westminster, when Henry and his accomplices were absolved by St. Edmund from the censures which they feared they had incurred. This incident took place on January 28, 1237, and deserves a more detailed notice. By the contemporary chroniclers it is described, not as an absolution, but as a solemn renewal of the censures denounced upon the violators of the charters; and such, in fact, it was. The occasion of this solemn renewal was no doubt the recrudescence of those controversies which had previously agitated the country in consequence of Henry's infatuated partiality for foreigners.

In the year 1236, on April 28, a great council was held in London at which the spiritual and lay peers united in earnest remonstrance with Henry on account of his neglect of his own subjects, and his partiality for foreigners: the special object of his favour at this time being the queen's uncle, William, bishop-elect of Valence. In answer to their petition for the redress of grievances the king consented to one useful reform, namely, the dismissal of the venal sheriffs and the substitution of others, substantial men as to property and character, who would be above taking bribes.

But the king was incorrigible, and on June 8 of the same year, at a council held in Winchester, he took a step which did more than anything else to exasperate the people and to spread discontent through all classes of society, both of the

clergy and laity. He publicly revoked the charters and privileges which he had granted on the plea that they had been wrung from him during his minority, when he was not a free agent, and he justified this course by appealing to the authority of the Pope.

The people saw with consternation all the fruits of past labours and sufferings thrown away, and there was a general outcry of indignation, to which the archbishop did not fail to give an effectual voice. Of all the tyrannical usurpations introduced by the Norman and Angevin kings, none bore more hardly on the people, and none were more fiercely insisted on by the sovereign, than the forest-laws. These formed the burden of the grievances which were supposed to be redressed by the "charters of liberties" extorted from reluctant monarchs; and these were the charters which Henry, against all law and justice, had revoked.¹

There are extant two letters from Gregory IX. to Henry III., one dated January 10, 1233,² the other June, 1235,³ which Henry, through his agents, seems to have extorted from the too easy pontiff, by which the Pope seems to give his sanction to the course which Henry had taken. But it is clear from the letters themselves that the aged pontiff had been imposed upon. He was necessarily dependent for his information upon Henry's agents, who were well versed in all the arts of chicanery, and it is manifest that in their representation there was, if not *suggestio falsi*, at all events, *suppressio veri*. The Pope takes care to recite the circumstances of the case as it had been proposed to him, and gives his decision accordingly, against which, as it stands there, no exception can be taken. They run as follows: "Henry had sworn at his coronation to maintain the rights of his crown, and to reclaim what had been unjustly alienated from it. Subsequently, through intimidation, such as might shake a strong man, he alienated some of the crown rights under an oath not to reclaim them. Gregory now informs him that he must

¹ M. Paris, ii. 293.

² R. Lett. Hy. III., app. xxx. p. 551.

³ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 234.

keep his first oath, notwithstanding the second oath, which was an unlawful one: always excepted the concessions which have been granted to churches, to religious persons and places, which we wish to maintain in all their vigour and efficacy for ever."¹

It must also be borne in mind that, according to the notions which prevailed in those feudal times, Gregory was bound to protect and defend the interests of his vassal Henry against all comers.

Besides the violation of the forest charters, the Burton annalist² enumerates a long list of grievances of which the Church complained, and for which the archbishop and his suffragans now claimed redress. The chief of them are these: the citation of ecclesiastics before lay tribunals; that lay judges alone determined whether a given case belonged to the ecclesiastical or civil courts; that bishops were made accountable to lay officials for the discharge of their pastoral functions; that the royal writ interfered with proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts; that royal officials perpetrated all sorts of outrages with impunity, pleading the royal warrant. There are many more, but the foregoing are a fair specimen. We think that our readers will have no difficulty in recognising that, if the hand that administered this dose of grievances to the unwilling monarch was the hand of Edmund, the voice was the voice of Robert Grosseteste.

A great council, then, was held at Westminster, which opened January 14, 1237; its object being, as usual, to replenish Henry's exhausted exchequer. At this council William de Raleigh, the king's clerk, appeared and claimed a subsidy of one-thirtieth. He, moreover, informed the barons that Henry was willing that it should be expended according to the judgment of certain persons whom they might elect for the purpose. This is interesting as showing the gradual introduction of the principle, now absolutely established, that the crown, through its ministers, is responsible to the people for the expenditure of every penny of the

¹ The text of Pope Gregory's letters will be found in the appendix vi.

² Ann. Burt., p. 254.

national revenue. The barons retired to consult on this application, and returned to object that there was nothing to show for the money already expended. The country was not at war; its boundaries had not been extended; Henry had done nothing to merit this aid; on the contrary, he had trampled on his subjects' rights. The king, then, to conciliate them, repudiated his previous revocation of the charters, and promised to confirm them. He submitted also to the sentence of excommunication being renewed on all violators of these charters.

In the end the aid was granted with the consent of the archbishop and clergy. But it was stipulated that the king should cease to give his exclusive confidence to foreigners: in consequence of which William of Valence retired from England—for a time. It was also agreed that the subsidy should be collected by four sworn knights elected in each shire, to whom should be added a cleric nominated by the king. The amount of the subsidy in each shire had to be deposited in some abbey or sacred edifice.

On January 28 Henry and his counsellors, fearing that they had, by their past conduct, incurred the censures so solemnly fulminated against all who contravened the charters which he had sworn to observe, craved absolution from the archbishop. This he willingly imparted, but took occasion to compel Henry to renew his solemn pledge to observe these charters, and to reimpose the censures pronounced against those who violated them.

The ceremony, which took place in St. Catharine's Chapel, must have been a most impressive one, according to the account given of it by Matthew Paris:¹ Henry stood there, surrounded by his courtiers, in the presence of the archbishop and his suffragans. Each held a lighted candle in his hand, whilst Henry placed his right hand on the Book of the Gospels. The archbishop then dictated to him the oath, which Henry repeated, pledging himself to keep inviolably the charter which he had sworn to observe on so many previous occasions, and not to allow himself to be

¹ Hist. Maj., v. 360.

again circumvented by base flatterers. At the end the king and all present cried: "Fiat, fiat!" The candles were all extinguished, and, in the midst of the darkness and of the reeking exhalations, the voice of the archbishop was heard solemnly adjuring the king: "Thus, thus may they be extinguished, thus may they smoulder and stink in their place of reprobation, all those who shall violate or wrongfully interpret the same charter". All present cried: "Amen!" and it was noticed that Henry's Amen was more prolonged and more hearty than that of any one else. "But alas, alas!" pathetically exclaims old Bartholomew Cotton, the monk of Norwich, "it was all in vain; as often as these charters had been renewed, again and again, and that at a great price, they were, shame to say, never observed as they ought to have been."¹ How little do Englishmen now-a-days think how deeply they are indebted to St. Edmund, as well as to his predecessors, Anselm and Thomas and Stephen Langton, for their liberties and boasted privileges! For as the editor of the Royal Letters observes: "It was by the Church full as much as by the (lay) nobility that the great charter was won";² and it was by the Church that it was caused to be observed.

The sincerity of Henry's repentance may be tested by another papal brief which was despatched to him on February 20, 1238, from which it appears that the king had been once more pestering the Pope with his scruples about sacrificing his royal prerogative, and had sought to be released from the engagements to which he had so solemnly sworn. In this letter the Pope says that "he has heard with much alarm that the king, yielding to indiscreet counsels, has, with thoughtless generosity, squandered the liberties, possessions, dignities, etc., etc., appertaining to the crown, on certain prelates, churches, and other magnates, to the grave prejudice of the Church of Rome, to which the kingdom of England is known to belong, and to the enormous injury of the kingdom itself. Moreover,

¹ Sed eheu! eheu! hæc frustratorie fiebant, quæ cum totiens essent concessæ et redemptæ, nunquam ut debuerunt (proh dolor) observabantur. Ad ann. 1237.

² R. Lett. Hy. III., pref., p. xxvi.

he has bound himself by an oath, and by public instruments, not to go back from this alienation. Wherefore, considering that such alienation is prejudicial to the rights of the Holy See, and that the honour and safety of the kingdom are imperilled thereby, we order that, notwithstanding those oaths and public instruments, the king shall take steps to revoke those alienations."¹

Hence we are not surprised to learn that the heartiness of Henry's Amen did not prevent him from devising an effectual means of ridding himself of any further interference on the part of the archbishop with his fancied prerogative.

When the king found that Edmund was not to be moved from the attitude which he had assumed in the beginning in defending the rights of the people against royal usurpation and misgovernment, he took the resolution of asking the Pope to send a legate to England.² He calculated, rightly enough as the event proved, that the straits to which the Pope was driven by the Emperor Frederic would lead him to conciliate Henry as much as possible. Hence he thought that the superior authority of the papal legate would act as a counterpoise to the archbishop's influence, and nullify his opposition to the king's measures. As soon as Edmund heard of this proceeding he entered an energetic protest, foreseeing how much the presence of the legate, by weakening his authority, would be prejudicial to the interests of the country. The proposal caused consternation in other quarters as well, as no one could discover any adequate motive for such a step. But those who dreaded the archbishop's inflexible principles

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 234.

² We learn from a letter in the royal collection (letter cccx. p. 379) that a clandestine attempt had been made by Henry to obtain a legate from the Pope as early as 1230. The letter is written by Richard St. John to the chancellor, Ralph Nevile, and is dated June, 1230. From it we learn that the request was made by Henry against the advice of his justiciar (Hubert de Burgh). The agent points out the great inconveniences which would result from this step to his correspondent and the other prelates. At length the justiciar induced Henry to recall his messenger. On the other hand, Henry was not so anxious that a legate should visit Ireland, for, when it was proposed at Rome to send one there, Henry wrote to M. Fitz-Gerald, the Irish justiciar, on February 23, 1235, to inform him that he had taken steps to prevent a legate being sent. R. Lett. Hy. III., lett. ccclxxxv. p. 462.

rejoiced at the legate's coming, though somewhat prematurely, as will be seen later on. When once the matter was decided, all those who preferred the worship of the rising to that of the setting sun hastened to pay their court to the legate by sending him valuable presents, even before his arrival, whilst he was still at Paris.

The Pope at once complied with Henry's request, and despatched Cardinal Otho as his legate to England. It was not his first visit, as he had been here as legate in 1226, whilst Stephen Langton was archbishop. But that prelate had sufficient influence at Rome to obtain Otho's recall, and, moreover, a guarantee that no legate should be sent as long as he was archbishop.

Otho arrived in England about the end of July, 1237,¹ and was received by the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with all the bishops, abbots, and priors, and by the leading nobility of the realm, with all the state and ceremony befitting the representative of the sovereign pontiff. It was noticed that Henry was particularly demonstrative in showing his respect for the legate by bowing his head as low as the prelate's knee.

Otho seems to have acted with the greatest discretion. He was very sparing at first in accepting the presents made to him, and so won golden opinions by his moderation. He also exerted himself successfully in reconciling many of the leading men of the State who were at variance with each other. However, at a subsequent period, he lost the good opinion he won at first by showing greater readiness to accept the abundant gifts which were showered upon him; and the monastic chroniclers make their usual sarcastic comments on the hoard of wealth which he had accumulated before his departure.

The presence of the legate in England was, as he had anticipated, a source of great embarrassment to Edmund; in

¹ It is usually stated that Otho arrived in June. But it will appear from certain correspondence which passed between the king and the judges appointed to adjudicate in the dispute between the archbishop and the chapter of Christ Church (see next chapter) that Otho had not arrived on July 20, though he was then hourly expected (*in januis*).

fact, it was for that very reason that Henry was so anxious to obtain him. Otho was a man of great ability and sterling integrity. He distinguished himself subsequently by his heroic conduct in the disastrous crusade which St. Louis undertook in 1248. He was present during the fatal campaign in Egypt, which ended in St. Louis' captivity; and, whilst the troops were perishing by thousands from the pestilence, Otho buried their bodies with his own hands,

But he was, before all things, a great diplomatist, and ably executed the task imposed upon him; which was to reconcile, as much as possible, the several parties in the Church and State; to enlist Henry's sympathies on behalf of the Pope, who was hunted to death by the apostate Frederic; and to gather as much pecuniary aid as he could possibly extract from the English Church to replenish the exhausted papal exchequer.

It was no easy matter to accomplish. The State was rife with troubles and disorders. Henry had once more given in to his besetting weakness—that of surrounding himself with, and giving his confidence to, strangers. In the present case, they were the Provençals and others, who had followed in the young queen's train. Chief among these was William, her uncle,¹ an ecclesiastic, who was in a fair way of succeeding to the position in the king's favour once occupied by Peter des Roches. Two other uncles of the queen, Peter and Boniface of Savoy, also ingratiated themselves with the king, the latter of whom succeeded St. Edmund as archbishop. The marked partiality which the king showed for these foreigners and for the brood of Isabella, the queen-mother, who, after the death of John, married the Count de la Marche, provoked the indignation of the barons.

To counteract the foreign influence, associations were formed, which threatened to ripen into open rebellion, when Otho, by his tact and skill in diplomacy, succeeded in persuading William to retire to the continent. The discontent was allayed for a time, but it continued to smoulder until, after repeated provocations on Henry's part, it burst out into the flame of civil war.

¹ He was also Henry's half-brother, being a son of Isabella.

In the Church many difficult questions awaited Otho's investigation. We shall see later on, when we come to speak of the Legatine Council, how he coped with them. But, in all his endeavours to promote conciliation, his diplomatic genius caused him to look coldly on St. Edmund, and even to thwart the measures which our Saint deemed necessary for the interests of the Church. His authority as legate enabled him to override the archbishop's authority, to annul his sentences, to revoke his decisions. Hence the archbishop was constantly exposed to the mortification of seeing his authority set at nought, and himself an object of derision to the mocking barons. Otho's object was to conciliate, not to exasperate, and all those who thought they had a grievance against the archbishop appealed to him, and not in vain, for protection and countenance. It is manifest that such a situation must soon become well-nigh insupportable to the archbishop, and it was this that compelled him to undertake his journey to Rome at the close of this year.

Otho's relations with Henry were intimate and confidential. Indeed, it was to the interest of both of them that they should be so. Otho, as we have said, wished to gain Henry's support to the papal cause, now almost desperate; and, to gain that, did not scruple to throw overboard the archbishop with his reforming tendencies when he thought them exorbitant or inopportune. Henry, on his part, had need of the Pope's support against his refractory barons. Moreover, he had never forgotten that it was to the Pope (Honorius III.) that he was indebted for his crown and kingdom. When, as a child, he succeeded to the throne, London, the capital, and the greater part of the kingdom were in the hands of Louis the Dauphin; and it was entirely owing to the strenuous exertions of Gualo, the Pope's legate, that the barons were persuaded to give their allegiance to Henry, and that Louis was compelled to evacuate the country. He was also indebted to Gualo's successor, Pandulph, for the restoration of law and order in his kingdom, distracted as it was by the sad consequences of the recent troubles. As an instance of the Pope's solicitude for the welfare of the kingdom, we may refer to the letter which he wrote on April 29, 1221, to the

Archbishop of York and his suffragans,¹ in which he says: "We have heard, and we grieve to hear it, that a serious conflict is beginning to break out in England, which, if it is not quickly repressed, is likely to develop to consequences most calamitous to the whole kingdom. . . . Hence we warn your fraternity . . . that you, each of you, . . . use all earnestness and diligence to stamp out the incentives to war, and to organise compacts of peace . . . in such a way . . . that the nation may repose in the beauty of peace and in wealthy rest."² Whilst the Pope's efforts were mainly directed to uphold the prerogative of the crown in the king's then helpless minority, he did not fail, later on, to admonish Henry of his duty to act with perfect impartiality towards all classes of his subjects. Thus, in the letter of Honorius III. to Henry, dated March 14, 1224,³ the Pope exhorts him "not to incline to one side or the other, but to correct, direct, and govern all parties with equal affection, equal love, equal zeal. . . . One thing we advise you is . . . not to exact any accounts from your vassals just at present, and not to harass them with claims for subsidies unpaid, but that you should put off these and other like matters to a more seasonable time."

That Henry had not forgotten all these obligations is clear from the touching and dignified letter which he wrote to Pope Innocent IV. in 1245,⁴ where he says: "Besides those common ties which unite all Christian princes to the Church, we, more than all other princes, are bound to that Church by a special obligation. For, when we were left fatherless in our early years, our kingdom was not only in jeopardy, but in arms against us. Then it was that our mother, the Roman Church, through Cardinal Gualo, then legate in this country, brought back the kingdom to our allegiance, restored it to peace, and consecrated us with the royal unction." He had previously given a similar testimony

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., cli. p. 174.

² Is. xxxii. 18.

³ R. Lett. Hy. III., appendix xvi.

⁴ Grosseteste Letters, cxvii. p. 338.

in a letter to Gregory IX., dated May 25, 1236,¹ in which he says: "We throw ourselves with all confidence on the Apostolic See, as our tender mother, whenever we see any danger impending over our royal state; for she, such is her kindness, sympathises with us as her son, and ever regards us with the eyes of benignant and favourable compassion". In this letter he notifies to the Pope that he is sending two agents to Rome to treat of certain affairs. Much later, on January 18, 1260, writing to Alexander IV.,² he speaks of "the reins of government which we have hitherto held in tranquillity, from our tender years, down to the present time, thanks to the counsel and favour of the Roman Church".

Such being the relations between the king and the legate, the way was smoothed for the latter to exact the heavy subsidy which was levied on the English Church to relieve the papal necessities; although Henry was very reluctant to consent, as he wished to reserve to himself the privilege of fleecing the Church. Indeed, at a later period during the pontificate of Innocent IV., he wrote to Grosseteste complaining that he had levied a contribution on his clergy in obedience to a papal mandate. Grosseteste replied with a forcible letter, in which he repelled with indignation the idea that he could be indifferent to the Pope's necessities.³

Matthew Paris mentions, as one of the causes of Edmund's giving up the contest in despair, this fact of the subsidy levied on the English Church. But there is no hint whatever of such a thing in the Saint's biographers, and it is altogether inconsistent with what we know of his character. Such a grievance would impress Matthew's imagination much more vividly than it would Edmund's. With his well-known contempt for money, it is incredible that he should have made a pecuniary question a ground of remonstrance with the Holy See. In fact, the demand seems to have been met everywhere with the greatest cordiality, because it was recognised that the circumstances of the case made it impossible for the clergy to refuse to come to the Holy Father's help in his dire emergency,

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., cccxxii. p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, 503, p. 151.

³ Grosseteste Letters, i. ep. cxix. p. 340.

when Frederic had let loose a horde of Saracens to ravage the patrimony of St. Peter. As the English Church had its grievances against Henry, so had the Pope his grievances against Frederic; they are thus summed up in the *Waverley Annals*:¹ that the emperor had stirred up sedition in Rome; that he would not permit vacant sees to be filled up; that ecclesiastics were imprisoned and put to death at his tyrannical caprice; that churches were destroyed and despoiled; that the work of the crusade was impeded. On these and many other grounds the Pope excommunicated him, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance; but this only exasperated him the more, and led him to make reprisals on the possessions of the Holy See. In the *Salisbury Register* there is a letter of Gregory IX.,² in which he speaks of the straits to which he was reduced: "The patrimony of Blessed Peter is overrun with tyrannical cruelty, our fortresses have been invaded, and our faithful people slaughtered by impious Saracens". In the reply of the Chapter of Salisbury to the Pope's demand there is not a syllable of demur or complaint; but the canons are profuse in their expression of thanks to the Pope for having taken in hand the cause of the canonisation of St. Osmund.

To the year 1237 belongs the consecration by St. Edmund of his old pupil and friend, Richard, as Bishop of Bangor. The fact is not mentioned by any of the contemporary chroniclers, and is only known to us through the *Canterbury Profession Roll*.³ We are not informed of the exact date, nor of the place of consecration. Bishop Richard afterwards took a great interest in the canonisation of his friend and patron.

On September 22, 1237, a conference was held at York between Henry and Alexander II., King of Scotland, which lasted fifteen days, on various questions of state.⁴ Each

¹ P. 322.

² *St. Osm. Reg.*, ii. 145.

³ Stubbs, *Registr. Sacr.*

⁴ Alexander claimed the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. At this conference he renounced his claim, and accepted in lieu thereof 200 "libratas terræ" which Henry offered him.

monarch was accompanied by his queen, and the leading men of each country assisted at the deliberations. Otho, the papal legate, was present.

At this conference the questions pending between the two nations were settled, and a treaty was signed. The legate then manifested a desire to extend his legatine mission into Scotland. But Alexander shook his head at the proposal, cautioned the legate not to think of it, and said that he could not answer for his life if he went. Otho was not, however, deterred from making the visit which he intended. At the end of October he went to Edinburgh, and held there a legatine council. But being anxious to make arrangements for the approaching Council of London, he left Scotland immediately afterwards.¹

We are not told that Edmund assisted at the York conference. But he must have been interested in what followed; for, after the conference was over, Alexander returned to Scotland, whilst his queen (she was Henry's eldest sister, Joan, married to Alexander in 1221), along with Queen Eleanor, went to Canterbury on a pilgrimage of devotion.² Queen Joan did not live to return to Scotland. She died in London on March 5 of the following year in the presence of her two brothers, King Henry and Richard, Earl of Cornwall. She was buried in the convent church at Tarrant, in Dorset, where, it will be remembered, Bishop Richard Poor died, and where his heart was buried in the year preceding Queen Joan's death.

On October 13, 1237, St. Edmund assisted at the enthronisation of Walter de Cantilupe as Bishop of Worcester. He had been consecrated by the Pope in the preceding May. The ceremony took place in the presence of the king and queen, of the Queen of Scotland, and of the legate Otho.

In the course of the same year the peers, spiritual and temporal, were once more, to their great disgust, called on to supply another subsidy of one-thirtieth, to be squandered, like the preceding aids, on unworthy objects. It seemed,

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 665, ex *Scotichron. Palatin.* l. 9, c. 54.

² "Causa orationis."

says Matthew Paris, as though the infatuated king had lost his senses. This time Henry's only brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, took the king roundly to task, and upbraided him with his misgovernment. He declared that there was not a see in England, except York, Bath, and Winchester,¹ which had not lain vacant in recent times. And yet the treasury was no whit richer on that account. He further protested against Henry's undignified policy in making himself subservient to the legate in order to gain his own private ends. He reiterated the complaints so often made before that Henry gave his confidence to those who were unworthy of it, and he enumerated amongst the unpopular councillors John, Earl of Lincoln, Simon de Montfort,² and Geoffrey the Templar.

In all the difficulties, emergencies, and controversies which arise in the Church, the great remedial measure which she has at her command is the holding of councils. Hence Otho considered that his mission would not be complete unless a council were held. Accordingly, a council was summoned to meet in London in November, 1237. It was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, and its deliberations extended over three days, from November 19 to 22. It was of course presided over by Otho, in virtue of his legatine authority, which gave him precedence and authority over all other ecclesiastical functionaries in the kingdom. At this council thirty-six disciplinary canons were drawn up, which, for a long period, continued to be held as the chief rule of discipline to be observed in the English Church.

On the first day, November 19, the legate was absent at the bishops' request, who wished to consider and discuss, by themselves, the canons proposed for their acceptance. On the following day, November 20, the legate came in state at a very early hour in the morning, and, after pushing his way with much difficulty through the dense crowd, took possession

¹ Even this last see was destined not to be an exception, for, after the death of Peter des Roches in the following year, it remained vacant for five years, through Henry's manœuvres.

² For Simon was at this time reckoned amongst the obnoxious foreigners, and had not yet begun to pose as the people's champion.

of the lofty throne prepared for him. He was accompanied by a strong body-guard provided by the king, for it had been rumoured that a decree would be proposed against pluralists and it was feared that the parties compromised might resort to some desperate measures. In the procession the legate was preceded by the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, between whom a question arose as to precedence, each claiming to occupy the seat at the legate's right hand. We may be quite sure that the dispute was a very amicable one, and that if St. Edmund insisted on his right it was not from any ambitious or vainglorious motive, but simply because he felt he had no right to forego the privileges of his see, of which he was the guardian, and which it was his duty to transmit intact to his successors; whilst Walter de Grey's admiration for our Saint is sufficiently testified by the testimonial letter from which we have already quoted in chapter xiii. p. 170. The question was decided by the legate, who appreciated the situation exactly, in a good-humoured way. He said that on a papal bull the figure of St. Paul stood on the right and that of St. Peter on the left of the cross, notwithstanding that Peter held the primacy of authority and jurisdiction in the apostolic college. The right of precedence was conceded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as the monk of St. Alban's remarks, enjoys the same precedence over all other bishops as the Abbot of St. Alban's does over all other abbots.

No sooner was the council opened than William de Raleigh, one of the king's clerks, stepped forward and warned all present, on the king's part, that they should attempt nothing against his royal prerogative. The same cleric remained all through the proceedings to see that the royal injunction was duly observed. On the following day, November 21, the new feasts of St. Edward the Confessor, of St. Francis, and of St. Dominic were proclaimed. Then came on the discussion of the proposed decree against pluralists, which, it had been anticipated, would provoke formidable opposition. The anticipation was realised, for, as soon as the decree was read, Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, got up. Laying aside his mitre, he protested

vehemently against the decree. He justified the possession of several benefices by one person on various grounds; declared that the most determined resistance would be made to the execution of the decree, and did not hesitate to say that the resistance would have all his sympathy. Further, he argued that the measure would press very hardly on poor religious houses, especially on communities of nuns, and concluded by asking the legate to refer the matter back to the Pope for reconsideration. The legate replied that he had no objection to this course, if the archbishops and bishops would agree to write to the Pope stating their views on the subject. It would seem that the prelates acted on this suggestion, for, in the following year (1238), Otho received a letter from Gregory IX., in which the Pope recommends the legate to proceed very temperately in the execution of the decree of the Lateran Council against pluralists, on account of the influential position of the offenders and their abettors. He is advised to tolerate what cannot be eradicated without causing great scandal. In the same letter the Pope recalls Otho to Rome, for which indeed he must have been prepared by a letter he received from Cardinal Colonna about the time of his holding the legatine council. The letter is dated October 18, 1237, and urges him to return as soon as possible to Rome on account of the deplorable state of things which prevailed there. Otho, however, preferred to remain in England, and had no difficulty in obtaining a royal letter requesting that he should be allowed to prolong his stay in this country, which was granted.

In the appendix (vii.) we give an abstract of the decrees enacted at this legatine council. They are worth perusal as illustrating the condition of affairs in the Church and the nation generally at that period. At the same time, we suppose it is unnecessary to remind our readers that in this remedial legislation we only see the dark side of things, and the blots; and that it would be as unreasonable to infer that this picture represents the general state of morals and discipline as it would be to gather the state of a nation's morals from the police reports of a newspaper. We wish, however, to call attention to a few points which the decrees

present to our notice. We are struck by the fact that so many churches should have remained unconsecrated as to call for special notice in these decrees; this fact illustrates the state of anarchy and confusion from which the country had long suffered through the operation of adverse causes, especially from the encroachment of the civil power. It will be observed that the sixth decree orders registers of ordinations to be kept. As a matter of fact, the earliest registers which we possess date from about this period. One can observe in this and other decrees (the twenty-fourth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth) traces of irritation on the part of this precise, business-like Italian prelate at the slipshod English fashion of doing things. The eighth and following decrees furnish a sad commentary on the unhappy subservience of the Church to lay influence, and the consequent introduction of the mercenary element into the ranks of the clergy. With regard to the thirteenth decree it has already been stated that Otho wished and intended to issue a specific decree on the subject of pluralism, but was deterred by the energetic protest of the Bishop of Worcester; hence it will be observed that he contents himself with a general reference to the decrees already enacted at the Lateran Council. The eighteenth decree, against those who countenance robbers, furnishes another illustration of the disorganised state of society at this period.

In the nineteenth decree the legate promises further regulations for religious houses at a later period. This promise was redeemed at a synod held in London on the fourth Sunday of Lent, 1239, when other regulations were made. At this time Otho thought he was about to leave the country. However, he did not leave as he expected, and later on—November 18 of the same year—he summoned a conference of the abbots of the Black Monks at London in order to complete his arrangements for the reformation of the order, which shows the earnestness of his purpose to cope with one of the crying necessities of the time—monastic reform. The decrees which resulted from the conference will help us to understand what were the relaxations then complained of, and to realise the true state of the monasteries

before and after reformation. The following is a summary of the most important of them: No one is to be professed before completing his twentieth year; novices, after their year of probation, must either be professed or leave the monastery; nothing is to be exacted in the way of remuneration for admission to the monastery; no monk is to possess anything as his own; they are not to farm landed property; no monk is to be left alone in any charge; officials are to give an account of their office thrice a year; the abbot is to render an account once a year; all monks possessing private property are to be excommunicated every year; silence is to be observed at the proper time; total abstinence from flesh-meat is to be observed, whilst special arrangements may be made for those who have not hitherto observed this law, so that it may not fall too hardly on them; monks are to be supplied with suitable clothing and bedding; they are to sleep in a common dormitory; they must all be present at the Divine Office, especially at compline and collation; monastic dignitaries must observe moderation in their equipage and retinue; it is provided that the various decrees of canon law, and the papal constitutions which concern the monastic order, shall be annexed to the rule of St. Benedict; that the said constitutions shall be carefully studied, and daily expounded to the monks. We are told that the assembled abbots cordially accepted these propositions, and had them published in their several chapters; some even taking the precaution to have them inserted in the martyrology in order to secure their being kept fresh in the recollection of their several communities.

The twenty-fourth decree prescribes the use of the "oath of calumny" in judicial processes. As the technicalities of canon law are but little known in this country, it may be as well to explain that the "oath of calumny" was a sworn declaration which both parties in a law-suit had to make at a certain stage of the proceedings, that they were acting and would act *bonâ fide*, and that they would abstain from malicious and vexatious proceedings in the conduct of their case. The particulars of the oath are summed up in the following verses:—

*Illud juretur, quod lis sibi justa videtur.
Et si quæretur, verum non inficietur.
Nil promittetur, nec falsa probatio detur.
Ut lis tardetur, dilatio nulla petetur.*

—Schmalz. (Rome, 1844), part ii. tit. vii.

The twenty-sixth decree introduces us to an amusing example of the sharp practice in vogue amongst the legal practitioners at that period. The particulars will be found in appendix vii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE MONKS.

(A.D. 1237.)

JUST before Christmas of the year 1237, the archbishop was compelled to betake himself to Rome to lay before the Holy Father certain grave difficulties which had arisen in the course of his episcopal administration. Of these difficulties not the least serious were certain controversies with various communities of Benedictine monks, which we must now proceed to relate. But we are met at the outset by a great difficulty arising from the extreme reticence of historians. These historians, being all monastic, are naturally reluctant to disclose what would be damaging to the character of the fraternity. The strongest allusion is perhaps to be found in the Waverley Chronicle, which, speaking of the charges laid against one of these monastic bodies, says, in the words of a well-known passage of the rule of St. Benedict, that "it is better to be silent about them than to mention them". We are thus left to grope our way as well as we can in this obscure question. We have seen that already in 1235 the relations between Edmund and the monks of Christ Church (his own cathedral chapter) were somewhat strained.¹ The difficulties

¹ Amongst the documents in the archives of Canterbury relating to St. Edmund and his chapter, we have only found one which does not testify to a state of conflict; a fact which is the more remarkable when we consider what an ardent lover of peace Edmund was, and what a horror he had of litigation. The document in question is dated in the first year of his pontificate, January, 1235.

became more aggravated in course of time, and necessarily so. With his lofty ideal of monastic observance, Edmund could not but be dissatisfied with the laxity which then prevailed, and impressed with the responsibility he was under of applying some remedy. But the more he urged, the more fanatically did the monks, or rather a noisy and factious section of them, resist his proposed measures of reform. But let us hear what our biographer has to say on the subject. We have stated our reasons for supposing him to have been a member of the Canterbury community; at all events he was in sympathy with them. Like the other writers, he nowhere enters into particulars, nor does he state what were the precise grievances on the one part or on the other; he only describes the attitude towards each other of the parties to the dispute. He may be regarded as a fair and competent witness; for whilst, on the one hand, he was a devoted admirer of the saintly archbishop, whose life he wrote, and with whom he was in intimate relation at this very period of his life, on the other, he shows a tender regard for the reputation of the fraternity of Christ Church. According to his statement then,¹ the monks, out of a zeal for justice, which was not according to knowledge, firmly insisted on the restitution of certain liberties which, as they asserted, belonged to their monastery, but of which the archbishop had deprived them. Matthew Paris says that the archbishop had rashly presumed to usurp, to the prejudice of their church, certain customs and franchises which by right belonged to them. The archbishop, on the other hand, claimed as head and father of the community the

By it the archbishop states that he has ascertained by the evidence of trustworthy men, after a careful inquiry, that a rent of £8 per annum, which the chapter used to receive out of the archbishop's manor of Reculver, really belonged to them by right of ancient custom. He therefore orders it to be paid to them punctually every Easter, and executes this deed so that his successors may not ignore the right nor the inquest that was made. But soon after this date the conflict must have begun and did not cease as long as the archbishop lived. The document will be found in the appendix viii.

¹ E., fol. 138 v^o *et seq.*

right to dispose of the family estate. The monks opposed him to his face, and protested against his introducing innovations to their prejudice, and in violation of ancient custom. For they had no doubt whatever that the liberties in question really belonged to them; and they produced their charters and privileges in evidence thereof. One of these charters, for which, as they asserted, they were indebted to the blessed martyr St. Thomas, turned out, upon inspection, to be of very doubtful authenticity.¹ Hence some of the brethren recommended that it should be burnt, lest the community should be compromised by the discovery of the fraud. Whereupon a great division of opinion arose in the community.² In the end the suspected charter was destroyed, but we shall hear more about it subsequently.

The obscurity which has hitherto hung over this question has been completely dispelled by the discovery in the Canterbury archives of two important documents which, through the kindness of the librarian, Dr. Sheppard (to whose sympathetic interest in this work the author is deeply indebted), we are enabled to lay before our readers. The first document is the report of the three judges whom the Pope appointed to arbitrate between the archbishop and the convent, and contains a full statement of the process of the controversy down to Edmund's departure for Rome; the second is the final agreement made between the parties which Edmund took with him to Rome at the end of 1237 to obtain the papal sanction.

The judges' report will be found in the appendix ix. We shall here give a summary of its contents. The report itself bears no date, but the judges quote the papal commission appointing them to act in that capacity, which is dated December 22, 1235. So that already at the end of 1235 the disputes between the archbishop and his chapter had reached such a stage as to call for papal intervention.

¹ "Secus quam deceret, suspectum erat et videbatur adulteratum."

² "Unde non minimum ortum est schisma in conventu."

The judges appointed were the Abbots of Boxley,¹ of St. Radegund,² and of Lesnes.³

In their report they begin by reciting the commission they had received from Pope Gregory IX., stating that the Prior and Convent of Canterbury had complained that the archbishop had done them wrong in respect of the church of Ickham (near Canterbury) and other churches, also in respect of certain manors, possessions, perquisites, and services due from their tenants, and other matters. The Pope then orders the arbitrators to summon the parties, hear the cause, and, if possible, to effect an amicable settlement; otherwise, they are to remit the case (properly stated) to the Holy See, fixing a date when the parties are to appear in the papal court. Dated Viterbo, December 22, 1235. The judges then proceed to recite that they summoned the archbishop to appear in the Conventual Church of Rochester on May 10, 1236, to answer to the chapter and to submit to justice. At the time and place fixed the chapter appeared by their proctor; not so the archbishop. Hence the judges issued a peremptory summons that he should appear at the

¹ Boxley, a Cistercian abbey near Maidstone, in Kent. It was founded from Clairvaux by William d'Ypres, Earl of Kent, in 1146. Mr. Baigent, in his "Waverley" (p. 5), supplements Dugdale's list of Abbots of Boxley by three names, one of whom is Abbot John, who acted as judge in the present case; and who, continues the same author, in 1236, was made twentieth Abbot of Citeaux, being the second Englishman who attained that honour. At Boxley was subsequently venerated the famous crucifix called the "Rood of Grace," about which Protestant controversialists have invented so many fables. See Fr. Bridgett's article in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1888, "How a lie grows". The Rood was brought to Paul's Cross and there publicly burnt, February 24, 1538. The abbey had previously been surrendered to Henry's commissioners, January 29 (Gasquet, *Engl. Mon.*, i. 407).

² St. Radegund, *alias* Bradsole, near Dover. It was an abbey of Premonstratensian (White) canons, founded in the reign of Richard I. The following is the list of abbots given in Dugdale: Hugo (the founder) in 1191; Henry, Richard, John, and Henry who was abbot in 1270 (Dugdale, new edition, vii. 939).

³ Abbey of Westwood, in Lesnes (near Erith), founded by Richard de Lucy, chief justiciar, about 1178. It was an abbey of Augustinian (Black) canons. The founder himself took the habit, and died there (*Ibid.*, vi. 456). The editors of the new Dugdale remark that no seals of St. Radegund or of Lesnes have been met with. Both may be found at Canterbury appended to this document.

same place on June 20, forwarding at the same time to him a copy of the monks' plaint, which is to the effect that "they claim henceforth, as real patrons, the right to present clerics to all the churches of their 'vills' and possessions when they are vacant. The archbishop and his predecessors, Stephen (Langton) and Richard (Grant), have, as they say, unjustly usurped this right. With regard to Seasalter (near Whitstable) and Brook (near Wye), their right to present has never been disputed. They complain that the archbishop unjustly receives certain annual perquisites (*exennia*)¹ from their estates which belong to them, which therefore they claim. Then follows a list of the perquisites consisting of farm and dairy produce accustomed to be rendered by their various manors at Christmas and Easter. Further, they claim full power of appointing and removing their officials and servants, both domestic and external. This right has been unjustly infringed by the archbishop and his predecessors in respect of the appointment of the three officials, the sacristan, the cellarer, and the chamberlain; and of the three servitors, to wit, two porters, one for the church and the other for the court, and the seneschal for the hall, thereby violating the charters granted by his predecessors, especially that of Blessed Thomas the Martyr. They claim redress for this injustice as also the right to add to this list of grievances,² to change them, or to withdraw any of them." On the 20th of June the monks' proctor appeared, but not the archbishop. The case was adjourned in the hope of some compromise being effected; in fact, there were several meetings with this object, but nothing came of them. Then at the request of the chapter the judges wrote to the archbishop the following letter: "We have summoned you by apostolic authority to appear at Rochester on the 20th of June to answer the chapter of Canterbury on certain matters; we also sent you a copy of their plaint, but you did not appear, nor did you send any answer; and the case has been adjourned in hope of some arrangement being come to. We now send you a second peremptory summons to appear before

¹ *Exennium, munus, donum, oblatio.* V. Ducange.

² It will be seen later that the monks availed themselves of this privilege.

us at the aforesaid place on March 13 (1237) to answer and to do what is right." On the day named the monks' proctor attended but no archbishop; so a fourth (the third peremptory) summons was issued for May 7 to state the reasons for the delay. However, before that day came, a *deus ex machina* intervened, in the shape of a royal letter, which reached each of the judges. Henry writes to say that "he has heard that the chapter of Canterbury have been suing the archbishop in a court of Christianity on the authority of papal letters concerning the advowson of churches on their manors, perquisites from the same, and the appointment of officials. It is manifestly against our crown and dignity that such pleadings should be held in a court of Christianity; for pleas of advowsons ought not to be held, and never have been held, in our realm except in our court; moreover, in the vacancy of the see, such perquisites and the appointment of such officials rest with us and our heirs. Hence, we forbid you to deal with this case in a court of Christianity." Dated Rochester, March 14, 1237. At the same time, messengers from the king gave oral instructions to the same effect to the judges in Consistory. On the appointed day, May 7, the proctors of both parties appeared. The archbishop's proctor, instead of stating the reasons for his delay, as he was expected to do, asked for an interlocutory decision whether the judges were going to obey the royal prohibition.¹

The judges wished to take time to consider this point, and so fixed on June 5, 1237, to pronounce the interlocutory judgment, whether they would go on with the case or not. On that day, the proctors of both parties being present, the

¹ The question may be asked: Was Edmund justified in invoking the king's intervention to stay proceedings in a court instituted by papal authority? In reply we can only say that we are not informed how far Edmund was responsible for this action. It is clear from the above record that up to this stage the archbishop took no notice whatever of the proceedings, either personally or by his legal representative. We are not told at whose instance the royal prohibition was obtained. Considering the horror which he had of litigation, we may assume that Edmund held himself entirely aloof from this process, and left the conduct of it to his archdeacon, Simon Langton, or to his legal advisers. No doubt he thought himself justified in letting events take their course in order that he might free himself from the unjust vexation to which he was exposed by the action of the monks of Canterbury.

case was further adjourned until June 27.¹ When that day arrived, both parties to the suit being present, whilst the monks pleaded the authority of the papal letters, the judges delivered their interlocutory judgment to the effect that they dared not proceed further with the case in face of the royal prohibition. Meantime they had received from the Pope a fresh mandate to the following effect: "Gregory, etc., to our beloved sons the abbots, etc., etc. We are informed by the Prior and Convent of Canterbury that, although they have by our apostolic authority confronted Archbishop Edmund on . . . (here follows the list of the monks' grievances), nevertheless the process so far has been hindered by the royal prohibition, although in the times of the former kings such causes had been dealt with in the ecclesiastical court without any such prohibition, and they implore the help of the Holy See. Wherefore, by these apostolic letters, we order you to go on with the case, notwithstanding this prohibition, according to the form prescribed in our former letters. But if a similar obstacle should arise to hinder the process, as the monks are anxious that a decision should be come to, you are to fix a suitable time when the archbishop by himself or by his proctor shall present himself before us to do and receive what shall be just." Dated Terni, February 27, 1237.²

In consequence of this letter, the judges issued a peremptory summons to the archbishop to appear before them

¹ The fact was that the judges and the monks were anxiously looking out for their "*deus ex machina*" in the shape of the legate Otho, whose arrival was hourly expected (*in januis*), to relieve them from the untoward predicament in which the royal prohibition had placed them.

² It will be observed that, whilst the king's prohibition is dated March 14, the papal letter forbidding the judges to act upon it is dated February 27 of the same year. But it seems probable that a prohibition had been issued previously (the judges reciting only the last one), for we find the monks urging in their subsequent pleadings that they had been frequently (*sepius*) hindered from the prosecution of their case by the royal prohibition. Again, the archbishop's proctor speaks of this prohibition and of others on the part of the king. Finally, the judges themselves speak of "the aforesaid prohibition and other similar prohibitions". At all events, the monks seem to have lost no time in obtaining from the papal armoury a weapon to parry this thrust of their opponent.

at the same place on July 16. On that day the proctors of both parties appeared ; and the chapter showed that they had been often hindered from prosecuting their cause by the royal prohibition, and that each of the judges had received a prohibition not to proceed further in the matter. But it seems that Henry, who was then expecting the legate and wished to be on good terms with the Pope, had begun to give way. For the judges as they sat in court had the following letter from the king delivered to them : " Henry, etc., to the abbots, etc. We bear in mind that we have on a former occasion forbidden you to hold the pleas in a court of Christianity between the Ven. Father Edmund and the Chapter of Canterbury concerning (the questions at issue between them); and whereas you have, notwithstanding our prohibition, again summoned the archbishop to appear and answer or else to have a day set for his appearance before the Pope to answer ; and whereas the apostolic letters, on the strength of which you have taken this course, have been obtained by false suggestion, as they state that the same case has been previously tried in an ecclesiastical court without any prohibition of our predecessors, which is manifestly false, for a case of this sort has never at any time been heard except in our court or that of our predecessors ; wherefore, we strictly forbid you, on peril of all the estates which you hold in our kingdom, to proceed in the said cause or to fix a day for the archbishop to appear out of our kingdom, or in any other way, before the arrival of the Lord Legate in England, who is now at our gates, to whom we wish to communicate the aforesaid facts and whose advice we desire to obtain." Dated Woodstock, July 10. When this letter was read, the archbishop's proctor urged that respect should be paid to this and the preceding prohibitions of the king, whilst the monks insisted that a day should be fixed when the archbishop, personally or by proctor, should appear before the Pope to do and receive what was just in the aforesaid matters, the more especially as their case had been stopped by the royal prohibition. The judges, therefore, in order that they might talk the matter over with the legate, whose arrival was shortly expected, and obtain his advice, adjourned the matter to a future day ; so that when they had heard his

opinion they might make known what decision they had come to respecting the Pope's commission and the royal prohibition. Subsequently, the judges, after an interview with the legate, held a meeting at Boxley on August 31, at which the monks' proctor appeared and stated that their former case against the archbishop was to the following effect: "You (the archbishop) and certain of your predecessors have unjustly usurped the said rights to their grave prejudice, by appointing and removing at your discretion the three officials. This statement they now wish to amend, and to add further claims; namely, that the archbishop should be compelled to abide by the arbitration made in the case of the moors, marshes, and fisheries formerly subjected to the arbitration of the Bishop of Ely, the Abbot of St. Edmund's, and the Dean of Lincoln, when the question was agitated between the chapter and Archbishop Hubert. This arbitration was accepted by both sides and confirmed by Innocent III. It was to this effect: let twelve or more good and true men be chosen who know the truth of these matters and are willing to declare it; and let them say on their oath to whom they rightfully belong; and let the matter be settled by the verdict of the whole or of a majority of them; the archbishop shall enjoin on them under anathema to tell the truth in good faith and without favour to any one. The marsh which they claim is on the moor called Serle,¹ having the river Limene on the south, the moor of the Abbot of St. Augustine's on the north, the moor of Blakebourne on the east, and that of Reding on the west; the fishery of which they claim a moiety is by Oxenel Bridge on their land of Stapele." The judges, having received this further claim, wrote to the archbishop to inform him that the Pope had written a second time instructing them to proceed with the cause notwithstanding the royal prohibition, and they recite all the proceedings which took place at the meeting of July. They say they have now heard the legate's opinion, and, as they wish to comply with the Pope's instructions, whilst the royal prohibition prevents them from going on with the case; hence, according to the terms of the apostolic

¹ Serlemore, in Romney Marsh.

mandate, they fix a day when the archbishop personally or by proctor shall appear before the Pope to do and receive justice. The day fixed is January 26, 1238. They then call the archbishop's attention to the additional claims which the monks had made as related above. The report thus concludes : " We therefore faithfully report to your Holiness the facts mentioned above, just as they took place ". The document bears the three seals of the Abbots of Boxley, of St. Radegund, and of Lesnes. It is endorsed : " Processus habitus inter nos et Sanctum Ed. Archiepiscopum, missus ad papam per delegatos iudices in causas ". The words from " processus " to " archiepiscopum " are in a different and somewhat more recent hand than the rest ; from the use of " sanctum " they must have been written after the Saint's canonisation (1246). In still another hand is written : " De Scerlemer apud Apuldre ".

This report fully bears out the accuracy of our biographer, who, without entering into any details, has fairly and impartially described the controversy in its general aspect. We shall now continue his narrative in which he relates the steps which the archbishop took to bring about a pacific settlement.

" Some of the leading members of the community,"¹ says Eustace, " and their backers outside, blamed the archbishop because he not only caused disturbance in the church and monastery, but openly attacked them ; thereby showing himself very ungrateful to those who had elected him to that high dignity in preference to so many other eminent men, and against the wishes of the king and other noble personages." (As if St. Edmund had been anxious for the post!) But Edmund, who was very tender-hearted, could not bear the imputation of ingratitude, so the writer proceeds to relate how the archbishop, for the sake of peace, made many concessions to the recalcitrant monks : " The archbishop, then, whose paternal heart was deeply grieved at the dissensions which had been raised amongst the community, gave vent to his feelings in sighs, and his soul was filled with

¹ We shall see who these " leading members " were in chapter xxi.

bitterness. On a certain day, therefore, that he might put a stop to the scandal that was spreading, he entered the chapter-house in an attitude of deep humility in the hope of allaying the commotion by calm reasoning and sweet moderation ; for he did not wish to be thought unmindful of the confidence which the monks had bestowed upon him. Indeed, it cut him to the quick to think that he should even appear to be ungrateful. Consequently, he conceded all their requests so far as to remove every obstacle to an honourable and satisfactory arrangement being made. The monks, one and all, gladly consented to his terms, and they thanked God and the archbishop for this happy termination of the dispute. Edmund then announced to the chapter that he would go to Rome in order to obtain the sanction of the Holy See to the arrangement that had been made."

Such is Eustace's account of the transaction, but he does not specify any of the terms of the compromise. A search, however, in the archives of Canterbury has resulted in the discovery of the original indenture, sealed with Edmund's private seal, which supplies the most complete and authentic information on this point. The original document is given in the appendix.¹ We will here give a summary of its contents :—

Whereas John, the Prior, and the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, have brought an action against the venerable father, Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, etc., on the following matters, namely, on the advowson of churches ; on certain manors belonging to them which they claimed ; on the presents² which he and his predecessors have been accustomed to receive from their manors ; on the moors and marshes of Serle, and certain fisheries ; on the right of appointment of certain officials in the church of Canterbury claimed by the archbishop ; on a certain sum of money amounting to 22,000 marks³ which the monks claimed

¹ Appendix x.

² *Exennia*.

³ Equivalent to about £300,000 ; as the property was restored on the relaxation of the interdict which lasted six years, the claim will give one some idea of the enormous wealth of this community.

as damages for the property of which they had been deprived by King John, which debt was acknowledged by Archbishop Langton at the time of the relaxation of the interdict when John surrendered the property; also on the appointment of the Prior of Dover, who, as they maintained, had to be appointed in chapter and with their consent; moreover, they claimed to have the return of the king's writ made immediately to them and not through the archbishop.

At length, after many altercations, by the Divine favour, an agreement is made between the parties to the following effect :—

For the sake of peace it is agreed between the archbishop for himself and successors on the one part, and the prior and convent on the other part, that the prior and convent for themselves and successors renounce all suits laid or to be laid on the aforesaid articles, whether in the civil or in the ecclesiastical courts; to wit, on the question regarding advowsons, reserving however those of the churches of Brook and Seasalter, and the churches in London, Canterbury, and Lewes, which manifestly belong to them; except also the churches of Farningham, Depeham, Halstow, St. Dunstan's and Aldermary churches in London, which are their peculiar property. They reserve also to themselves certain pensions out of Muneke, Eastry, and Meopham. They renounce any claims to gifts (*exennia*) beyond the share which they have been accustomed to receive; also to the moors, marshes, and fisheries, and to the appointment of officials. As for the Prior of Dover, the archbishop shall appoint him at his pleasure, but out of the members of the chapter.

With regard to the sum of money (22,000 marks), they renounce all further claim; and they will never at any time raise any question as to this or any of the foregoing matters.

The archbishop, for his part, on behalf of himself and his successors, for the sake of peace, grants to the prior and convent the return of the king's writs through the hands of the archbishop and those of his successors, in respect of their tenants and tenements; such return to be held by them as

freely as he himself holds them from the king. He grants them all emoluments arising from the said returns, whether in respect of tenants or tenements, the goods of fugitives, all attachments, imprisonments, and judgments on their own subjects, or on others living on their domains, whether in virtue of such return or otherwise, unless the case happen through their default. He also grants them all fines levied on their tenants anywhere except in the following cases: If both parties to a suit which is settled in the archbishop's court are tenants of the chapter, the fine to go to the convent; but if the archbishop's tenants or others bring an action against the chapter-tenants in consequence of the *laches* of the prior for the time being, in the archbishop's court, and a fine is levied on the defendant, it shall go to the archbishop. If the chapter claim in the hundred court of the archbishop that a case be remitted to their court, and they are legally entitled to it, it shall be granted them, and the fine shall go to the prior, unless through default of the convent the case be brought back to the hundred court, in which case the fine shall go to the archbishop. Also, in case of a miscarriage of justice or any wrong done in their court, it shall be rectified by the archbishop's court, and the fine shall go to the archbishop or the prior, according to the distinction given above. In like manner, if any complaint be brought against the prior for the time being, for defect of justice or wrong done, the said prior shall be summoned by the archbishop if he is in Kent at the time, or, if he is absent, by his head-seneschal, to give proper satisfaction as to the allegations. If he fail to do this, and the cause is a secular one, he shall stand his trial before the archbishop if he is in the country, or, if he is absent, before his official and the head-seneschal, in the chief court of Canterbury; but, if the cause is an ecclesiastical one, then before the official alone. If he is fined, the fine reasonably taxed shall be remitted in favour of the prior. No one in the service of the archbishop shall exercise any authority over the estates and fees of the chapter, except in case of their default. In every case of default, whether it be in the courts or in the lands of the chapter, the remedy shall lie with the archbishop,

and the fine shall go to him or to the prior as before distinguished.

With regard to moors, marshes, and the fishery in Stapely, it is agreed that there shall be chosen from both sides twelve or twenty-four true men sworn and pledged under anathema before Wm. de Ralegh, or in the event of his death before Wm. de York, and according to their true depositions the said Wm. de Ralegh or Wm. de York shall draw up a final settlement on the aforesaid matters.

And whereas, by reason of these disputes, the archbishop has incurred serious expense and trouble through the prior and convent, now that the archbishop has offered terms of peace to the convent, the question arises as to the refunding of those expenses, whether it shall be made or not, in whole or in part, in little or much, by the same chapter; now it is hereby agreed at the instance of the said chapter and of the mutual friends of the parties who have laboured to bring about this compromise, that the matter should be left to the arbitration of Wm. de Ralegh, if he survives, otherwise of Wm. de York. Moreover, the chapter, with the consent of the archbishop, have agreed to nominate Bertram, Sheriff of Canterbury, and John de Watthou, clerk, as adjuncts to the aforesaid arbitrators or the survivor of them. And both the archbishop and the prior and convent voluntarily and in good faith have bound themselves to this compact.¹

This agreement, as rehearsed, shall be perpetual and shall remain in force for ever inviolate, notwithstanding any word, act, or writing uttered, or to be uttered, by either of the parties, so far as it concerns the aforesaid articles, provided that the consent of our lord the Pope and of the king be obtained. That this act may remain valid for future times, this written indenture has been executed, whereof one part, signed with

¹ This William de Ralegh has appeared before in these pages as king's clerk, holding a brief for the crown, at the Legatine Council of London. He was a very distinguished man and we shall frequently hear of him as being in intimate relations with the archbishop. It was to him that Edmund wrote his last letter the day before his death. He became Bishop of Norwich and subsequently of Winchester. We hear no more of the result of this assessment of costs and damages.

the seal of the archbishop, remains with the chapter,¹ the other, signed with the seal of the chapter, remains with the archbishop. Done at Canterbury, xv. Kal. Jan. MCCXXXVII. (Dec. 18, 1237.)

In this agreement it will be seen that the archbishop maintained his ecclesiastical and territorial rights, as regards presentation to benefices and customary dues, with certain exceptions in regard of which the convent made good their claim. The claim for damages was too preposterous to be insisted on by the convent, and so that was withdrawn. On the other hand, the archbishop seems to have conceded to the convent all that they claimed in the way of forensic privileges. When we consider what a horror Edmund had of litigation, we are not surprised that the archbishop should, *pro bono pacis*, have gone as far as he could in this direction.

The agreement was made subject to the approval of the Holy See, and in the course of the same week Edmund started for Rome, carrying with him this document and many other weighty matters in regard of which he wished to take counsel of the vicar of Christ.

It will be noticed that at the end of the agreement there is a clause which insists on its being final and perpetual, and that no subsequent word or act or writing of either of the parties should in any way prejudice its force or efficacy. Nevertheless, it will be seen in the sequel that the monks, or rather a certain faction of them, were by no means sincere in their acquiescence, but sought by all kinds of intrigues to upset the "honourable and satisfactory" compromise which had been made.

Another matter which the archbishop wished to refer to the decision of the Holy See was a controversy in which he was then engaged with the Bishop of London. St. Edmund's anxiety for monastic reform extended beyond the limits of his own diocese, and embraced the other great monasteries which were included within the limits of the ecclesiastical province subject to his jurisdiction. He was especially solicitous with regard to the discipline of the great Abbey

¹ This is the indenture now in the archives.

of Westminster, situated in the diocese of London, and announced his intention to visit them for the correction of abuses and the reformation of discipline. He was met by a twofold obstacle : the monks protested that they were exempt from episcopal control, and that if anybody had the right to visit them it was the Bishop of London, and no one else. The bishop also protested that the archbishop was interfering in a matter which belonged exclusively to his (the bishop's) province. The archbishop rejoined that, as the Bishop of London did not, in fact, visit them, it was his place to do so. The bishop took sides with the monks, and, against this powerful and organised opposition, Edmund was obliged to hold his hand until he could obtain the support of the Holy See.

We may here mention that when the question was laid before the Holy See the Pope did not give a decision, but remitted it for further investigation to the Prior of Dunstable and other judges, who, after having examined and discussed the question, drew up a full report, which they sent to Rome, that the Pope might determine the question of right whether a metropolitan had the power to visit the monasteries of his suffragans when the bishops were not guilty of negligence. The decision was adverse to the archbishop.¹ We learn from a letter of Bishop Grosseteste, written at the end of 1239, that the question was still pending, and had not then been settled.

The list of *gravamina* is not yet finished. Edmund had yet another controversy on hand, with the monks of St. Augustine, Canterbury. For, as at Winchester, there were at Canterbury two great Benedictine communities, side by side ; and the monks of St. Augustine's yielded to none, not even to their rivals of Christ Church, in the fierce determination with which they insisted upon their privileges of exemption from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever, save that which was exercised immediately by the Pope or his legate. Moreover, they claimed this privilege of exemption, not only for themselves, but for their clerics and lay tenants

¹ Annal. Dunstable, p. 151.

and dependents, wherever they might exist. The abbot claimed plenary jurisdiction in all churches appropriated to St. Augustine's. A papal bull was produced, said to have been obtained by Abbot Silvester (1151-1161), ordering Archbishop Theobald to give him abbatial benediction without exacting from him canonical obedience. We may well understand that Edmund, in the course of his episcopal visitations, would occasionally find, in the parishes subject to St. Augustine's, matters which called for animadversion, and which would necessarily bring him into collision with the monastery. Archbishop Richard,¹ who succeeded St. Thomas, wrote very strongly on the subject to Alexander III. He says: "The abbots puff themselves up against primates and bishops; there is not one of them that shows respect and honour to his superiors; the yoke of obedience is shaken off; the abbots cannot endure to have any one to correct their extravagance". In the same letter he accuses the monasteries of claiming their privileges and exemptions on the strength of forged or interpolated documents. In fact, in the appendix to *Literæ Cantuarienses* (p. 366) there is a curious story of a French monk, who confessed on his death-bed that he had forged two documents, one of which was in favour of St. Augustine's Abbey. There also may be found a certificate, signed by six English bishops, testifying to the fact that Abbot Silvester swore canonical obedience to Theobald, notwithstanding the alleged papal bull.

No wonder, therefore, that the monks of St. Augustine felt rather nervous about producing their charters when challenged to do so;² and the monks of Christ Church chuckled over their embarrassment. However, the Pope seems to have treated them very leniently when the charters were sent for his inspection, for he confirmed their privileges. Unfortunately for us, the history of the monastery, supposed to be the work of Thomas of Elmham, a monk of St. Augustine's who lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, does not extend beyond the year 1191, the work having been interrupted by his entering the Cluniac congregation. He

¹ He had been Prior of Dover.

² *Hist. Mon. S. Aug.* (Rolls), introd.

has, however, prefixed to his work a chronological table, extending to 1418, which contains the heads of the various matters he would have treated in the sequel. It includes the following items, evidently referring to the controversy with St. Edmund :—

Anno 1234. Edmundus Archiepiscopus (45), that is, the 45th from St. Augustine.

Anno 1235. Papal bull to wake up the king to defend and preserve (our rights).

Anno 1235. Papal bull that no one may excommunicate our monks, our clerics, or our men.

Anno 1235. Papal bull that our churches, our men, and all our goods are held and to be held under the protection of the Roman Church.

Anno 1235. Papal bull that we should not be dragged more than two days' journey on law proceedings.

Anno 1236. Papal bull on confirmation of annual revenue in our churches.

Anno 1238. Papal bull (this must have been after St. Edmund's visit *ad limina*) issued to the abbot and convent on a composition between St. Edmund and ourselves. Deed of confirmation of said composition.

Anno 1238. Papal bull that we cannot be compelled by apostolic letters to grant provision (of benefices) to anybody.

Anno 1238. Papal bull of confirmation on the composition agreed to between us and St. Edmund, directed to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church.

Anno 1240. Death of Edmund. The archiepiscopate vacant.

The composition above referred to is given by Will. Thorne, a monk of St. Augustine's, who wrote his chronicle, "de gestis Abbatum," towards the close of the fourteenth century.¹ We here give a summary of this document, the object of which is, as the archbishop states, to put an end to existing disputes, and to establish a *modus vivendi* which shall

¹ Apud Twysden, "Decem Scriptores," col. 1882.

preclude any difficulties arising in the future. The chief questions at issue regarded the jurisdiction over the tenants and clerics subject to the monastery ; the ringing of bells at the reception of the abbot ; the inclosure of anchorites ; the institution of vicars ; the annual sums to be levied on parishes ; the custody of vacant benefices ; the benediction of the abbot by the archbishop without any oath of obedience on his part. Such being the questions at issue, it was agreed on both parts that the archbishop should not further call in question the privileges granted to St. Augustine's but should stand by the agreement already made with his predecessor ; he also concedes that the abbatial benediction should be conferred by him without exacting the customary profession of obedience ; that the archbishop, when he visits the monastery, should be received, not as the ordinary, but as the Pope's representative ; as the monastery claimed to be exempt from all authority except that of the Holy See, to which it was subject *sine medio*. With regard to the abbey "men" and clerics, they shall be subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the archbishop and his officials in respect of any crime committed without the abbey precincts ; but the exception is made that clerics and *servientes capitales* cannot be excommunicated or suspended before a discussion of the facts, unless the crime is notorious, or the criminal contumacious.

The archbishop shall institute parsons or vicars at the presentation of the convent ; but the abbot shall keep the keys after the death of an incumbent until the institution of his successor ; the fruits of the benefice in the interim are to be equally divided between the abbot and the archdeacon. At the institution the abbot is to give the keys to the archdeacon's agent, who is to perform the function.

When the archdeacon visits any of their churches, he is to receive the customary "procurations," except from their peculiar churches, namely, Minster, Norborne, Chistlet, Faversham, and Middleton, which shall be exempt from procuration fees, as also from being liable to suspension or interdict by the ordinary.

The archbishop consents that the bells shall be rung at the reception of the abbot.

Anchorites for the future are not to be admitted in their churches by the abbot except through the ordinary, nor by the ordinary except with the consent of the abbot.

As regards subventions, the archbishop grants them twenty marks yearly from the churches of Preston and Selling as soon as they fall vacant ; but all other churches are to be free from such pensions.

The abbot agrees not to let any church to farm without the consent of the ordinary.

It will be seen from this composition that the monks had the best of the bargain, and that the archbishop went as far as he conscientiously could in the interests of peace and conciliation.

Before we conclude this account of the controversy with the convent of St. Augustine, we may mention two other facts connected with it, though they properly belong to the following year, 1238. One is a document by which Edmund orders the general excommunication of all those who infringe the rights of the monastery.¹ The other is a cautionary letter, by which the archbishop guards against encroachment on the rights of the monastery. He had given up his palace at Canterbury to Otho, the legate, and taken up his quarters at St. Augustine's. He protests by this letter that he does so at his own expense, and does not intend to compromise any of the rights and privileges of St. Augustine's.²

The list of controversies is not yet exhausted. There were Benedictine monks also at Rochester with whom the archbishop came into collision. It happened thus. On Feb. 24, 1235, the Bishop of Rochester (Henry de Stamford)³ died. On March 26 the monks met in chapter and elected Master Richard de Wendene.⁴ Edmund however refused to confirm the election.

No reason for his refusal is assigned by the biographers. Le Neve states, we know not on what authority, that it was because he was not of sufficient learning. But the Rochester

¹ Thorne, "Decem Scriptores," col. 1884.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1885.

³ *Magnus Philosophus*.

⁴ Otherwise described as of "Wendover".

Register¹ furnishes us with the true reason, which had no reference to the personal merits of the candidate. The See of Rochester was an appanage of the archiepiscopal see, the bishop acting *ex officio* as the archbishop's chaplain. Hence St. Edmund claimed that by ancient custom the right of appointing a bishop rested with him, and not with the chapter. We learn from the register that Richard, who was elected by the monks, was parson of Bromley. As both parties declined to withdraw their pretensions, the monks appealed to Rome. This, then, was one of the cases which the archbishop had to lay before the Roman pontiff for his decision. It seems to have been prolonged for three years.²

We gather from the annals of Edmund de Hadenham³ some particulars of this protracted law-suit. On the first appeal of the monks, in 1235, Pope Gregory appointed as judges to investigate the matter the Abbot of Walden, the Prior of Merton, and the Archdeacon of Northampton. On March 14, 1236, the monks sent the report of these judges to Rome; but it was rejected by the Pope as not having been drawn up in proper form. The case was remitted to other judges. On February 17, 1237, the monks sent a third deputation to Rome with the second report. The envoys were compelled to wait in Rome a whole year, on account of the war with the Emperor Frederic, and to await the arrival in Rome of Archbishop Edmund. The terms of reference which the Pope submitted to the judges are given by Wharton in his addenda,⁴ which he says he copied *ex autographo*. The original will be found in appendix xi. It is addressed to the Prior of Dunstable, the Archdeacon of Berks, and the Dean of Flemstede, in the dioceses of Lincoln and Sarum, apparently the judges in the second instance. It had been represented to the Pope by the archbishop that the election of a Bishop of Rochester rests with him. But his worthy predecessor, Stephen (Langton), allowed the chapter to elect, to the grave detriment of the

¹ Thorpe, Registr. Roff., p. 95.

² Per triennium in curia litigabat. MS. Harl. 692, f. 218 r^o.

³ Ap. Wharton (Anglia Sacra), vol. i. p. 348.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 801.

rights of his see ; he did this through ignorance. Wherefore the archbishop claims that his predecessor's ignorance shall not prejudice his rights of election. The Pope remits the case to the judges for investigation.

At length, on March 20, 1238, final sentence was pronounced. Edmund was several times sent for to be present at the decision, but, with his invincible aversion to litigation, he declined to attend, and sent his proctors instead : they were Simon Langton and Master Frakenham. The verdict was against the archbishop on all counts, that is to say, in favour of the person elected, and against the claim which the archbishop had set up. The monks were so elated with their success that they decreed henceforward to observe the Feast of St. Cuthbert, which falls on March 20, as one of the greater solemnities. The papal bull by which this decision was given may be found in Thorpe. It is a lengthy document, setting forth all the pleadings of both parties to the suit. From it we learn that the monks pleaded a prescription of fifty-two years, whilst the archbishop contended that Pope Alexander (the Third) had conceded the church of Rochester as a peculiar of Canterbury in the time of Archbishop Richard. The bull of Alexander (which is in the archives of Canterbury, A, 48a) runs as follows : "We decree that the church of Rochester shall be subject to you (the archbishop) and your Catholic successors inasmuch as that bishopric and its revenues have been determined to belong to the '*mensa*' of the Archbishop of Canterbury, so that when a bishop of that see dies it shall lie with you and your successors to institute a bishop there as your own chaplain, according to the ancient custom of your church, and as your predecessors are ascertained to have done hitherto".¹

Godwin (De Presulibus, p. 91, note), referring to this controversy, quotes Bracton² as testifying to a royal prohibition issued against the Rochester monks forbidding them to sue the archbishop in the ecclesiastical court in respect of the

¹ The text of the bull will be found in appendix xi.

² De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ, in tractatu de exceptionibus, c. 4. Bracton was a contemporary of St. Edmund.

custody of the vacant bishopric, on the ground that such custody, of right, belonged to him.

Nevertheless, the plea of prescription seems to have been successful, and the monks gained their cause.

The archbishop showed his freedom from all personal animosity in the matter by consecrating the new prelate himself on November 21, 1238.

In addition to the monastic disputes, the archbishop had a troublesome and expensive litigation on hand with Hugh, Earl of Arundel. It is not stated what was the matter of dispute. The Tractarian Life says that he had taken possession of a manor, the custody of which belonged to the See of Canterbury; but this incident does not seem to have been connected with the earl, but rather with the king and his ministers. It seems more probable, from an allusion in one of the chronicles, that he had been encroaching on the archiepiscopal forests.¹ At all events, the youthful earl² was a truculent personage, in evidence of which we may produce a letter written to the Bishop of Chichester by his bailiff, in which he speaks of the earl's misconduct.³ Simon de Senlis complains to the bishop that the earl's bailiffs act cruelly towards the bishop's Church of Chichester, and towards his tenants: the bishop's officials have endeavoured in vain to bring these men to a sense of humanity; "and never a week passes in which I and your servants have not to appear at the hundred court of the said earl in order to defend the cause of your poor tenants".

However, the earl, being supported by the influence of the papal legate, gained his case also, and the archbishop was cast in a great sum for law expenses.

Before we conclude this chapter, we wish to make a few general observations on the archbishop's unhappy disputes with the monks. No doubt the monastic order stood in need of reform. The general decadence of the Benedictine order at this period is the more deplorable when we consider from

¹ Chron. of Tewkesbury, p. 106.

² He must have been young, for, as we have seen, he was a minor at the time of the queen's coronation (1236).

³ R. Lett. Hy. III., lett. cccxii. bis p. 357.

what a height it had fallen. The traditional glories of the first five centuries of its existence only rendered its present impotence more disheartening to one who, like St. Edmund, was wholly consumed with zeal for the House of God. In the *Life of St. Benedict*, written by St. Gregory the Great, there is a remarkable passage which runs as follows: "The man of God, Benedict, whilst the brethren were asleep, was once watching in prayer even before the hour of nocturnal praise; he was standing at the window praying to the Almighty God, when suddenly he beheld a great light which gradually spread itself and scattered all the shades of night. It shone with such splendour as to surpass the brightness of noonday. Moreover, a wonderful circumstance followed; for, as he himself afterwards asserted, it seemed as if the whole world were concentrated in that sunbeam and presented before his eyes." We cannot doubt that this vision signified that he was destined to enlighten the darkness which had overwhelmed the world; that he should gather into one the discordant elements of ancient corrupt civilisation and new uncultured barbarism; that he should so mould and transform and transfuse them in the fire with which he himself glowed, that it would seem as if a new world arose after a new deluge, radiant with light, instinct with life and fruitfulness. How was this miracle of divine grace to be accomplished? By what means was he, an unlettered solitary, to create the world anew? for nothing less than this was the task which lay before him! The instrument by which God ordained that St. Benedict should reconquer the lost world was the holy rule: that rule of masterly discretion and clear utterance, as St. Gregory terms it; that rule in which his own life stands reflected as in a mirror; for, as the same writer says, he could by no means teach otherwise than as he lived. No one can doubt that this rule was the fruit of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. No sooner was it promulgated, than it took its place amongst the sacred canons; it came to be regarded as the rule to which all monastic houses should conform; its terms and phrases became household words in the Church; it formed the basis of legislation, ecclesiastical and civil. Marvellous indeed was the effect of this holy rule so divine

in its wisdom and in its simplicity ; like the leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened, it penetrated into the bosom of the human family ; it civilised those rude barbarian tribes ; it educated them ; it brought order out of chaos ; it elaborated forms of government, social order, and civil polity ; it refined and elevated their rude instincts ; it laid the foundations of all that material progress, intellectual culture, and artistic refinement which are the appanage of those favoured lands where the sons of St. Benedict established themselves. But far more than all this, that holy rule leavened Christendom with a sacred influence, exalting the standard of Christian perfection, keeping before the eyes of the world a living example of self-abnegation, of obedience, of patient stability amidst the mutable elements of this world ; it enkindled the flame of devotion and awakened the harmonies of celestial melodies which, on every wooded height and in every well-watered vale, were wafted on the breeze in soul-entrancing canticles of praise.

But the Benedictine monasteries of the thirteenth century had degenerated much from this lofty standard of the primitive ages. No wonder, therefore, if St. Edmund, and others like him, devoted all their energies to endeavour to revive these glorious traditions and make them once more living and operative in the great Benedictine order : for "if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall the earth be salted ?"¹

The necessity then of reform was universally recognised ; and, as recently as 1232, a general visitation of religious houses throughout the world had been ordered by Gregory IX. The commissioners appointed to execute this visitation in the southern part of the province of Canterbury were the Abbots of Boxley and Bayham and the precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury. The monks of St. Augustine took the alarm and appealed against the visitation. They sent a deputation to Rome and succeeded in obtaining other visitors than those appointed. It seems that the Abbot of Boxley made himself particularly objectionable by the strictness of

¹ Matt. v. 13.

his investigation. In this visitation the great abbeys of Westminster and Bury St. Edmunds were visited ; but the premier abbey, that of St. Alban's, obtained the privilege of exemption.

It is to this anxiety on the part of the Pope and the more zealous among the bishops to bring about a reform, that we must attribute the violent abuse with which the Pope and his ministers are loaded by the monastic chroniclers of this time. They, for the most part, show themselves unscrupulous partisans and advocates of the *status quo*. Of this spirit Matthew Paris is a choice specimen, who, speaking of Hugh Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, describes him as "a persecutor of monks, a sledge-hammer for canons and all religious men".

We have also seen the practical steps taken by Otho for accomplishing the desired reform.

But, imperative as was this necessity, the reader must be cautioned against an inference which one is apt to make, but which is wholly unwarrantable. Ever since the dissolution of the religious houses, it has been the fashion with non-Catholic writers to understand relaxation of discipline to mean indulgence in vice and immorality. As an example of this hasty and unwarrantable inference, we may mention a passage in Hook's *Life of St. Edmund*.¹ "The monks of Canterbury had not only relaxed their rule—they not only indulged in luxurious living—but they were found to be guilty of the *grossest immoralities* (the italics are ours). Things were done of which M. Paris, himself a monk, was ashamed to speak." No reference is given to the passage in which M. Paris so speaks ; but we admit that the Waverley annalist speaks of *quædam tacenda*, which, after all, is only a stock phrase quoted from the rule of St. Benedict (cap. i.), where it refers to the restless and roving character of those whom the holy legislator calls the "vagabond monks". No doubt it is an act of "gross immorality" to tell a lie or forge a signature ; but we suppose that there can be no doubt what is intended to be conveyed by the phrase "grossest immoralities" ; and we assert that the accusation is "grossly" exaggerated. The nearest

¹ *Lives of Abps.*, vol. iij. p. 206.

approach to such a charge which we have been able to discover is in the Life by Robert Rich, whose words are as follows: "Et ut de monachis graviora taceantur, filiis suis impudicis, quos enutrierat ingratos et degeneres, ei maliciose insidiantibus, intestinum pro juribus bellum in utroque foro inferentibus".¹ In this passage the words *suis impudicis* are only found in the Fell. MS. at the Bodleian; they are not in the Cotton MS. Faustina B. I. But even granting that they are genuine, what do they signify? Simply that the monks of Christ Church were "shameless" sons; and shameless they were, beyond all question, in thus persecuting their spiritual father with perpetual law-suits, not only in the ecclesiastical, but even in the civil courts, as the author goes on to explain. There is no evidence that the term has any more definite signification than this. We fully admit that the "quædam tacenda" of the annalist, and the "ut graviora taceantur" of Robert Rich, undoubtedly point to acts of immorality on the part of *certain* members of the community, which is not to be wondered at, in such a large community, human nature being what it is; but we maintain that these statements are far from justifying such a sweeping accusation as that gross vice habitually prevailed in the whole community, which is the obvious inference to be drawn from the dean's words.²

Beyond their contumacious attitude towards the archbishop, which no one will defend, the principal charge alleged against the Canterbury monks is that they tampered with a certain document; a crime which perhaps in these days would not be looked upon as such a "gross

¹ R. R., f. 182 r^o col. 1.

² We attach no importance to the expression in the metrical Lives—"The covent of Canturbery azen seint edmond held faste; ofte hy nome love-dayes: the kontek ever ylaste"—MS. Bodl. 779, f. 103 v^o—for we are now only concerned with contemporaneous evidence. These Lives belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Lollardism was rampant, and such accusations, more or less well founded at the time, were quite commonplaces in the popular literature of the period. They contain many inaccuracies. Thus, for example, they all state that St. Edmund died in the year 1242, which is certainly wrong. If we have occasionally quoted them, it is not so much as authorities as for their literary interest.

immorality" as it certainly was regarded in the thirteenth century.¹

Since the publication of Fr. Gasquet's work, in which the calumnious charges of Henry the Eighth's commissioners have been submitted to a calm and judicial criticism, it may be said that this charge has completely broken down, and is hardly likely to be resuscitated except in a limited circle of fanatics. Nevertheless, the mere mention of "relaxation" is apt to conjure up a picture of enormities which the facts by no means warrant. Relaxation is a relative term; its signification depends on the standard from which an individual or community is supposed to deviate. In these days of comfortable Christianity and piety made easy, things reprehensible would imply a much greater degree of turpitude than at a time when a higher standard of rectitude was in vogue. To understand, then, what is meant by relaxation of discipline in St. Edmund's time we must necessarily adopt St. Edmund's standard of judgment. We have seen that standard exemplified in his own life and in that of his mother. We have seen how they, whilst still in the ranks of the laity, and bound by no sort of religious obligation, spent their lives; how they macerated their flesh by cruel disciplines and rigorous fasts; how they rose always at midnight to assist at the Divine office; how their whole life was spent in a continual round of prayer, laborious penance, abstinence, and works of piety and charity. Nor was there anything extraordinary in such a life at that period. The degree, indeed, in which some of these works were practised was a matter of astonishment to their contemporaries; but the general outline of that life was a common and ordinary occurrence.

With such a standard of Christian piety and discipline existing in his mind, based upon his own life-long practice, what standard would he adopt when estimating the conduct of religious men and women, and its conformity with the rule which they had vowed to observe? Evidently, it would be a standard so lofty that people now-a-days would hardly be able to form a conception of it. In the days of which we

¹ See ch. xix. p. 260.

speak, every man, woman, and child, even soldiers in the field, abstained entirely from flesh-meat and everything akin to it, such as milk, butter, eggs, and cheese, from Ash Wednesday till Holy Saturday; nor was any other discipline thought possible. Now-a-days we should have to borrow Diogenes' lantern to go in quest of any one who observes this discipline. It must be remembered that in these "relaxed" monasteries the monks rose in the night for matins; that they spent about one-third of the day in the celebration of the Divine office; that they fared hardly, observed rigorous fasts and abstinence, occupied a common dormitory, and, above all, were continually subject to the ever-present yoke of the rule; and, though the ingenuity of man had in course of time found a way of padding the yoke, yet still the galled shoulders bore testimony to its presence. As an example of the observance of the rule we may take the Abbey of St. Alban's, an abbey of first rank, and therefore more exposed to mundane influence. We find that, at this very period, the Abbot William, who held this office at the time of St. Edmund's election, ordains that the rule of St. Benedict shall be observed in future with still greater exactitude, so that even on days when the convent is in copes, that is, on the greater festivals, the monks should only have one meal in the day from September 14 to Easter, "according to the rule of St. Benedict, which we have professed to follow".¹

William of Malmesbury, the most trustworthy of all our historians, who lived in the twelfth century, gives us a description of the Canterbury discipline which might no doubt be applied to the state of things existing in the thirteenth century. He says:² "The Canterbury monks, like all other English monks of that period (the time just after the conquest), were hardly different from seculars, except that they were careful about the vow of chastity."³ They indulged in field sports and other unmonastic diversions. In fact, from the number of their dependents, you would take them for consuls rather than monks." Archbishop Lanfranc did

¹ *Gesta Abbat. S. Alb. (Rolls)*, p. 294.

² *Malm.*, p. 70.

³ "Nisi quod pudicitiam non facile proderent."

much by patient and gentle treatment to bring the monks to a more regular observance.

Unhappily, amongst the secular clergy, and even amongst the higher dignitaries, there was a laxity prevailing, deplorable even from a modern point of view. But what else could be expected under the operation of the infamous and iniquitous system adopted by our Norman and Plantagenet kings, who exposed bishoprics and other Church benefices in open market to the highest bidder; a system against which St. Thomas protested with his life's blood, whilst Anselm, Stephen Langton, and Edmund suffered exile and persecution in the same cause?

In what then did the relaxation consist of which St. Edmund complained, and which he with others sought vainly to reform? In this—that the spirit of the world had invaded the cloisters and undermined the spiritual fabric of the rule. St. Benedict makes it a fundamental qualification of a monk that he should be one who seeks God alone; and he enumerates amongst the conditions of monastic life that a monk should be a stranger to the ways of the world. This is the root of the matter, the head and front of their offending, the cause of their prevarication—that they had opened their gates to allow the spirit of the world to enter into the sacred enclosure: a crime which would hardly be recognised as a crime at the present day, when the spirit of the world is all-pervading and all-dominant. But at the period of which we speak the primitive tradition was not yet extinct, which regarded a monastery as an ark of safety which the Lord God Himself had closed on the outside,¹ that they that were within might ride securely over a submerged world.

The application to religious houses of the principles of the feudal system in respect of the temporal possessions with which the piety and charity of the faithful had endowed them; and the consequent usurpations and encroachments of the crown and the territorial magnates, inflicting on them all the harassing and grinding incidents of that system, could not fail to bring the monasteries within the sweep of political

¹ Gen. vii. 16.

intrigue and popular commotion ; and so tended inevitably to check those heavenward aspirations which their rule of life was intended to foster, and to bring them under the influence of the ignoble passions and ambitions which swayed the world around them. It would seem, in some cases, as if their vast temporal possessions, though productive of incalculable material benefit to society and the people at large, really hampered the monasteries, much as the armour of Saul hampered David when he went to do battle with Goliath. Happy for them if, like him, they had rid themselves of the encumbrance, and been content with the shepherd's tunic, the sling and the stone from the purling brook.

We have already spoken of the mischiefs wrought in this direction by the privilege which many of the monastic chapters throughout England enjoyed of electing the chief pastor of the see to which they were attached. The writer of the *Life* published in this work, an evident sympathiser with the monks, furnishes ample evidence how detrimental this privilege was to the spirit of recollection and fervour, and how calculated to make the monastery an arena for the display of party spirit, faction, intrigue and other worldly infirmities which ought to be banished from monasteries *æterna clausura*.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ARCHBISHOP VISITS ROME.

(A.D. 1238.)

THE various controversies in which the archbishop found himself involved with the crown, the nobles and the monks, as related in the preceding chapter, compelled him to have recourse to the Holy See in order to lay his difficulties before the Pope, and to obtain from that supreme authority a solution which, if not satisfactory to himself, would at least be final. According to M. Paris, the legate tried to put obstacles in the way of the visit.¹ He was probably apprehensive that it might lead to his own recall, as in fact it did, though he was saved by Henry's intervention. The Tewkesbury Chronicle says that Edmund left England for Rome about November 30. But this is evidently an error, for, as we have seen, the agreement with the chapter was not signed until December 18. Hence M. Paris is quite correct when he says that he left in the week before Christmas. With regard to the duration of his stay in the Holy City there is some uncertainty. According to the Osney and Winchester Chronicles, he returned to England in the February of 1238. But, besides its intrinsic improbability, this statement is confuted by the certain fact that Edmund was in Rome on March 12 or March 21. In all probability he would return on the approach of the hot season; for we know from his last illness that he was physically incapable of supporting great heat. What is certain is that he was back in England in the month of August, for we find him then holding an inquiry at Christ Church in accordance with the papal instructions. The

¹ Licet legatus prohiberet et dissuaderet.

Tewkesbury Chronicle is probably correct which makes him return about the Feast of the Assumption (August 15) and observes that he was honourably received by his chapter, by the king and other great personages.

We have no particulars of the incidents of the journey to Rome, except that we learn from the chronicle of Gervase the names of three of his companions. They were, Simon Langton, his archdeacon,¹ and brother of Archbishop Stephen; Eustace, the Christ Church monk (whom we believe to be the author of the Cotton MS. Jul. D. VI.), who accompanied the archbishop without obtaining permission from the convent to do so; and one Thomas de Frankenham, who died not long after. The writer of the *Polistorie* says they arrived in Rome "en bone sante et graunt esployt".

Our biographer, Eustace, is also provokingly reticent as to the archbishop's movements in the holy city, as he only alludes to the action taken in respect of the business which brought him there. Much as we should wish to follow our Saint step by step to all those hallowed shrines and sanctuaries whither his devotion would lead him on this his first visit *ad limina apostolorum*, to hear from his own lips the impression they made upon him; to observe his demeanour, when, for the first time, he paid his homage to the Vicar of Christ; to hear his conversation with the eminent men who then resided at the Court of Rome: yet, on all these topics, our biographer is as silent as the grave. He merely narrates some particulars of his controversy with the monks, and an anecdote illustrative of the Saint's love of retirement: whilst to Bertrand we are indebted for another anecdote of a more tragic character, which he mentions to show that a special Providence watched over our Saint. We must, therefore, be content to record what we find in our authorities, and leave our readers to imagine the further details of St. Edmund's visit *ad limina apostolorum*.

Although the journey was made in the depth of winter, the archbishop travelled overland across the Alps:² for the

¹ He was Archdeacon of Canterbury until his death in 1248.

² Transalpinavit.

risk of being captured by corsairs, who then swarmed in the Mediterranean, more than counterbalanced the discomforts and hardships of a winter passage across the Alps. A curious simile, which is used by Robert Bacon in his *Life of the Saint*, makes us suspect that he accompanied the archbishop on this journey. That he did so is in itself extremely probable when we consider the intimate relations that subsisted between them all through life. Friar Robert, then, is describing¹ the attempts which the king made to turn the archbishop from his purpose: but in vain, for he was inflexible. "His heart," he says, "was set four-square² against all the stormy blasts from whatever quarter they might come." Then the king began to take an aversion to him, which went on gathering strength "like a wintry torrent plunging on its headlong course from the snow-clad peaks of the Apennines, he gathered wrath from the very obstacles he met with, and the more determined the resistance, the more madly did he rush along"³.

This remarkable simile is, no doubt, a reminiscence of Robert's winter-journey to Rome in company with the archbishop.

When Edmund reached Rome, on the very first day after his arrival, he found to his great surprise that the Canterbury monks had stolen a march upon him, and were already busy in consultation with their legal advisers, and, with indecent precipitation, sought to gain a hearing before the archbishop's arrival.⁴ By so doing the monks had violated the compact which had been entered into: for, as we have seen, the agreement contained a clause to the effect that the settlement should be final, and that nothing should be said, done, or written by either party to prejudice its validity. Now, in

¹ R. B., f. viii. r^o col. 2.

² Conquadratum.

³ "Quasi torrens hibernus de promontoriis appenini nivosis precipitans iter suum et ex ipso obice rabiem colligebat: quo validius resistebat eidem eo demencius effluebat." *Ibid.*

⁴ "Quosdam de monachis Cantuarie suorum causidicorum fallacibus promissis inherentes, invenit; qui raptim et cum indecenti festinatione ipsum archiepiscopum prevenerunt." E., f. 139 v^o.

contravention of this stipulation, to Edmund's great astonishment, they had entered an appeal against this settlement, and sought to reopen the whole question.¹

The archbishop was quite taken aback and protested that such conduct was an outrage against himself, prejudicial to the rights of his see, and a public scandal. The lawyers, however, who were only intent upon making their profit out of the quarrel, urged the monks to make a stand against the archbishop, who, disgusted with their perversity, said to them: "There is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord".² The legal process, having commenced, dragged its slow length along. For particulars concerning it we are chiefly indebted to the Waverley annalist and to Robert Rich. The former states that "the archbishop and the monks pleaded their case in the Pope's presence."³ After due discussion, it was ascertained and proved that the monks were to blame in many respects, with regard to which it is better to keep silence than to speak, although the facts are notorious to many." As this is the passage which Dean Hook has magnified into a charge of the "grossest immoralities" (though he attributes it to M. Paris), it is worth while inquiring into its signification. We maintain that its meaning is to be sought in the words which immediately follow these last quoted. The annalist continues: "Whereupon, the Prior John, taking the alarm, and anticipating a more rigorous canonical investigation, went over to a Carthusian monastery".⁴ Now, it is perfectly well known why Prior John went over or was sent into a Carthusian monastery; it was for conniving at the forgery of a charter of privileges. We shall relate the whole story in the sequel. Robert Rich, who certainly was not inclined to spare the monks, says that their pleas were

¹ "Monachis . . . quos credebat venisse, ut inter eos conductum fuerat, pro pace facienda, graves contra ipsum ex inopinato proposuerunt querelas." R. R., f. 182 r^o col. 1.

² Ia. lvii. 21.

³ We have no information as to the date of these proceedings, but we have seen that the papal arbitrators summoned the archbishop to appear before the Pope on January 26, 1238.

⁴ Ann. Waver., p. 320.

rejected ; "they were cast out with disgrace by God and His vicar with the consent of the cardinals, and, being utterly rejected, they retired with extreme confusion".¹

The same writer goes on to say that, "unless Providence had manifestly interposed to stay their malicious proceedings, they would have proved more relentless than the Jews who crucified our Saviour".² Let us now hear the monks' own version of this transaction ; and we shall find, from this unimpeachable source, our conjecture as to the nature of the charges made against them confirmed in a remarkable way. In the chronicle of Gervase,³ it is stated that the Archdeacon Achitophel⁴ "vomited forth his venom before the Pope, and said : 'Holy Father, there is no species of forgery which is not perpetrated in the Church of Canterbury. They forge in gold, in lead, in wax, in anything you please.'"

The writer of the *Polistorie*⁵ concurs with the chronicler in laying all the blame of the disgrace of the convent on Archdeacon Langton, whom he styles the "chief enemy au couvent". This writer seems to feel the necessity of some sort of apology for the opposition of the monks to St. Edmund, and lays all the blame on his counsellors. He says the archbishop was "a man of holy life, but his counsellors were anything but good ; and he did everything according to the advice of his Council".⁶ But, of course, the *Polistorie*

¹ "Quibus nullatenus admissis, sed a Deo et Suo Vicario de fratrum consilio turpiter ejectis, sed, penitus reprobatis, cum extrema recesserunt confusione." R. R., f. 182 r^o col. 1.

² "Et nisi eorum maliciis Divina miracula restitissent, Judæis forte Christum crucifigentibus crudeliores extitissent." *Ibid.*, col. 2.

³ Vol. ii. p. 132.

⁴ So the monks describe Simon Langton as the archbishop's evil counsellor. On p. 131, he is alluded to as "of accursed memory" ; *cujus memoria in maledictione est*.

⁵ A manuscript preserved in the British Museum (Harl. 636). It is a Canterbury Chronicle, written by a monk in French, of the early part of the fourteenth century. It is brought down to the year 1313. Dr. Stubbs, the editor of Gervase, devoutly hopes that this manuscript will, some day, be edited.

⁶ "De seinte vie estoyt, mes conseil autre ke bon avoyt : et la chose fere ke conseil fust."

was written after the Saint's canonisation, whilst the chronicle is compiled from contemporary records.

The sweeping accusation made by Archdeacon Langton against the Christ Church monks seems to have made some impression on the Pope, who sent a rescript to the legate Otho, charging him to "go to Canterbury, and make a searching investigation into the monks' privileges. Where there are duplicates, he is to give one copy to the archbishop, and leave the other with the monks. Documents which he may find forged, or suspected of forgery, he is to send to the Holy See under his seal, in order that the Pope may decide about them, according to his judgment." We shall see in ch. xxi. what came of this investigation.

In the end, as the monks persisted in listening to the counsels of their hired advocates, and refused to abide by the compromise which had been made, the archbishop uttered sentence of excommunication on all disturbers of the peace.

This only exasperated them the more : and, day by day, the quarrel became more and more embittered, until the archbishop's life was made a burden to him ; for, whilst he detested litigation, the monks seemed positively to revel in it.

Our biographer, as we said, gives us one glimpse only of the Saint's life at Rome, which it is quite refreshing to refer to in the midst of these unseemly wrangles. He was, one day, engaged alone in prayer late in the evening, according to his custom, when a messenger came to summon him to an audience with the Pope. It was after Compline when he was wont to keep silence. At first he declined to go ; but his chamberlain remonstrated with him ; and, at length, he was persuaded to obey the summons. On entering the audience chamber, he addressed the Holy Father in the same terms as the prophet Samuel when he was called from the grave by the witch of Endor : " My Lord and Holy Father, why hast thou disturbed my repose at such an untimely hour ? " ¹ Being asked what he meant by that observation, he answered that it was his invariable custom to observe strict silence during the hours of the night from Compline until Prime :

¹ 1 Kings xxviii. 15.

whereupon the Pope, with a smile, said to him : " You would make an excellent monk ". Edmund replied : " Would to God that I were rid of all these embarrassments that I might be a good monk : happy, indeed, is the monk's lot in the enjoyment of peace ! "

The other incident of Edmund's Roman visit is related by Bertrand,¹ who says that on St. Gregory's day, March 12,² the Pope gave a banquet, to which he invited all the prelates then resident in Rome, and, of course, Edmund amongst the rest, who, however, though much pressed by some of his household to accept the invitation, declined to go. Dean Hook takes this opportunity to make one of his ill-natured remarks against the Holy See, by insinuating that the Pope wished to inflict a studied slight upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, by including him in a general invitation, which the archbishop, hurt at the insult offered to his dignity, declined. Thus, on the slender data furnished by the biographer, and assuming into the case an absurd punctilio of modern etiquette, the dean attributes to the archbishop a sentiment of injured pride, a sentiment which he was wholly incapable of feeling ; so far was the dean from realising the archbishop's real motive, his invincible reluctance to frequent the house of feasting, which the details of the Saint's life might have suggested to him, even if he declined to accept Bertrand's construction of the event. For, as the writer of one MS. truly observes, Edmund was very slow and reluctant to present himself at court, but eager to frequent the church.³ To return to our story. The banquet came off without, however, Edmund being present at it. The festivity was marred by a tragic incident which occurred : for a nephew of the Cardinal of Preneste was assassinated before the Pope's eyes. When Edmund heard what had occurred, he

¹ B., col. 1808.

² Both the Codex Vitell., c. xii., and the Lambeth MS. say " on St. Benedict's day (March 21). Both days are probable : for whilst St. Gregory's was the name-day of the Pope, the Feast of St. Benedict was the anniversary of his coronation."

³ " Morose siquidem et tarde ivit ad aulam : et citissime ad ecclesiam." MS. Bib. Reg. 8, F. xiv., f. 192 v^o col. 1.

thanked God who had spared him from witnessing such a spectacle. And, the biographer adds, many believed that his absence on that occasion was owing to a special interposition of Divine Providence on his behalf.

Edmund, in the course of his Roman negotiations, met with nothing but the most vexatious opposition, so powerful was the combination arrayed against him. One of his adversaries was Hubert de Burgh, with whom, as chief justiciar, the archbishop had been in frequent collision. Edmund must have felt keenly this hostile attitude on the part of one who was indebted to him for his restoration to favour and office. For, as we have seen, no sooner was he elected archbishop, than he laboured earnestly to reconcile the king to his disgraced minister, and procured his restoration to the office of chief justiciar. But deeply as he must have felt the earl's ingratitude, he was so far from harbouring any resentment that he sanctioned by his presence the reversal of the earl's outlawry at Gloucester in the following year (1239). For Hubert de Burgh, now Earl of Kent, had once more felt the effects of Henry's capricious temper, and had fallen into disgrace; and once more, again, was he restored to favour by Edmund's generous interposition.¹

Another adversary of the archbishop was Simon de Montfort, who resented his opposition to his marriage with Eleanor, the king's sister, the circumstances of which will be related in the following chapter. In consequence of this opposition, De Montfort ranged himself with those who opposed the archbishop, and strove to thwart all his plans for the reformation of discipline, redress of grievances, and correction of abuses. With such a powerful combination against him, no wonder that the archbishop was well-nigh heart-broken, and despaired of being able to accomplish what he had at heart—measures which he deemed necessary for the welfare of the flock committed to his spiritual charge.

The great evil of the time, against which Edmund never ceased to protest, and to suppress which was the chief motive of his visit to Rome, was the interference of the crown in

¹ Matt. Paris, Addit., vi. 74.

ecclesiastical elections. The bishops and abbots, by reason of their temporal possessions, were considered as tenants holding under the crown. Whenever, therefore, a vacancy occurred in any such dignity, the king claimed the same right as that which he exercised in the case of lay fees, namely, that of assuming the custody of the estates until a successor was appointed. Hence it was the obvious interest of the crown to keep the sees and abbacies vacant as long as possible, to the manifest detriment of religion. In fact, this came to be considered as one of the chief resources of the crown. All sorts of pretexts were invented to delay the holding of an election, which could only be held by royal licence, or to prevent the appointment of an obnoxious candidate who had been elected: for the royal approbation of the election made was necessary. Meantime the crown remained in possession of the Church property until all these requisite formalities had been gone through, and restitution of the temporalities made to the bishop- or abbot-elect. And even when the royal licence to elect, or the royal approbation to the election was given, and when the writ of restitution was issued, all these processes had to be dearly bought. Thus, for example, the monks of St. Alban's had to pay secretly¹ 300 marks² for licence to elect an abbot in 1235.

This was the great abuse against which Edmund protested and fought to the last. But in this crisis he was not supported by the legate, who, thinking such a reform premature under present circumstances, deprecated the use of those extreme measures which Edmund thought to be absolutely necessary to meet the exigencies of the case.

After his return to England the archbishop wrote repeated letters to the Holy See, and sent envoys to urge the redress of this grievance. The remedy he suggested was that the primate should be empowered to fill up all vacancies in cathedral and collegiate churches after they had been kept vacant for six months. It would seem that he at last

¹ In arcano. *Gesta Abb. S. Alb.*, i. 306.

² Equivalent to £4000.

obtained papal letters to that effect. But, if so, they were recalled almost as soon as issued, at Henry's request. For that king's lynx-eyed agents¹ were not slow in informing their employer of the contemplated measure. Henry at once took effectual steps to avert the threatened blow : he pleaded that such a provision was an infringement of his royal prerogative, and obtained the revocation of the letters, so that things relapsed into their former condition.

But, just as St. Thomas vindicated the rights of the Church, and obtained their restitution by dying in their defence, so did St. Edmund, from his exile's tomb at Pontigny, by his invincible prayers, obtain for his successor the right which had been denied to himself when living.

Another point which Edmund would no doubt strongly urge on the Pope would be the recall of Otho, the legate, by whose presence and interference he was so much hampered in the exercise of his functions. In this he seems to have succeeded with the Pope, but was again foiled by the diplomacy of the king. For though the Pope actually recalled Otho in the course of this year, 1238, Henry found the legate's presence so necessary to support his policy that he despatched a special envoy to Rome to request a prolongation of his mission. The request was granted by the Pope, and the envoy returned just in time to prevent the legate's departure, whose baggage was already packed for the journey. He, in fact, remained in England until after the archbishop's death.

In his final secret audience with the Pope, the archbishop failed to obtain a satisfactory solution to the grave questions that were at issue. Some of them, as we have seen, were decided against him, as, for instance, the controversy with the monks of Rochester,² and the law-suit with the Earl of Arundel : whilst the gravest difficulties of all, those which concerned the king and the monks of Christ Church, were deferred by the Pope for future discussion and settlement when he should be able to meet his suffragans after his return.

¹ Matt. Paris compares them to a pack of beagles which the king kept to hunt down honest people.

² Decided March 20, 1238.

In mentioning the Rochester decision, Matthew Paris sarcastically remarks that the archbishop's prayer was heard and answered: for, as our biographer informs us, he was always praying that justice might be done, and Matthew thinks that justice was done in this case. Edmund meekly acquiesced in the decision, and showed how far he was from entertaining any rancorous sentiment by himself consecrating the prelate against whom he had objected. The consecration took place at St. Gregory's,¹ Canterbury, on 21st November, 1238.

The decision given in favour of Simon's marriage with Eleanor seems to have affected him most sensibly: but about that we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the following chapter. It may easily be imagined that all these reverses gave an opportunity to Edmund's adversaries, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. He had gone to Rome to obtain redress for the grievances of which he had reason to complain; and he returned, as the chronicler expresses it: "Crest-fallen, dejected, and impoverished".² It is calculated that the legal expenses to which he had been put amounted to as much as 800 marks.³ But if our Saint felt sad at heart, our biographer takes care to say that the sadness of his soul did not betray itself on his countenance, which still retained the unruffled calm of one whose will was wholly conformed to the Divine will.⁴ The same authority tells us that whenever Edmund received the announcement of an adverse decision, he would clasp his hands together and lift his eyes to heaven, saying: "O Lord Jesus, who, when Thou didst pray, didst say: Father, not My will, but Thine be done; such be my prayer: not as I will, but as Thou wilt, let it be done: as it is heaven's will, so let it turn out. All that I wish is that my Church should obtain that which rightfully belongs to it: for all else, let my adversaries get what is their own, and may they be happy in its possession."

¹ A monastery of canons regular, instituted by Archbishop Lanfranc for the service of the city hospitals.

² "Inglorius, tristis et depauperatus."

³ More than £10,000 of our money.

⁴ "Tristitiam sereno vultu palliavit."

After the archbishop's return, which seems to have taken place in the early part of August, his open enemies triumphed in his discomfiture: whilst those who hitherto had only secretly chafed at the strictness of his life and government now deemed themselves free to give vent to their sentiments. His asceticism was denounced as superstition; his impartial justice as cruelty; his affability as frivolity; if he guarded carefully the interests of his see, it was put down to avarice; if he showed himself indifferent to court favour, it was attributed to secret pride; the state he was obliged to observe on certain occasions was called haughtiness: his conformity to the Divine will was interpreted as a supercilious disregard for public opinion. The author of one manuscript *Life*¹ adds another accusation which, perhaps, goes nearer to expressing the general prejudice than any of the preceding: he says "that by insisting on what was right, he had overpassed the bounds set by his predecessors; and this they put down to temerity".

Edmund was now in a position to understand the true signification of his mother's prophetic vision, when she saw his head crowned with thorns all on fire, the flames of which shot up to heaven. It pleased God thus to try His servant, to purify him more and more from all earthly dross and imperfection by the fire of affliction and contradiction. From this fiery furnace the holy prelate emerged pure and radiant. "Thou hast searched me with fire, and iniquity hath not been found in me."² He was now fit to be translated to that kingdom where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.³ In his patience he possessed his soul in peace, and the persecutions which he suffered never caused him to desist from his wonted exercises of prayer and contemplation. Once, we are told, he had invited some distinguished guests to dine with him. When the dinner was announced the archbishop did not make his appearance. After waiting a considerable time, his chancellor, Richard, went in search of him. He had

¹ Jul. D. VI. No. 2. f. 174 v^o—a different manuscript from the one published in this volume.

² Ps. xvi. 3.

³ Job iii. 17.

no hesitation in directing his steps to the chapel, where he knew he should find him. Just as he opened the door, he perceived the archbishop raised high above the ground, his body inclined forward and his hands clasped together. He was rapt in prayer. At the interruption caused by the chancellor's entrance, he sank down to the ground, and, turning to Richard, complained to him for cutting short the prayer which caused him so much happiness. He declared that in his ecstasy he had seer the souls of King Richard and of Archbishop Langton delivered from the pains of purgatory.

CHAPTER XX.

SIMON DE MONTFORT.—OTHER EVENTS OF 1238.

(A.D. 1238.)

WE have seen that one of the grave causes on which the archbishop wished to consult the Holy See was the question of Simon de Montfort's marriage. We must now relate the circumstances which compelled Edmund to submit this question to the decision of the Holy See.

In 1224 William Marshall, son of the great Earl of Pembroke, married Eleanor, Henry's sister. The motives for such an alliance, unusual in those days, are fully given in a state paper without date or signature amongst the letters of Henry III.¹ It is probably addressed to the king's proctor at Rome, and, if so, was intended to be submitted to the Pope's consideration. Henry states that William Marshall contemplated a marriage with the sister of Bruce, an alliance which the king thought dangerous to the safety of the realm, as the family was already very powerful in England and in Normandy. Henry wished to avert this danger by offering William his own sister in marriage, and thought he would thereby gain possession of his castles of Marlborough and Ludgershall, an example which would perhaps influence others to surrender their castles also. William pledged himself to marry Eleanor if the barons gave their consent. But this consent was not easily obtained, as many objected to the match, and thought that a foreign alliance would be more advantageous to the interests of the nation. The marshal, becoming impatient at the consequent delay, pressed for a decision one way or the other, that he should either marry

¹ Letter ccxi. p. 244.
(269)

Eleanor at once or be released from his pledge. As it was feared that he might marry Bruce's sister, or the Duke of Brabant's daughter, or the sister of the King of Scotland—all which alliances would have been fraught with danger to the state—the royal consent was given to his marriage with Eleanor; and Henry flattered himself that he had thereby secured a valuable auxiliary against Llewellyn and the Welsh borderers.

After seven years of married life, the earl died in 1231. His widowed countess found in Edmund the same paternal sympathy and spiritual guidance which had been experienced by the Countess Ela; and for a time his counsels were as happy in their results as they had proved in the case of the latter, now Abbess of Laycock. Eleanor made a vow of chastity in the hands of the archbishop, and in the presence of Richard, his chancellor. The effect of this vow was that, according to the custom of that time, Eleanor embraced the holy state of continence in widowhood, after the example of Edmund's own mother, Mabel. Unhappily, she did not persevere in her pious resolve. She allowed herself to be wooed and won by Simon de Montfort, then rising into prominence, and who, though at present high in Henry's favour as a recent foreign visitor to his court, soon took an active part in those political contests which eventually led to his being able to dictate terms to his own sovereign. Some mystery hangs over the marriage. According to Matthew Paris, Simon had first seduced the countess, and so extorted Henry's consent to the marriage in order to hide his sister's shame. The Lanercost Chronicle gives a different complexion to the affair, and says that Henry bestowed on Simon the Earldom of Leicester, which he claimed, on condition that he should take his sister in marriage, so that he might raise up successors to the throne, as Henry himself had as yet no heir.¹ The same chronicler, however, seems to allude to some such reason for the marriage as that above-mentioned, though he appears to regard it as a mere pretext, where he

¹ P. 39. "Eo pacto ut sororem suam cum feodo accipiat, et sibi, necdum a proprio thoro heredes habenti ex ea consanguineos suscitet."

says that the case with its true *or pretended* motive was discussed before the Pope.¹

But, whatever may have been the motive for the marriage, whether exigencies of state or mutual affection, or the necessity of palliating an illicit intercourse, it was a cruel blow to St. Edmund, who could not but regard the union as a sacrilegious one. He protested against it with all the energy of his soul, and thereby drew down upon himself the wrath of Henry, and the aversion of some of the nobles, especially of Hubert de Burgh, who thought his opposition unpatriotic.² But the archbishop's attitude was approved by the nation generally. The king's brother, Richard, was indignant, whose opposition may easily be accounted for if the motive assigned by the Lanercost chronicler be correct. The barons also, generally, resented it as Simon was a foreigner, and as such regarded with suspicion and dislike; moreover, they had not been consulted in the matter: whilst the people took the same view as the archbishop in regarding the marriage as a sacrilegious one. For Eleanor's vow of continency was a matter of public notoriety, as she had adopted the penitential garb peculiar to such devotees, garments made of undyed material. So great, indeed, was the unpopularity which Simon incurred that he had to conceal himself for some time to escape the popular indignation. Richard carried his opposition almost to the extent of open rebellion; for there is a letter of Henry's addressed to the barons of the Cinque Ports, and dated February, 1238 (the month after the marriage), in which the king warns them against rendering any aid to Richard in his opposition.

As soon as the archbishop left the country for Rome, the marriage took place, immediately after the Epiphany, 1238. It was celebrated by one of the royal chaplains in a small chapel situated in a corner of the royal apartments. The bride was given away by Henry. De Montfort, unable to make head against the unpopularity which he had incurred,

¹ "Discussa eorum vel vera vel prætensa causa a Dom. Gregorio Papa." Lanerc. Chron., p. 39.

² "Procerum reverentia vertitur in odium eo quod reputarent virum Dei hostem regni et sanguinis regii." *Ibid.*

left the kingdom and went to Rome, in order to obtain a papal dispensation to legitimate his marriage. He took the precaution of first visiting the Emperor Frederic so as to gain his support. On arriving in Rome he would find there the archbishop who opposed his application, and represented to the Pope all the facts of the case, and urged him not to sanction the union. Simon, on his part, at once took sides with the archbishop's adversaries, and used all his influence to thwart his designs. He was successful in his suit, and obtained the required dispensation, which scandalised many, both of the clergy and laity at home, who were probably not aware of the alleged reason which had moved the Pope to grant it. In fact, according to Matthew Paris, the real state of the case did not transpire until eighteen months afterwards, on August 8, 1239. By that time, a son and heir had been born to Henry, a fact which seems to have caused a decided change in the mutual relations of Henry and De Montfort. At all events, when Queen Eleanor went, on the above date, to Westminster Abbey to be churched, Simon and his wife were in the *cortège*. But Henry, under the influence of one of those revulsions of feeling so habitual to him, turned upon the earl¹ and upbraided him vehemently. He called him an excommunicate, and forbade him or his wife from being present at the solemn function. The pair retired in confusion to the lodgings which Henry had provided for them. Thither, after the ceremony, the king followed them and reiterated his accusations against the earl. It was then that he charged him with having seduced Eleanor, and stated that his consent to the marriage had been extorted from him in order to prevent scandal. He reminded him that the archbishop was cognisant of the facts, and had laid them before the Pope: and though Simon may have obtained a dispensation, it was got by unworthy means, and he was still liable to the sentence of excommunication which the archbishop had launched against him.

Such is the story, incredible as it may seem, which Matthew Paris relates with much array of circumstance. The

¹ He had been made Earl of Leicester, February 2, 1239.

narrative goes on to say that the earl turned crimson with confusion at the king's rebuke, and without attempting any vindication of his conduct, retired with his wife to the continent.

Some time afterwards, both were struck with remorse for their transgression ; and Simon, in order to do penance for his fault, and to avert the effects of the archbishop's malediction, took the cross and joined St. Louis' crusade.

Before we finish this episode, we may mention that when Eleanor made her vow of chastity in the hands of St. Edmund, she was not alone, but another made it with her, and, what is more, kept it faithfully till death. The story is related by the monk of St. Alban's, who must have known the person intimately. Her name was Cecily de Sanford (a place near St. Alban's), widow of William de Gorham. She had been Eleanor's governess, and was, according to M. Paris, learned, witty, and brilliant in conversation. It was she who led the way for her quondam pupil to submit herself to St. Edmund's spiritual guidance, and to embrace the state of continence. Together they received the ring and the russet gown, which betokened their professed state of chaste widowhood. The holy widow died in 1251 : and the chronicler gives the following edifying account of her death. She was attended by her confessor, Walter de St. Martin, a Dominican friar, who, when he saw a gold ring glittering on her finger, ordered her maids to remove it, that she might not die with such an ornament on her person. She, however, summoned all her strength to resist the attempt, and said : " God forbid, father dear, that this ring should leave me, alive or dead ; for I mean to carry it before the throne of my Spouse as a witness of the unviolated faith I have borne to Him, for whose sake I have refused many noble offers and splendid dowries. *Scio cui credidi*, and I confidently hope to receive the reward which He has promised to His faithful spouses."

And so she died with the ring on her finger, and was buried with it in the Abbey Church of St. Alban's, before the altar of St. Andrew. This story was told to Matthew Paris by Walter de St. Martin himself.

We must now return to the early part of the year 1238, the period of Simon's marriage.

Richard, who was now in determined opposition to the king, conciliated the people's sympathies; in fact, as at present he stood next in succession to the throne, all their hopes were concentrated on him. Meantime, the legate, Otho, when he saw the discontent gathering strength, did his utmost to pacify the nobles, and to reconcile them with the king. Richard, however, demanded an audience of Henry, and forcibly represented to him the evils which resulted from his wretched misgovernment, especially in squandering the royal treasure on unworthy favourites, the oppression of his native subjects, and the spoliation of Church property. The legate, finding that the barons were getting desperate, implored the king to yield; but Henry, as usual, begged time for deliberation (until the first Monday of Lent). On the appointed day he agreed to an arrangement by which the necessary reforms should be carried out by a commission elected for the purpose, the king promising to acquiesce in their decision. But the hopes founded on this compromise were all shattered by the desertion of Richard at the critical moment, who allowed himself to be gained over by Simon de Montfort, to abandon his opposition to the royal policy.

In this same year, 1238, on May 17, the archbishop being still absent in Rome, Otho held another council at London, for the discussion of urgent ecclesiastical affairs. It is chiefly noteworthy for the settlement of a very angry controversy. Otho had, in the course of his legatine mission, paid a visit to Oxford. Whilst he was there, the students wished to indulge their curiosity by inspecting his domestic arrangements. The legate's cook,¹ a hot-tempered Italian, not relishing their free and easy manners, took up a saucepan of scalding-hot broth, and flung it over one of the intruders. This naturally caused a disturbance, which soon grew into a regular riot; and the cook was shot dead by an arrow from one of the students. The aspect of the latter soon became so alarming that the legate fled for his life, and took refuge

¹ The monastic chroniclers suggest, perhaps somewhat maliciously, that the cook was the legate's own brother, who employed him in this capacity as a security against being poisoned.

in the belfry tower of Osney Abbey, where he sustained a regular siege until a body of the king's troops came from Abingdon to his rescue. The legate's wrath knew no bounds, and he placed the university under an interdict: and so matters remained until a reconciliation was effected at the bishops' instance, during this council. At their request, Otho consented to receive the apologies of the university authorities and students. They had, however, to walk barefooted and bareheaded, and in penitential garb, from St. Paul's to the legate's lodgings: and there humbly crave his pardon, which was granted, and they were absolved from the censures which they had incurred.

As soon as the archbishop returned from Rome, in August, 1238, in accordance with the Pope's instructions, a synod of the suffragan bishops of the Province of Canterbury was held; and at the same time the king summoned a council of the barons in order to discuss the various matters which the Holy See had reserved for their consideration. But the synod was no sooner assembled than it came into collision with the crown through the extravagant claims which Henry advanced on behalf of his royal prerogative. The meetings were adjourned from time to time in the hope of finding some way to reconcile the differences, but instead of that, the dissension only grew wider and wider, until the synod was dissolved without any remedy having been applied to the crying evils of the time.¹ The archbishop then resolved to take the remedy into his own hands. He first asked the advice of his suffragans, and then launched sentence of excommunication on all those who were disturbing the peace of the Church. Having once taken this course, which a conscientious sense

¹ Tandem habito cum Domino Papa tractatu secreto super his negociis ad iudices in Angliam destinatur super his questionibus predictis, quod ius dictaret reportaturus. Postea vero convenientibus suffraganeis ex mandato regis ad excipiendas ecclesiæ necessitates, orta est contentio inter regem et ecclesiam, quæ, instigante diabolo, magis ac magis augebatur. Reformandæ quidem paci constituti sunt dies plurimi; sed, stimulante dissensionis auctore, post prorationes frustratorias, discordes ab invicem recesserunt. Tunc archiepiscopus, post renovatas vexationes et multiplices injurias, de consilio suffraganeorum suorum in pacis ecclesiasticæ perturbatores sententiam anathematis fulminavit. E., f. 140 rº.

of duty suggested to him, nothing, neither threats nor blandishments, could divert him from it. But those who felt themselves aggrieved by his action had a resource in the papal legate. Otho, who still adhered to the cardinal principle of his policy, which was to keep the king in a good humour, and, as much as possible, to be on good terms with the people, revoked, in the plenitude of his power, all the archbishop's sentences, and even absolved all those whom he had excommunicated by name. He seemed, in fact, to make a point of nullifying all the archbishop's acts. Instead of smoothing the difficulties between him and the crown, he rather aggravated them by writing to the Pope and the cardinals, in order to deprecate the adoption of measures which Edmund deemed necessary, but which the legate thought detrimental to the interests of the Holy See.

On June 9, 1238, died the notorious Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. The monks received the royal licence to proceed to an election on July 11. However, as the See of Winchester was one of the most important in the kingdom, it was not at all the king's intention to leave the monks their free choice in the matter. In fact, he betook himself to Winchester, in order that he might be on the spot to control the proceedings. The king's candidate on this occasion was William, Bishop-elect of Valence, and uncle of Queen Eleanor; he was also half-brother to Henry, being the son of Isabella, Henry's mother. This ambitious prelate had the audacity to petition the Pope for a dispensation allowing him to hold, at one and the same time, three such important sees as those of Valence, Liège, and Winchester. He died before his plans came to maturity.

Bishop Grosseteste, from his eyry in Lincoln, marked the king's manœuvres, and swooped down on the royal offender by writing a letter to the legate, in which he warned him of what was going on.¹ "The rumour is current," he says, "that his majesty has been for some time tarrying at Winchester, and is there at present: and that he is using all kinds of threats and intimidation, promises, prayers, and persuasion

¹ Grosseteste Letters, lx. p. 184.

to induce the Chapter of Winchester to elect his nominee and no one else to the pastoral office." He goes on to implore Otho to use all his influence to secure a free election. Henry succeeded in gaining to his side the Prior of St. Swithun's, who was a foreigner ; nevertheless, the rest of the community remained firm, and were proof against royal cajolery and intimidation. Instead of William de Valence they elected William de Raleigh, hoping, perhaps, thereby to propitiate Henry, for William was, as we have seen, one of the royal clerks, high in his sovereign's confidence, which, indeed, he deserved by his integrity and ability. Matthew Paris speaks of him as "*Vir per omnia laudabilis*," and compares his election to the episcopate from the ranks of the courtiers to the calling of Matthew to the apostolate from the toll-booth. He was the intimate friend of St. Edmund, who had, no doubt, often experienced his good services in his capacity as royal clerk ; and, as we shall see later on, it was to him that was addressed the last letter which the Saint wrote two days before his death.¹ But if the monks thought to satisfy Henry by this appointment, they were mistaken. The king refused to give his consent, and the election was annulled. Another candidate then appeared in the field in the person of Ralph Nevile, Bishop of Chichester and royal chancellor. He was, of course, also a *persona grata* to Henry. But in this case also the monks miscalculated Henry's disposition if they thought to conciliate him by this election : for the result was that Henry, so far from giving his consent, resolved to deprive him of the great seal which was bestowed on John de Lexington. Ralph, however, did not despair of overcoming the obstacles in the way of his election, and had recourse to the Court of Rome, in order to promote his suit. But his previous experience in the Canterbury election must have made him diffident as to the success of any personal application, so he wrote to Grosseteste to ask him to use his influence on his behalf. In his reply,² the Bishop of Lincoln,

¹ But, though a friend of St. Edmund, he did not imitate his unworldliness, if the story of one of the chroniclers be true, that he complained that the revenues of his diocese of Norwich did not suffice to shoe his horses.

² Grosseteste Letters, lxiii. p. 189.

after lavishing many compliments on his correspondent, begs with many apologies to be excused from intervening in the matter, and dryly suggests that it would be as well to let the Providence of God determine the choice of a bishop. The result was that the Pope annulled Nevile's election. Subsequently the monks once more elected William de Ralegh, who, in the meantime, had been made Bishop of Norwich. This time, the king's consent was obtained to his appointment, but not until 1242, when the see had been vacant upwards of five years, during which time Henry was revelling on the ample revenues of the diocese; for he kept the Christmas of 1238 at Winchester with great extravagance and profusion, out of the diocesan revenues which he retained in his hands during the vacancy.

To the archbishop, who keenly realised the responsibility which devolved upon him as chief pastor of Christ's flock in this country, it must have been a source of unspeakable anguish to witness these miserable intrigues, and to see such an important diocese deprived for years of a pastor, whilst the spiritual interests of immortal souls were made subservient to political schemes and private ambition: and he whose place it was to remedy these evils found his hands tied, and himself completely powerless.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARCHBISHOP AND HIS CHAPTER.

(A.D. 1238-9.)

Filii matris meæ pugnaverunt contra me.

The sons of my mother have fought against me.

—Cant. i. 5.

IN chapter xviii. we related the beginning of the unhappy controversy between the archbishop and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. We then saw that the dispute arose from an attempt on the part of the archbishop to readjust the relations between the archiepiscopal see and its chapter in a manner which he deemed more conformable to the monastic institute which they professed; whilst they, on their part, resisted the attempt as an infringement of their time-honoured rights and privileges. We also saw that the archbishop, after making many concessions, on his part, succeeded in effecting an arrangement which he carried with him to Rome, in order to obtain for it the confirmation of the Holy See. Arrived there, he found that a turbulent faction in the community, who were determined to concede nothing, nor to abate one jot of their pretensions, had persuaded their brethren to upset the arrangement, and to contest the matter with the archbishop in the Pontifical Court. Not only this, but it appears that whilst he was absent in Rome, the monks had actually instituted law proceedings against the archbishop in the King's Bench. This outrageous violation of ecclesiastical privilege shows to what lengths the Christ Church community was capable of going, in order to gain the victory over their opponent, or, at all events, to ruin him by law expenses. The fact, it is true,

is only mentioned by one author ; but he is one whom we have reason to suppose was well informed on the matter. It is mentioned in two passages of the *Life* by Robert Rich.¹

The archbishop then returned from Rome with the whole question at issue between him and the chapter still open. Immediately after his return, in compliance with the papal instructions, he paid a visit to the community of Christ Church in order to investigate the charges which Stephen Langton had made against them. He was accompanied by the cardinal legate, who, as we have already observed, had also received instructions from the Pope to the same effect. In the course of this visitation, Edmund called for the charter of St. Thomas, which he knew they once had in their possession. At this demand the convent hesitated ; but, eventually, Bartholomew of Sandwich got up and acknowledged that he had burnt it. This led to a searching investigation, in the course of which Simon of Hertlepe, keeper of the records, being called on for an explanation, said that the document had been sent along with some others to Rome for inspection ; and, when they were returned to him, he hastily snatched at this one and accidentally tore it. Finding the damage irreparable, he set himself to make a fresh copy, whilst Ralph of Orpington, an expert in such matters, attached the old seal to the new document. Moreover, all this was done with the knowledge and sanction of the prior, John of Chatham. When these facts were made known, the legate summoned the incriminated parties to appear before him in London. They appeared, and amongst them the prior, who, falling on his knees, begged to resign his office. His resignation was at once accepted, and he was sent, or went of his own accord, to a Carthusian monastery.²

¹ "*Monachis . . . pro juribus bellum in utroque foro inferentibus*," f. 182 r^o col. 1. "*Foro regio . . . ipsum etiam absentem, prosequabantur*." It is not surprising that the monastic writers should have suppressed the mention of this outrage.

² The *Polistorie* says : "To the Abbey of Chertsey (a Benedictine abbey), where he changed his habit". But this is evidently a mistake for Charteux ; for, if he had only gone to the Benedictine Abbey of Chertsey, he would not have had to change his habit.

The principal culprit was committed to prison for a fortnight, and then sent to Melrose ; whilst the other accomplices were disposed of in like manner.

The same version of the transaction was given by the monks in their application to the Pope for a dispensation from the note of infamy incurred by such a crime. For it would appear that the chapter laboured for a considerable time under this stigma until Pope Gregory good-naturedly healed their reputations by a document now in the archives of Canterbury, and which will be found in the appendix.¹ But it was not granted until some time after St. Edmund's death. It is dated February 27, 1241.² In this document the Pope recites that the monks have represented to him that the archbishop had accused them of falsifying a charter containing the privileges granted by St. Thomas. The cardinal legate had summoned the chapter and investigated the matter, examining each monk under oath.

The result of the investigation was that only three monks were found to be compromised in the matter ; who had, in all simplicity, re-written a lacerated document and attached the old seal to it. They received condign punishment for their offence. The Pope, therefore, in compliance with their request, considering that they had been found innocent in the matter, decrees that, as the chapter of Canterbury are ennobled by "the glory of the blessed martyr, St. Thomas, it is not right that their good fame should be traduced or their innocence suspected".

In the course of this visitation we learn from Eustace that the legate made an effort to reconcile the discordant elements which caused so much scandal, and were so detrimental to the interests of religion ; for these controversies were by this time a matter of comment all over the kingdom. He, therefore, entered the chapter-house, and after a careful discussion of the case, is reported by our author to have addressed the community in these terms : "Brethren, venerable monks of

¹ Appendix xii.

² Another proof that St. Edmund died in 1240. He is there spoken of as *bone memorie*.

this most noble metropolitan church, the first in England, without a rival, without an equal, your condition is a sad one. By your dissensions you are broken up into factions. I would advise you to humble yourselves under the mighty hand ; let the members obey their head ; render obedience to your father and pastor, the holy archbishop ; and before the scandal becomes more grievous, and your good name becomes tainted with indelible reproach, let the pestilence of this discord be stamped out." To this appeal a portion of the community lent a willing ear. A few days afterwards, the archbishop entered the chapter-house, and looking round, saw at a glance that there was a schism amongst them, and that they were not all of one mind. For some were willing to humble themselves and submit, whilst others, deeming such submission a fresh outrage on their privileges, protested against it and gave notice of appeal to the Holy See. The result of this discussion was that the community was dispersed (Providence so ordering it). Many of them, that they might end their days in peace, joined the Carthusians or some other order, and never returned to Canterbury.

Such is Eustace's account of the matter ; and a curious light is thrown upon his statement by a papal document in the Canterbury archives,¹ belonging to this very period of the controversy. It is a letter from Gregory IX., to the archbishop, and is dated November 2, 1238. The Pope, whilst commending Edmund's laudable solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, has heard with astonishment that if a monk, on being interrogated, reveals a fault or crime (*culpam vel excessum*) of any other members of the community, the prior and convent have the audacity to punish him for that, putting him in prison, or under restraint, or otherwise molesting him. The Pope then goes on to show that charity requires that every one who wishes to be healed of any secret or open malady with which he is affected should have some opportune remedy at hand ; hence, instead of punishment they ought to meet with kindness. And the Pope, by this letter, strictly forbids the prior and convent to punish any

¹ See the original brief in appendix xiii.

such monk on such a pretext. We are ignorant of the details which, of course, would be well-known to those to whom or for whom the letter was addressed. But it is noteworthy that the document is endorsed thus: "That monks are not to be imprisoned or punished who have secret conferences *with the archbishop* on regular discipline". Taking this letter in conjunction with the statements of Eustace, we arrive at the conviction that the Christ Church community were not all so bad as the preceding details would suggest. We shall see in the following pages that the archbishop himself singled out nineteen as the ringleaders, and the source of all the mischief, by whom the others allowed themselves to be led. But we now learn that there was a section of them, possibly a large section, though not the most noisy or energetic, who were sincerely anxious to cultivate true religious discipline, and for that purpose sought interviews with the saintly archbishop, whose efforts to bring about a reform they would second in every possible way. For this, by a tyrannical abuse of power, they were persecuted by the prior and the ruling spirits of the chapter.

In his negotiations with the Christ Church community, the chief points on which the archbishop insisted, as far as they can be gathered from the continuator of Gervase, were the following: (1) He claimed a faculty to erect a prebendal church, possibly with the ulterior object of superseding the monastic chapter; if so, we can easily understand the alarm of the monks, and the determined opposition which they made to the project. We shall see later that the monks, by calling in the aid of the secular arm, succeeded in defeating the scheme. (2) He claimed the right to consecrate bishops wherever he found it convenient to do so, notwithstanding the immemorial privilege which the monks claimed, that all consecrations should take place in Canterbury Cathedral. (3) The third measure attributed to the archbishop by the monks, whether justly or not we are not in a position to say, was certainly a radical one: it was that the monks should be transferred from the cathedral elsewhere, and that canons should be substituted in their place. (4) Another question at issue between the archbishop and the monks, as we learn quite

incidentally from Gervase (p. 141), was whether the archbishop had the right, as he claimed, of correcting abuses out of chapter.

In relating this controversy we shall follow the continuator of Gervase, whose narrative furnishes us with what might be called a journal, recording all the archbishop's movements from November, 1238, to May, 1239, besides many particulars of his acts down to the time of his leaving the country ; an advantage which we do not enjoy for any other period of his life. It must, however, be borne in mind that the account we are giving is a strictly *ex parte* statement, representing the view of the monks as recorded in their annals. But it is on that account all the more valuable, as it brings out still more clearly the invincible patience of St. Edmund. Never, in the whole course of the proceedings, is he discovered to give utterance to a harsh word, or to act more severely than his sense of duty imposed on his conscience. Once or twice it would almost seem that he mistrusted his power of self-restraint under the provocation he was receiving, and declined to see the envoys of the monks, committing the interview to his chancellor, Richard. But in all his letters to the monks there is not one word of bitterness ; nothing but calm and tender appeals to their better feelings to renounce their attitude of rebellion. The narrative, as it is given by the monks themselves, condemns them of fanatical adhesion to their privileges, real or assumed, and of being prepared to sacrifice the peace and welfare of the Church rather than forego one jot or tittle of those privileges. This will clearly appear from the following letters and statement of facts.

The former prior, John of Chatham, having resigned, as related in a former chapter, the monks, of course, were anxious to elect another in his place, and invited the archbishop to attend a chapter for that purpose. He came to Canterbury, and presided at the chapter which was held on November 17. The monks were exceedingly annoyed, because he was accompanied by a retinue of secular clerks, and by men of a "different religion," by whom are, no doubt, meant Dominicans, to whom Edmund was so much attached. Before the election began, the archbishop, according to the

Polistorie, addressed the community in *paroles plesautis et pesibles*: but very soon he changed his tone, and began to speak more severely to them, saying that whilst he was in London he heard that they had sent their sub-prior, R. de Westgate, to Rome with a great retinue. The archbishop was dissatisfied with this proceeding, as he, no doubt, suspected that more chicanery was on foot. Hence he announced to the community that he then and there deposed the sub-prior from his office. A storm of protests arose from the monks, who declared that such a proceeding was a flagrant violation of their rights and privileges. They all rose to a man, quitted the chapter-house, and went into the church to sing the Mass of our Lady, leaving the archbishop severely alone with his staff of clerics. Such a gross insult could not be passed over with impunity, and the archbishop demanded satisfaction from the convent for their disobedience, disrespect, and contempt. As no satisfaction was forthcoming, on the following day, November 18, he suspended the community, and forbade them to ring their bells. They simply ignored both injunctions, and went on with their services and bell-ringing as before. We must here remind our readers that the monks, rightly or wrongly, deemed themselves justified in so acting, on the ground that all these acts of archiepiscopal authority had been called in question by them, and were now awaiting their decision by the Holy See, before whom an appeal had been lodged by the chapter. This, indeed, was the sole ground on which they justified their conduct throughout the controversy, and they deemed it sufficient.

Their contempt of the archbishop's censure, of course, aggravated matters very much, and, on November 20, the archbishop repeated his former admonition. The full text of this and subsequent communications will be found in the appendix:¹ we shall here give a summary of their contents. "We have already warned you to make satisfaction for the disobedience, disrespect, obstinacy, and insult offered by you to ourselves and ours, and also for having presumed, whilst under suspension, to celebrate and assist at the Divine office,

¹ App. xiv.

and to ring the bells in a place interdicted by us. We now warn you a second time to make satisfaction in ecclesiastical form. Otherwise we shall have to proceed to further measures of correction."

Just at this time, Richard de Wendene, whose election as Bishop of Rochester had been confirmed by the Holy See, came to Canterbury to seek consecration. He was accompanied by Roger, Bishop of London, the Bishops of Lincoln (Robt. Grosseteste), Chichester (Ralph Nevile), and Ely (Hugh Norwold). As, under the circumstances, consecration in the cathedral was out of the question, the ceremony was performed by the archbishop in the Church of St. Gregory. It took place on November 21. On the following day, November 22, whilst the archbishop was entertaining the bishops, the seniors of the Christ Church community presented themselves, and asked to see the bishops. They asked them to intercede, on their behalf, with the archbishop, and induce him to show due respect for their privileges, and to proceed to the election of a prior. The Bishops of Chichester and Rochester¹ consented to undertake the office of mediation. The chief points they were to urge were the repeal of the sentence, and that the archbishop, when he came to chapter, should come alone, unattended by clerics. Having executed their commission, the reply which the bishops brought back was to the following effect: The archbishop took clerics in his train for his own protection: he was afraid, if he were alone, he might be surprised into making some improper concession; or they might urge that he had made a concession which he had not made. However, he agreed to a compromise, and offered to come, attended by only one cleric, or even to come alone if they would enter into a common guarantee that no concession which he made should be valid until he had consulted with his advisers. These reasonable terms were peremptorily rejected by the monks at the suggestion of the seniors, who wished to have the archbishop entirely at their mercy. They replied that

¹ So in the Chronicle and in Polistorie, but in the archbishop's third monition the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely are mentioned.

they would not admit even one cleric : nor would they give the pledge he required, as that would be to expose their rights and privileges to the criticism of outsiders ; no one but their prior had any claim to their allegiance or obedience. The mediation of the bishops having failed, Edmund issued a third monition in the same terms as the preceding.¹ As this proved as ineffectual as the others, he summoned all the city clergy to St. Andrew's, and ordered them to publish the censures from their pulpits. On the following day, November 23, the legate intervened, and summoned the convent to appear before him by their proctors on December 7. On the appointed day, the proctors duly appeared, but nothing was concluded, as these wily practitioners began to raise technical objections to the validity of the process, and, no doubt, the legate was glad enough to rid himself of such an unpleasant business.

All this time the archbishop was at Aldington.²

Meantime the monks were getting anxious about the election of a prior, and sent repeated messages to the archbishop to come and assist at the election. The only reply they received was this : that the convent had put themselves in the wrong and incurred censures. They must first purge themselves of their contumacy and contempt before they could take any valid step in the election. But the monks persisted in denying that they had incurred any

¹ App. xiv.

² One of the archiepiscopal manors. Nichols, in his *Bibl. Topogr.*, vol. ii. app. p. 191, gives a list of the manors situated in several counties, which at various periods belonged to the See of Canterbury. There are no fewer than twenty-six. (1) Aldington, about five miles west by north from Hythe. The celebrated Erasmus was rector of this parish. (2) Canterbury Palace, given to the see by Lanfranc. (3) Charing, dating from 799. (4) Croydon. (5) Ford, in the parish of Chisle. (6) Gillingham. (7) Hackington. (8) Harrow (in Middlesex). St. Edmund is said to have endowed the vicarage here. (9) Hayes. (10) Hegeston. (11) Knowle. (12) Lambeth. (13) Lyninge. (14) Maidstone. (15) Mortlake. (16) Northfleet. (17) Ottesford, dating from 791, and given by Otta. St. Thomas was often here, and is said to have wrought three miracles at this place. (18) Pageham. (19) Saltwood. (20) Slindon. (21) South Malling, dating from 836, and given by Egbert. (22) Terring. (23) Teynham. (24) Wingham. (25) Wrotham. (26) Bekesburn.

censures, or were in any way irregular.¹ Whilst they were deliberating on the next step to be taken, the archbishop suddenly made his appearance at Canterbury, and sent his representatives to treat with the convent. These were his auxiliary, John, Bishop of Ardfert, Richard, his chancellor, and Henry de Bishopston, his fellow-canon at Salisbury. The letter accrediting them will be found in the appendix.² In this he informs them that before the election can take place certain preliminaries have to be gone through, which they will learn from his agents. The monks insolently replied that they were quite willing to treat with the archbishop, but would have nothing to do with his agents. Whereupon the archbishop issued a series of three monitions, dated December 13, 14, and 15, calling on the monks to rectify their position before proceeding to an election.³ In these letters he implored them for their own sakes, and for the sake of peace, to do what he required of them. He, moreover, fixed a day, December 21, before which they must submit, otherwise he would use the power which God had given. These letters, like all the preceding and subsequent ones, were laid on the high altar, which was the medium of communication all through this remarkable correspondence.

The monks took no notice of the term fixed for their submission, on the ground that the archbishop's acts were not valid; hence, there was nothing to hinder them from proceeding to an election, except the archbishop's refusal to be present.

That Christmas was spent by Edmund at Wingham.⁴ It

¹ Si les amonestas memes cely chanceler ke ables se feysent. E ly respondit le moygne de par le covent: Hables estoyums, et ore sumes a totes choses duement a fere, ne nous inhables ne tenums. Polistorie, f. 206 vº col. 1.

² App. xiv.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ One of the archbishop's manors, on the high road from Canterbury to Sandwich. It had belonged to the see from early Saxon times, and was restored to it by King Edmund in 941. It was a convenient place for entertaining royal and distinguished personages *en route* to or from the continent. Archbishop Winchelsey entertained Edward I. here in 1295, Archbishop Reynolds entertained Edward II. in 1324, and Archbishop Meopham, Edward III. in 1332. A collegiate church for a provost and six canons was founded here by Archbishop Peckham in 1286. William of Wingham, a native of this place, became Bishop of London, and chancellor to Henry III.

must have been bitter to his feelings that such a holy season of peace and reconciliation should be marred by the discord raised by those who ought to have been foremost in helping him to preach the gospel of peace.

On January 2, 1239, he returned to Canterbury, and addressed fresh injunctions to the contumacious monks, in which he proposed that they should send proctors to discuss matters with him. They declined to do so, as it was unnecessary to let the matter go out of their hands, when only the cloister separated the archbishop from the community. But they sent two messengers, Stephen of Cranbrook, who is called third prior, that is senior monk after the sub-prior, and Ralph the cellarer, with two lawyers. These maintained that the monks were subject to no irregularity; and they insisted on the archbishop attending the chapter alone. Edmund, finding that they were as obstinate as ever, now proceeded to more vigorous measures. He interdicted the whole community from entering the church, and singled out by name nineteen of the monks, whom he considered ringleaders in the revolt, and cited them to appear before him on January 9. The letter of citation, with the names of the monks cited, will be found in the appendix.¹ At the same time he shows his solicitude on behalf of the sick, by saying that he is willing, if applied to, to make special arrangements on their behalf. Also, on the following day, January 5, he so far relaxed his general sentence as to permit four monks to act in the reception of pilgrims, and in the custody of the sacred relics and treasures.

He now left Canterbury and retired to Teynham.² But, in the meantime, the monks had taken a decisive step, which brought matters to a crisis. If the election of a prior were delayed much longer, the right to elect would, according to the provisions of canon law, lapse to the superior.³ Hence,

¹ App. xiv.

² Another of the archiepiscopal manors, about four miles east of Sittingbourne: it is near the arm of the sea which separates the Isle of Sheppey from the mainland. It was given to the see by Kenulf in 791. Archbishop Hubert Walter died here in 1205.

³ It was prescribed by canon law that the election of inferior prelates should take place within six months of the occurrence of the vacancy, otherwise the

on January 7 they assembled in chapter for the purpose of electing a prior. Every precaution was taken, says the Polistorie, that nothing should be wanting that was required for the validity of the election. All were present who could, would, or ought to be there : the constitution of the general council was read, and the grace of the Holy Spirit devoutly invoked.¹ They even sent to summon the monk Eustace, who was then in attendance on the archbishop at Teynham. He declined to take part in the proceedings, on the ground that he was the only chaplain in attendance, and could not be spared ; whilst the archbishop wrote to forbid the convent from taking any proceedings against him in consequence of his refusal, as he required his services. The election took place, and was effected by way of "compromise" : that is, the whole community agreed beforehand to accept the one who should be chosen by a select few deputed for the purpose. The prior elected was Roger de la Lee, one of the nineteen who had been cited by the archbishop. Needless to say, the nineteen took no notice of the citation to appear on the 9th. The convent, however, sent two monks to notify the election to the archbishop. He replied that this was a novel kind of election, and he should have to take the advice of his council on the subject.² They also despatched a letter in answer to the citation,³ in which they say that they have taken no notice of his censures, not through the instigation of the nineteen, but because they were invalid whilst the appeal

right to appoint would lapse to the superior. John of Chatham had resigned in the preceding August ; hence the six months would expire in February. It is true that the time was not supposed to run during which an elector was impeded even through his own fault, as by some censure inflicted on him. But the convent could not urge this plea, as they denied that they were under any censure ; nor would the plea avail any one who wilfully delayed to obtain remission of his sentence. (See Schmalzgrueber on Decretal., lib. i. part ii. : "De Electione et Electi Potestate".) It is clear, therefore, that the convent had no time to lose if they wished to retain the election in their own hands.

¹ "Se assemblerent tuz ceuz ke poeyent, voloyent et devoient estre : totes choses ke a due election appendent avant gardees et lue devant eus la constitution du concil general : la grace del seint Espirit devotement requise." Polist., f. 206 v^o col. 2.

² Polistorie, f. 207 r^o col. 1.

³ App. xiv.

was pending in the court of Rome ; moreover, they are much astonished that he should summon so many, and such respectable members of their chapter, to leave their enclosure and go to a remote place to purge themselves of crimes which they have never committed ; even if they had been likely to commit them. They renew their appeal, and protest against the archbishop taking any further step to their prejudice.

On January 12 the archbishop ordered the convent to revoke their irregular election ; and this injunction was thrice repeated. But as they showed no signs of submission, the archbishop, who was then at Hadlow,¹ having exhausted all the resources of his patience, proceeded to utter sentence of excommunication against the electors.² In the same letter he calls upon Roger de la Lee to certify him whether he consents to this election or not. This sentence was signed with his private, not with his official seal. It was published in all the churches on January 22. A second citation was served on the nineteen, ordering them to appear before February 9.³ As Lent was then commencing, the archbishop ordered that the penitentiary should sit at St. Gregory's, and not at the cathedral. A reply to this letter was sent by the convent on February 5.⁴ It sets forth the defence (a) of the nineteen, (b) of Roger, (c) of the whole convent.

(a) The nineteen ask to have particulars furnished of the charges made against them, so that they may prepare an answer. They are not conscious of having done anything except standing by the community, which, with God's help, they will always do. They are always ready to answer for

¹ One of his manors, about three miles north-east of Tunbridge. It is not included in Nichols' list of manors. The seigniorship was claimed by the archbishop in the reign of Henry III. In 1258 an agreement was made between Archbishop Boniface (St. Edmund's successor) and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, respecting certain services due from the earl in regard of tenements held by him in Tunbridge. These were that the earl should do the archbishop homage, render the service of four knights' fees, pay suit to his court, and act as high steward at the enthronisation of the archbishop.

² App. xiv.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

their conduct in the proper place, without prejudice to their privileges and to the appeals that had been lodged.

(b) Roger had been elected prior by his brethren, under an appeal to the Pope, safeguarding the competency of the electors, the elected, and the election itself. The election had been notified to the archbishop, who had not only refused to accept, but had condemned it in a shameful manner. Roger, therefore, appeals to the Pope, and protests against any harsh measures being taken against him pending the appeal.

(c) The chapter, all and singular, enter the like protest, and despatch Frater Simon¹ with this letter, constituting him their proctor, for the purpose of appealing against the archbishop's action and of renewing the former appeals. The names of four out of the nineteen who have been cited are not appended to this letter, because they are absent on business connected with the church.²

This reply was delivered to the archbishop, who was then staying at Tunbridge Castle.³ He would not receive the messengers himself, but sent his chancellor to conduct the interview, who asked if either of them took part in the election of Prior Roger. They answered that they were monks of Christ Church, but, whether they were electors or not, they had no commission from the chapter to say; they belonged to the convent, and agreed with the election made by the convent. But when the messengers found that they could not see the archbishop, nor deliver the letters into his hands, then one of these monks, Frater Simon, took the letters and read them aloud there in the great hall of Tunbridge Castle, in the presence of the chancellor, in the presence of the monk Eustace, "who in everything took part with the archbishop against the convent, that most unnatural son who fought against his mother," and in the presence of

¹ The Polistorie informs us (f. 207 r^o col. 2) that this monk was Simon of Leicester, the same who, according to some chroniclers, brought the pallium from Rome to the archbishop after his confirmation by the Holy See.

² They were probably in Rome prosecuting the appeal.

³ For these and the following particulars we are indebted to the Polistorie, f. 207 v^o col. 1; they are not mentioned in Gervase.

a great number of clerics and laymen ; and then the same Frater Simon appealed before them all on behalf of the estate of the church of Canterbury and all its belongings, and renewed the former appeals.

The archbishop, who had spared himself this tragic spectacle, did not reply until February 22, when he despatched the following letter :¹ " You (the nineteen) wish to know why we hold you responsible for the recent acts of the convent. We are not bound to satisfy you, but we do so *ex abundanti* to remove all pretext for cavilling. Our reasons are these : All the affairs of the convent, both in chapter and out, business transactions and law-suits, are managed entirely by you for good or ill, whilst the others have not a word to say. This is a matter of public notoriety, and we have had palpable evidence of it ; for, before the dispute broke out between us and the chapter, we saw plainly that you had the entire control of such affairs ; and, when the quarrel did begin (and would that it might find a happy termination), you, in the first instance, on behalf of the whole chapter, without, as we believe, any mandate to that effect, took the lead in the opposition against us ; without consulting the others, in fact, treating them with contempt, you answered our questions ; no doubt you may have drawn the others over to your view ; if so, your offence is aggravated. Besides, amongst your other offences which are well known to us, we specially charge you with this, that through your aid, inducement, and counsel, Divine service is celebrated in the church by yourselves and others ; persons not only suspended but excommunicated, to the grave prejudice of souls and to the scandal of the Church. We, therefore, issue this third monition that you appear before us on March 7 to purge yourselves of these charges. And you, Roger de la Lee, we charge you to renounce your unlawful election, and to appear on the same day to make proper satisfaction."

The monks did not fail to reply to this challenge by the following letter :² "(a) The celebration of Divine service is a canonical act for which we cannot be called to account,

¹ Appendix xiv.

² *Ibid.*

pending the appeal against the validity of your sentence; more especially if we be summoned out of our monastery, as, according to written law, monks must be tried in the place where they live; moreover, this very question is now before the Pope, whether we should be judged in or out of chapter.¹ We are anxious to obey your canonical orders, but with what face should we present ourselves, when you recently refused to give audience to our proctors, or even to look at them? As for the suspension with which you threaten us, bear in mind that we appeal to the Holy See, as we have often done before, before being suspended or excommunicated, as it is perversely alleged against us. If we (the nineteen) are solely responsible for the opposition against you, then why did you punish the whole chapter? for it is an axiom: 'Let the punishment reach the guilty, nor let it go beyond the limits of the crime'. (b) I, Roger de la Lee, am not bound to answer whether I consent to or dissent from my election, since the whole affair by appeal has gone to a higher court; so I appeal to the Holy See, as I have done before, for the defence of my position. (c) We, the chapter, hereby signify that whatever has been said or done by the aforesaid brethren (the nineteen), in respect of the charges alleged against them, has proceeded from our common consent and free will. We send Stephen our brother, the bearer of this letter, to act as our proctor in prosecuting our appeal."

It will be observed that, in the beginning of the foregoing letter, the monks incidentally mention, as one of the questions at issue between them and the archbishop, whether they should be judged in, or out of, chapter. We have not been able to discover any further information on this point beyond a pontifical brief in the archives of Canterbury, which shows that the controversy was one of long standing. It seems to have been settled by the Popes in favour of the monks; but here we find it revived in the time of St. Edmund, in consequence of the efforts he was making to bring the convent

¹ This is the first time we learn that this was one of the questions at issue between the archbishop and the chapter.

back to more regular discipline. We have seen how he attributed the failure of his efforts to the organised resistance of a certain faction who ruled the rest : hence he was anxious to apply his remedial measures as much as possible in a sphere where he would not be interfered with by this faction. The document alluded to above is a brief of Pope Celestine¹ (probably the Third, 1191-1198), and runs as follows : "We grant that none of your brethren, if he should ever commit a fault, can be compelled by your archbishop to stand his trial outside your chapter ; especially on those matters which concern the rule of Blessed Benedict and the discipline of your order. But we decree that you should all be treated by the same archbishop fairly, and according to rule, as the ancient and reasonable custom of your church requires."

There are similar letters, in the Register, of Popes Urban III. and Innocent III.

On March 4 the legate summoned the suffragans of Canterbury to meet in London. His object was to take leave of them, and arrange for his safe conduct on the homeward journey. For he had now been recalled by the Pope, and was making preparations for his immediate departure. The king, however, who had summoned a council to meet after Easter, and expected that the obnoxious William of Valence would by that time have returned to England, was in a state of trepidation at the prospect of having to meet the remonstrances of his barons and clergy without the presence of the legate to support him. Accordingly, he had despatched an envoy to Rome, to represent to the Pope how necessary it was that the legate's stay should be prolonged.

The Pope granted the required permission, and the envoy returned just in time to arrest Otho's departure.²

It was at this synod that Otho published the regulations concerning the Benedictines which he had promised at the great council of 1237. It was found that he had introduced several modifications by which he tempered the severity of the observance in some points where he thought it indiscreet.

¹ See appendix xv.

² The despatch reached Otho as he was preaching at St. Paul's, on Sunday, April 17.

The archbishop took the opportunity afforded by this synod of bringing up the subject of his controversy with the Christ Church monks.

They, on their part, had not failed to send their agents to this synod to work among the bishops, and enlist their sympathies on behalf of the chapter ; for they feared that Edmund would propose, as, in fact, he did, to promulgate the decree of excommunication throughout the province. In case such promulgation were resolved upon, the agents were furnished with notice of appeal against the sentence. But when they found that the decision was in their favour, they shrewdly kept the notice of appeal in their pockets, "so that it might not prejudice their cause". There is a great deal of naïveté in this chronicle.

When the archbishop's proposal came on for discussion, the majority of the bishops sided with the archbishop, who was about to formulate his decree when the Bishops of Chichester and Rochester, and Albert,¹ Archbishop-elect of Armagh, begged him not to do so, in order to avoid the scandal which would result from such a proceeding.

But as Edmund still insisted, they brought pressure to bear on the more yielding legate, who succeeded in inducing Edmund to defer his design, until he, the legate, had tried what he could do to effect a reconciliation. He could not,

¹ As frequent mention of this prelate will be made in the sequel, we may here state that he was Albert of Cologne, a scholastic of Bremen, designated Bishop of Riga in 1229: consecrated Archbishop of Armagh at Westminster by the Bishop of Worcester, September 30, 1240; Archbishop of Prussia, Livonia, and Esthonia, 1246; Archbishop of Riga, 1253. He died in 1274. (The above is taken from Stubbs, *Gervas. Cant.*, p. 159, note.) He was very active in promoting the cause of Edmund's canonisation, and wrote an account of the process.

When he was offered the Archbishopric of Armagh, he consulted Edmund about it, who urged him to accept it. "But know," he said, "that you will experience many difficulties, which you must bear with willing mind and joyful heart; for the end of them all will be such as amply to compensate for your suffering." Edmund made known to him what this end was. "But," says Bertrand, "he has never yet imparted it to others, but hopes that it will turn out as Edmund prophesied." The Saint also prophesied to William de Raleigh that he should suffer much tribulation, but would triumph over all. "In fact," he adds, "the archbishop glories in his tribulations which he still suffers for justice' sake; whilst the bishop, after all his crosses, has proved victorious."

however, go himself, so he sent Albert in his place; the archbishop, meantime, betaking himself to South Malling.¹ Otho sent a letter to the monks by his deputy, in which he feelingly deplores the lamentable discord fraught with so much mischief to the interests of the Church and of religion. He begs them to give an attentive hearing to Albert, and hopes that peace will at length be made. He also wrote to the archbishop in the same sense, who, however, committed the negotiations to his brother Robert, and his official, R. de Langdon, giving them full power to act in his name up to Low Sunday, April 3, hoping, no doubt, thereby to accelerate the settlement of affairs: whereas the limitation of time only led, as we shall see, to the collapse of the negotiations. For, unfortunately, Albert was called away by urgent business to London, and the meeting with the chapter did not take place till April 11, when the powers of Edmund's proctors had expired. Albert's proposal was that the monks should appoint a select committee to settle the questions and effect a compromise, each side conceding something. But the monks showed their unwillingness to make any concession, by stating that they wished first to have satisfaction for the unjust sentences launched upon them; which was simply shutting the door to any possible reconciliation. Further, they intimated that they did not believe that the archbishop's agents had plenary power to treat. In fact, it was discovered that their powers had expired on April 3, and, through some oversight, had not been renewed. This unbusiness-like proceeding seems to have annoyed Albert very much, and caused him to give his sympathies to the side of the convent. He asked the monks how they found out that the agents' powers had lapsed. A voice from the community replied: "The little birds whispered it to us!" No doubt, there were many little birds flitting about at this critical juncture. An express was sent off to the archbishop, all the way to the Sussex coast, but no answer came till midnight of April 14. By this despatch, Edmund prolonged the powers of

¹ One of the archbishop's manors, one mile north from Lewes. There was here a collegiate church, said to trace its origin from the time of Ceadwalla († 688) and St. Wilfrid, the first apostle of this portion of the heptarchy.

his proctors until April 23.¹ But, meantime, Albert was in a fever of anxiety to get away, as he was called to the continent. He would wait no longer, and the conference broke up without any result. Albert wrote to inform the legate of the failure of the negotiations, and took ship at once for the continent. He left England on April 15. About the same time the archbishop appears to have removed to Teynham, and from there to Wingham. It shows how all his movements were watched by the agents of the convent, when we find it recorded that he went to Wingham from Teynham, by Shamelford,² so as to avoid passing through Canterbury: hence he would pass over Chartham Down instead of Harbledown, the direct road. Moreover, as soon as he reached his destination, the "little birds" conveyed to the convent another important piece of news. On Tuesday, April 26, the archbishop received despatches from Rome, the contents of which he at once communicated to the archdeacon and others. The monks learned to their sorrow that the archbishop's party were all in high spirits. The Christ Church proctors had not dared to utter a word in their pleadings about the excommunication: the only matters they could bring against the archbishop were respecting the new collegiate church he was contemplating—the question of correcting abuses in or out of chapter—and the composition made before his journey to Rome. On the same day the archbishop took another step in the way of coercion, by forbidding burials at Christ Church.³ This was followed up, the next day, April 27, by a letter addressed to the archdeacon's official, ordering the excommunication of the whole chapter.⁴ For, up to this time, only the electors of Roger had been excommunicated; but as the whole chapter had by their own letters assumed the responsibility of the act, the whole chapter are declared to be comprehended in the term "electors," and so fall under excommunication.

The writer of the *Polistorie* lays all the blame of these coercive measures on the archbishop's council.

¹ App. xvi.

² See the mandate in app. xvi.

³ Now Shalmsford.

⁴ See app. xvi.

The archbishop, he says, was a good man,¹ but he was led astray by his clerics, who had no love for the monks in their hearts, but only sought to annoy them; and they wanted this "coil" between them and the monks to last.²

The sentence was published on May 1, the fifth Sunday after Easter, on which day St. Edmund preached at St. Sepulchre. About this time messengers came from the convent, but the archbishop refused to see them. He simply sent them an answer by his brother Robert to the effect that he was determined to stand by his sentence.

At this point in the narrative there is an abrupt change in the construction, which shows that the writer is quoting from a letter of instruction sent by the chapter to their agents in Rome. What follows shows that the monks were in a state of consternation at the posture of affairs. They suppose that Edmund's firmness is owing to their having suppressed the fact of the excommunication in their petition to the Pope. They seem to have been conscious that this was a weak point in their case, as the archbishop would contend that that sentence rested upon altogether different ground from that on which the suspension was inflicted, namely, on the irregular election of a prior. Altogether, say the monks, we are in a fearful plight; and they urge their agents to do their utmost to extricate them from their difficulties by pressing the affair of the suspension, and leaving the other matter alone; otherwise it will be all over with us.³

The Rogation Days arrived (the three days before the Ascension, May 2-4), and the monks, notwithstanding their despondency, with a courage worthy of a better cause, in defiance of all the censures inflicted upon them, marshalled their wonted procession with relics and banners through the streets of the city. The Polistorie says a great number of

¹ *Prodhume fust.*

² Ke de riens les moygnes ne eyment de quer mes soulement pur de lur anoyz semblant bel a eus fût ke tutes hures le coil entre eus et les moygnes durer vodroyent plusurs adversetes sunt festes en divers lyus et tens tres grandes. F. 207 v^o col. 2.

³ Quia casus nobis imminet a quo vix resurgemus.

respectable citizens followed them, but plaintively adds not a church rang its bells as they passed, out of reverence for the sacred relics, except those of St. Michael in Burgate and St. George;¹ and they were promptly put under interdict. This, he says, was all the work of the archdeacon. On May 12 the official read at St. Elphege's a letter from the archbishop ordering the publication of his sentence of April 26.

About the same time the monks seem to have plucked up courage so far as to assume the offensive, and attempted to stop the procession which took place at St. Gregory's on Pentecost Tuesday (May 17), but they were worsted in the conflict.

They ascertained from their ubiquitous spies that the archbishop is cutting down timber. The king is at once informed, and, sure enough, the king's officer impounded no fewer than eighty axes in Oakfold Wood, near Teynham. "Be sure," they write to their agents, "to let the Pope and cardinals know all about this." Poor archbishop!

The influence which the community possessed in the city was so great that they were able to set at nought the sentences pronounced against them. Hence it became necessary to enforce respect to those decrees. Accordingly, on May 24, the city clergy were assembled at St. Andrew's, and a letter was read from the archdeacon, ordering that all who took part in the monastic rogation procession should be interdicted from entering a church. A week later the same sentence was launched against all who had communicated with the monks, whether in spiritual or in civil intercourse. It may be well imagined that this unhappy controversy had had a most disastrous effect on the fortunes of the city of Canterbury, dependent as it was to a great extent on the great monastery for its prosperity. We are not then surprised to hear that the citizens began to complain bitterly, now that they were brought under the archbishop's disciplinary measures. They were

¹ Lur suyst grant nombre de gent humes et femmes, mes cum par les eglises passoyent ne fust nul ke pur la reverence des reliques portees contre eus sonast solum la custume avant feste hors pris soulement les eglises seint Michel en burgate et seint George.

deprived of their means of subsistence by being cut off from communication with the convent; merchants and pilgrims, who used to throng their streets and hostelries, their markets and fairs, were deterred from coming to the city by the present state of affairs; so that they all began to cry out with one voice: "O Lord, save the city of Canterbury and its monks, that we may not perish".¹

Here we lose sight of the archbishop from the chronicle until the end of October. We shall then here close this chapter in order to turn our attention to more public affairs.

¹ "Domine, salva Cantuariæ civitatem et monachos, ne pereamus."

CHAPTER XXII.

PAPAL SUBSIDIES.

Thretenyng there was, and bost enow, seint edmond hym held stille,
& fast held up the sentence, and let hem speke her fille.

—Metric. Life, MS. Bodley 779, f. 103 v^o.

SHORTLY after the events related at the close of the last chapter, Edmund was called to London on a very interesting occasion. On June 16 a son and heir was born to Henry, and the infant prince (who afterwards reigned as Edward I.) had to be christened with all the pomp and solemnity befitting the heir-apparent to the throne. Under ordinary circumstances, the administration of this rite would have fallen to the lot of the archbishop. But the legate Otho, as the Pope's immediate representative, though not in priest's orders,¹ claimed and obtained the right of administering baptism to the royal infant. The archbishop, of course, was present, and assisted at the ceremony, whilst the Bishops of London, Carlisle, and Norwich acted as sponsors. After the baptism, the infant was confirmed. This, being an episcopal function, was administered by the archbishop. The ceremony took place in Westminster Abbey on June 20. Our biographer and several of the chroniclers remark on the subordinate position which the archbishop was made to occupy on this occasion. We may be quite sure that Edmund would not suffer any unworthy feeling to occupy his mind on that score; nevertheless his adversaries, who, we know, were many, were able to make capital out of the situation by depreciating him in the eyes of the people, especially of the unreflecting sort who judge by outward

¹ He was Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano.

appearances. The archbishop, in consequence, was made painfully aware that he and his office began to be held in contempt by the people.¹ But this trial, like all the rest, only contributed to his greater sanctification, and to enhance his crown of merit.

The clergy, however, were more incensed against the legate, and impatient of his prolonged stay. They took the opportunity of expressing their sentiments at a synod held in London on July 31, 1239, at which the bishops complained bitterly of the ever-increasing exactions which the legate was making on the revenues of the Church by his frequent demands for procurations. They declared that it was impossible to be borne. They said: "Let them be paid by him (meaning the king) who invited you here without asking our advice".² We shall soon see still heavier demands made upon them.

On September 25, in this year, Edmund consecrated his friend, William de Raleigh, Bishop of Norwich. In consequence of the interdict laid upon the Metropolitan Church, the consecration took place in St. Paul's, London. It has already been observed that the same prelate was, after St. Edmund's death, translated to Winchester.

We must now return to our Canterbury chronicle. On October 23 John de Shotindune,³ one of the Christ Church monks, died. All who followed him to the grave were excommunicated, which caused a great commotion in the city; and news of the affair was at once despatched to the agents in Rome. The monks were also practising with the king to put a stop to the new foundation at Maidstone which the archbishop had already commenced. He appears to have been staying at Aldington at this time. He had obtained the services of Elias of Dereham as architect, who had been Edmund's fellow-prebendary at Salisbury, and had for many years superintended the construction of that magnificent cathedral. A site had been chosen for the church, and for the residences of the prebends, comprehending

¹ "Omnibus contemptui habitus." E., f. 141 vº.

² "Exhibeat eas, qui inconsulte vos vocavit."

³ He was one of the "nineteen".

altogether about one hundred acres. All this is reported to the agents of the chapter in Rome, whom they implore to do their utmost to defeat the scheme, for "our life is nothing but sorrow and misery".¹

As this scheme of the archbishop's forms a distinct episode in the controversy with the monks, upon which much light is thrown by certain documents in the archives of Canterbury, we now proceed to lay the details before our readers. The documents will be found in the appendix.² The first is a letter of Pope Gregory, dated March 8, 1239, addressed to the archbishop, in which he says he rejoices to find that Edmund is still, as ever, seeking to promote the Divine glory. When he was in Rome (in 1238), he asked the Pope's permission to establish a college of secular canons, with ecclesiastical dignitaries in some church of his diocese which belonged to him, and over which he had complete control.³ Also, he asked permission to endow the same out of the benefices which were at his disposal, and, so far as the canons permitted it, out of the archiepiscopal revenues. The Pope, out of regard for the archbishop's merits, grants the desired faculty, notwithstanding any appeal that may be lodged in opposition. Hence, we learn that the scheme had come to maturity in Edmund's mind in 1238, when he formally applied for the papal faculty. He received it in the spring of 1239. We have already seen that there was a sort of truce in the Canterbury quarrel from May to October of that year. No doubt, the archbishop was busily engaged with his architect, Elias of Dereham, in carrying out the contemplated work.

The Roman agents lost no time in executing the instructions of their patrons, and left no stone unturned in order to obtain the revocation of the papal faculty. This time, however, they did not succeed, as will appear from the next document,⁴ in which Pope Gregory pronounces a final

¹ "Dolor et miseria."

² Appendix xvii.

³ Edmund intended to fulfil this condition by building an entirely new church from the foundations.

⁴ See appendix xvii.

sentence on the monk's appeal against the new foundation. It is dated June 6, 1239. The Pope first recites the particulars of the archbishop's petition as given in the preceding document ; he then goes on to state that the monks' proctors had entered an appeal against it, alleging in opposition a certain arbitration confirmed by the Holy See, some indulgences and privileges granted by the Popes, and other documents which they said they had in England. Hence, the Pope fixed a day for both parties to appear with their proofs and arguments, to receive judgment or to submit to some arrangement to be made by the Pope. Meantime, Gregory commissioned Cardinal Otho to go and inspect the site of the proposed foundation and report thereon, as also on the endowments which were to be conferred on it, whence obtained, how many canons were to be instituted, and any other circumstances which his prudence might suggest. Otho carried out his commission ; the archbishop took him to see Hackington,¹ which he found suitable for the purpose. He next inspected the archbishop's manor of Maidstone, which he preferred to the other site.² He also reported that the college was to consist of forty prebends each worth fifty marks, to be drawn from the churches under the archbishop's control. The church would also be endowed with an annual rent of two thousand marks from the same source, and with a "canonical portion" from the archiepiscopal revenues. So far Otho's report.

When the appointed day arrived for the discussion of the case, the opponents alleged that the Pope ought not to allow the archbishop to go on with the work before judgment had been given, as they were prepared to show, if a trial were given them, that the archbishop had no manner of right to build such a college, and that it was a grave injury to the church of Canterbury. It is not right to discuss a subordinate question, which will result in prejudging the principal question at issue. For, they said, if any one claims his freedom under a will, the judge denies him a hearing until

¹ A suburb of Canterbury.

² It was farther away from Canterbury. This was the site ultimately selected.

the will is proved. Again, if any one receives a notice of *novum opus*, and the issuer of the notice is prepared to show his right, the judge forbids him to build, even though he offers to enter into a bond to destroy the work, if required. Further, in the time of the archbishop's predecessor, a compromise was effected through the Bishop of Ely and others, between the then archbishop and the chapter, to the effect that the archbishop, without the consent of the convent, had no power to establish a congregation of secular clerks, or to endow them out of the Canterbury estates. This arbitration was accepted by both parties, and Pope Innocent (the Third) imposed perpetual silence on the parties and their successors respecting the matters contained in it, and terminated by it : the only right which the arbitrators granted the archbishop was that of establishing a certain number of religious in the church of Lambeth,¹ and of endowing them ; but they expressly forbade the institution of secular canons, as being contrary to the rights and dignity of the church of Canterbury, and prejudicial to the tranquillity of its devout contemplation. Such a question ought not to be raised again, when it has been once settled by apostolical authority after a great outlay of time and money. Then, again, the archbishops, for the time being, have expended so much of the Canterbury treasure on pious objects, that they have already exceeded the canonical amount, and the church is burdened with debts, pensions and other obligations ; in fact, its funds hardly suffice for the support of the ministers, the exercise of hospitality, and other duties. Hence, they pray that the archbishop be not permitted to erect this college, and endow it to their great prejudice. For if he is allowed to do so, his successors will draw it into a precedent, and in a short time little or nothing will remain of the church funds. Not only does the archbishop injure the church by this allotment of funds, but he seriously impairs the archiepiscopal dignity ; for by annexing certain benefices to that church, he loses the freedom which he enjoyed of disposing of them. The opponents object to this, because it is their interest to

¹ Perhaps Lambeth, which in one document appears as "Lameth," from information supplied by Dr. Sheppard.

preserve the dignity of their church unimpaired. The scheme may present a plausible appearance ; but when we consider that as the number of prebendaries and dignitaries goes on increasing they will want to be put on a level with the convent of Christ Church, and that the archbishop, setting aside the monks, will bestow on them the rights and honours of the cathedral church, nothing less than a grave scandal is likely to arise, which ought to be avoided if it can be done without mortal sin, as in the present case. They also invoke the maxim of canon law, that a bishop cannot, without the consent of his chapter, found a parish church or a monastery, much less a church of secular canons, to be endowed out of the estate of his see. The opponents have received from Popes Alexander, Urban, and Innocent a special indult, providing that no one, without their consent and that of the archbishop, may found a new chapel or oratory in the domains of the archbishopric. They, therefore, beg that the archbishop may be stopped from going on with this enterprise : the Holy See is not wont to confer on any one a benefit which would be prejudicial to others : for the rest, they submit themselves to the decision of the court, praying for a favourable judgment.

Then the Pope goes on to state the archbishop's rejoinder, or rather, that of his proctor. But we must first take notice that the monastic copyist, who has stated the case of the convent with elaborate fulness, seems only to give a very brief summary of the archbishop's case ; so brief, indeed, as to be sometimes obscure. The archbishop's proctor, then, replied that the archbishop was not proceeding upon any matter of common law, but on a special grace of the Holy See, which, as yet, had not been put into execution : he was not, therefore, bound to answer the convent in these matters, as there was, as yet, no ground on which an action could lie. But it is not true that any prejudice can accrue to the church of Canterbury : for the estates of the archbishopric are quite distinct from those of the convent : therefore, they will not be the sufferers. Nor will the archiepiscopal dignity be lessened, for the archbishops will still retain the same authority which they have always held in the churches from which the

college is to be endowed : moreover, by this means, their honour and interest will be promoted, inasmuch as it will prevent these churches from being bestowed on foreigners and absentees ; thus resident beneficiaries will be secured, and the Divine worship promoted.¹ Consequently, that cannot be called an alienation from which accrues an increase of dignity and honour. As for the arbitration, it cannot avail either party : for a compromise is of the essence of an arbitration ; and here, on the face of the document, there is no trace of a compromise : ² besides, it only concerns the church of Lame ; it cannot possibly, therefore, hinder the construction of a new church : the arbitrators had no power to extend their judgment beyond the limits of the questions submitted to them. With regard to the confirmation of the Holy See and the consent of the archbishop's predecessor, Edmund's advocate urged, "with vehemence," that they added no strength whatever to this arbitration ; ³ for the Roman Pontiff is supposed to approve only those things which are rightfully done : nor can the consent of a predecessor prejudice the right of a successor to revoke an act which he finds detrimental to his state. It does not matter that Pope Innocent imposed silence on the parties respecting these matters ; for there is no compromise to show what the matters are. As for the alleged scandal, it is not worth considering, as the archbishop is only seeking to carry out a pious intention by the favour of the Pope : as the rights of the convent remain what they were, if there is any scandal, it can only arise from their jealousy. The papal privileges alleged, forbidding the erection of a church or oratory without the consent of the archbishop and chapter, have no application to this case, where the faculty is sought direct from the Holy See. Wherefore, as a prince ought to magnify his benefits, and not detract from them, the archbishop prays that the papal letters

¹ Hence we learn that one motive which Edmund had in founding this college was to guard himself against the common abuse of "provisions" without coming into collision with those who sought them.

² He apparently thinks that the reciprocity was all on one side.

³ The Pope seems to have been somewhat amused with the advocate's "vehemence".

granting him the required permission, which have been so long delayed by the opposition of the chapter, may be expedited.

Then comes the decision, which is as follows: "Having carefully considered all the points laid before him, the Pope, with the advice of the cardinals, decrees that there is no reason why the permission previously granted should not be carried into effect". Thus the decision was in favour of the archbishop,¹ although, strangely enough, the monastic scribe has endorsed it as though it were favourable to the chapter. He was perhaps so profoundly impressed with the weight of their own arguments that he could not imagine any other solution of the case.

The monks, however, could be under no delusion in the matter; and, as the archbishop at once set about the new undertaking, they, as a last resource, made fresh application to the Holy See to safeguard their rights from being infringed by the new institution. The Pope good-naturedly complied, and sent them the following brief. It is dated October 21, 1239:² "The church of Canterbury, illustrious as it is as being the resting-place of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, demands from the Holy See special care and protection, that its honours and privileges should remain intact. And, whereas we have granted the archbishop a faculty to erect in some church belonging to him a college of secular canons, it is provided by these presents that such foundation shall in no way cause any prejudice to the rights, dignities, honours, privileges and customs, ancient and approved, of the said church of Canterbury; but they shall for ever remain in the same state in which they have hitherto been."

Obviously, the foregoing letter would prove but a very weak anodyne for the "sorrow and misery" which they anticipated when the new college was once established. So, having failed to obtain the papal veto, they determined to invoke the intervention of the secular arm, and brought their case into the King's Bench. Here they were more successful;

¹ Perhaps the *only* favourable decision Edmund obtained in the Papal Curia.

² See appendix xvii.

but, as all our knowledge of the proceedings is derived from a brief notice by the annalist of Dunstable, our readers must be content with the information he supplies to them. He says¹ that the archbishop, having obtained the Pope's permission, began to build at Maidstone a collegiate church for a dean and secular canons, and to endow the institution to the extent of fifty² prebends. But, as soon as the work was commenced, a royal official made his appearance on the scene, who, "by the cast of a pebble, announced to the archbishop that the work was new".³ By the orders of the same official, an attachment was served on all the workmen found on the premises. The meaning of this enigmatical phrase must be sought in the *Corpus Jur. Can.*, lib. v. part iii. tit. xxxii. The title is headed "*De novi operis nuntiatione*," and is borrowed from the civil code. As an ecclesiastical offence, it chiefly applies to the construction of churches, monasteries, or other edifices, to the prejudice of existing institutions. It was an extra-judicial process by which the complainant (*nuntiator*) could stop the construction of a new work until the right of construction had been judicially proved; nor was the builder allowed to go on with the work, even if he gave a bond to destroy it if the case should go against him, as the monks observed in their pleadings.⁴ The *nuntiatio* must be made on the spot where the work is going on. It might be made in three ways: (1) Verbally by the complainant; (2) through the civil magistrate; (3) by laying a hand on the building materials, or even casting a single stone on the building-site, or knocking down one of the stones.⁵ The method adopted in the present case seems to have been a combination of the second and third ways. The effect of the denunciation was that the constructor had immediately to stop building until he had judicially proved his right, the *nuntiator* being bound to bring his action within three months.

¹ Annal. Monast., iii. p. 150.

² The Pope says "forty".

³ "Nuncius regis per lapilli jactum nunciavit ei opus novum."

⁴ See appendix xvii.

⁵ The Roman law was very fond of these symbolical acts. Compare the *traditio glebæ*, by which was symbolised the conveyance of land.

As the monks had succeeded in getting the support of the royal tribunal, it was clearly useless for the archbishop to contest the matter any further; and so the work was abandoned, and Edmund's favourite scheme came to naught.

Another source of alarm to the monks was a rumour which had reached them that the archbishop contemplated obtaining the king's writ, empowering him to enter into possession of their property. "For God's sake," they write in their letter to their agents, "do let us have some news how our affairs are going on at Rome." We have searched the archives of Canterbury, in order to find some trace of such a scheme; but have found none. On the other hand, a document was found which proves that Edmund, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, was resolved to respect the rights of the convent. No doubt, the monks, conscious of their own unscrupulous attitude, were led to suspect the archbishop of views and intentions which he was far from being capable of entertaining.

The document to which we allude is one by which the archbishop renounces all claim to occupy the monastic estates during the vacancy of the priorate. It is dated December 19, 1237, that is to say, the day on which Edmund left Canterbury for Rome. The original (which bears his private seal) will be found in the appendix.¹ The archbishop, by this deed, places on record that one of the conditions of the final agreement, lately made between him and the convent, was that he renounced, on behalf of himself, his successors, or of any other person, any claim to the custody of the priorate, when that office was vacant. Consequently, neither he nor his successors, in such vacancy, would seize, or cause to be seized, the aforesaid priorate, on pretext of a vacancy: nor will he keep it in his hands, as neither any of his predecessors have done.

The alarm of the monks was, no doubt, stimulated by the information they had received, that the archbishop was about to execute a measure which he had long contemplated, the publication of their sentence of excommunication

¹ Appendix xviii.

throughout his province: for, in the above-quoted letter which the convent wrote to their agents in Rome, they go on to say: "To make matters worse, the archbishop has written the following letter to his suffragans". We have seen that Edmund was deterred, on a former occasion, from this publication by the remonstrances of certain of the bishops. But he seems to have been now convinced that nothing less than this extreme measure would suffice to cope with the perversity and obstinacy of the monks or bring them to reason.

Before, however, we give the substance of this letter, to which the monks allude, we may mention that Bishop Grosseteste, in a letter to his procurator at Rome, written about this time, giving the latter information of the bishop's movements, writes as follows: "I made a hasty journey to London, having been summoned by my Lord of Canterbury, on certain difficult questions connected with his church. He wished me to meet him there on the day after All Souls" (November 3, 1239).¹ From a comparison of dates, there can be no doubt that one, at least, of these "difficult questions" would be the grave step which Edmund had long contemplated, and now put into execution—the promulgation of the sentence of excommunication throughout the province. The letter is addressed to the suffragan prelates, and is dated November 16, 1239.² In this document the archbishop recites the various misdeeds of the monks and the proceedings which he had deemed it necessary to take against them, all which have been fully related in the preceding pages. As the monks remain obstinate, he now calls upon the suffragan bishops, commands them, and strictly enjoins that they should, immediately on the receipt of these letters, publish, in their several dioceses, the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the monks of Christ Church: which sentence must be published in all the churches, in the same form in which it was published in the city of Canterbury. He trusts that they will testify, by their compliance with this order, the affection they bear to him and to the church of Canterbury.

The difficulties of the archbishop's position were con-

¹ Grosseteste, *epist.* lxxx. p. 254.

² See appendix xix.

siderably aggravated by the great demands which were made on the English Church, to come to the Pope's relief in his dire necessity. The archbishop himself never experienced any difficulty on this score ; he cheerfully paid whatever demands were made upon him without a murmur or word of remonstrance. Men like St. Edmund and Bishop Grosseteste, unworldly men, with singleness of view, having at heart only the glory of God and salvation of souls, were prepared to make any sacrifice on behalf of the common father of Christendom, in the straits to which he was reduced. But many of the English prelates and beneficed clergy were men of a very different stamp ; worldly-minded, selfish, and grasping, such, in fact, as might have been expected, under the unhappy conditions with which ecclesiastical appointments were then hampered. These raised a great outcry at every fresh demand and met it with the most determined opposition, so that the primate's position became an insupportable one.

There is a most touching letter of Grosseteste's, which reveals to us his sentiments on this point. It was written subsequently to St. Edmund's death, in 1246, and has reference to Innocent IV., who succeeded (though not immediately) Gregory IX. in his dignity and in his difficulties. Henry had written to the bishop to complain of his having levied a subsidy on the clergy for the relief of the Pope without the royal permission. He replies :¹ "The course which we and our fellow-bishops have taken in this matter ought not to surprise any one ; but it would have been a subject of great astonishment, and even of indignation, if we had not done something of this kind, or even more, and that without being asked or commanded. For what do we see ? Our spiritual parents to whom we are bound to render obedience, reverence, and succour in all their necessities, by a far stricter obligation than to our earthly parents, driven into exile, harassed on every side by persecutions and troubles, stripped of their property, and having no resources on which they can depend for a decent maintenance."

¹ Grosseteste Letters, i. ep. cxix. p. 340.

These words of the bishop exactly describe the situation of Gregory IX. in 1240. Scarcely had he been elected Pope, when he was compelled to fly from Rome by the intrigues of Frederic, who contrived to sow sedition amongst his subjects, for which there was always ample material in that volatile people. After a long absence he returned to Rome, to the great joy of the Romans, who were keenly sensible of the pecuniary loss they had sustained by his absence ; and they determined that he should not leave Rome again. But already, in 1234, the fickle people, without any solicitation on the part of the emperor, rose up against the Pope and compelled him to fly to Perugia. In fact, the Pope had on this occasion to beg the emperor's aid, with whom he was then on tolerable terms, against his revolted subjects. In this campaign, the martial Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, who had just been driven from England, distinguished himself on the Pope's side. The Tewkesbury Chronicle affirms that, in consequence of this revolt, Gregory deprived all the Roman clerics in England of their benefices, and commissioned the archbishop and the Bishop of Rochester to execute the sentence.¹

Again, in 1240, the Pope was the object of Frederic's hostility, who, bent on wreaking vengeance for the sentence of excommunication with which he had been smitten, had let loose a horde of Saracens to ravage the pontifical states. It was during this inroad of Saracens that took place the well-known incident recorded in the Life of St. Clare. Whilst the pagans were overrunning the territory of Assisi, they made an attempt to scale the walls of St. Clare's Convent. The saint, then languishing with sickness, caused herself to be carried to the gate, together with the pyx containing the Blessed Sacrament. There she prayed thus to her Spouse : " Deliver not, O Lord, unto wild beasts the souls that trust in Thee ; and guard Thy hand-maidens whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood ". A voice was heard in reply, saying : " I will ever guard you ". At the same time, the Saracens were seized with a sudden panic : those who

¹ Chron. Tewk., p. 94.

were scaling the walls were struck blind and fell headlong down ; the rest took to flight. This incident is commemorated in representations of the saint by the pyx which she bears in her hand. Frederic was also once more intriguing with the venal Romans to rise against their sovereign. The Pope was besieged by a hungry pack of benefice-hunters, clamouring for fat livings in England, then the happy hunting-ground for the younger sons of Roman nobles and nephews of cardinals. Gregory, driven well-nigh to despair, issued a brief to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, requiring them to provide benefices in their dioceses for three hundred Roman clerics, and invalidating any future appointments which should be made before these "provisions" were satisfied. It was undoubtedly a desperate measure, and caused universal consternation and indignation throughout England. At the same time, great allowance must be made for the Pope in the painful position in which he was placed. Once known as Cardinal Ugolino dei Conti di Segni, he had been the intimate, we might say the bosom, friend of St. Francis and of St. Dominic. Elected Pope on March 19, 1227, it was his privilege to raise to the altar of the Church both the great saints of whose saintly life and miracles he had himself been a witness. The long-suffering character of the venerable pontiff is apparent from the lenity with which he treated the impious Frederic, notwithstanding the cruel outrages he had suffered at his hands. The emperor, after his abortive expedition to the Holy Land, and still smarting under the sentence of excommunication, captured and hanged the Pope's brother by way of retaliation.

Nevertheless, in the same year, the Pope gladly welcomed the overtures which the emperor made to be reconciled, however insincerely, and absolved him from his censure, which, however he soon incurred again by his duplicity and perversity.¹

The Pope was now in the hundredth year of his age ; he was hunted from place to place ; his own subjects had been perverted from their allegiance, and he sought to win them

¹ Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1230.

back by the only means available to him and effectual with them. Matthew Paris, in the manner peculiarly his own, rails against the Pope for his drastic treatment of the English Church, and taunts him with not being able to devise a more spiritual remedy for his misfortunes. But the gibe is not founded on truth. The Pope did have recourse to spiritual means, by which he appealed to those who could appreciate such things. For we read in the *Annals of Dunstable*¹ that, when Frederic was advancing on Rome, the Pope, in this dire emergency, fearing that the emperor would capture the city by force (and he had many supporters within the walls), took from the *Sancta Sanctorum* the heads of the holy apostles and formed a procession with them to St. Peter's. A fast was proclaimed; and there was much weeping and wailing. Arrived at St. Peter's, the Pope thus addressed the populace: "This is the church and these are the Roman relics which you ought to defend even to death; we entrust them to God's protection and yours; I will not fly, but I will wait here for God's mercy". The Romans were much moved with this address and other considerations. They all took the cross in a body, and solemnly declared they would defend even to death the Roman Church as their mother.

A similar account to this is given in the *Annals of Meaux*.²

England was an integral part of the Catholic Church, and as such bound to sympathise with and render assistance to the head of the Church in the extremity to which he was reduced. More than this, the Pope had a special claim on England as being a fief of the Holy See, formally granted by King John by a solemn act to which the clergy and barons had given their assent. It must be remembered that this surrender of John was then a very recent occurrence; and if, at the time of which we are now treating, the barons were inclined to repudiate the act, no one certainly can blame the Pope for still holding the English nation to their compact; especially as the reigning monarch was under such immense obligations to the Holy See for the support he had received from that

¹ P. 153, ad ann. 1240.

² Ann. Mels., ii. 70.

source during the perilous period of his minority, and in the no less troublesome controversies which had recently agitated his throne. In fact, no one could have expressed these obligations more earnestly and more gracefully than did Henry himself in his letter to Innocent IV.¹

The Pope, then, may well be excused for calling upon this portion of his flock to make even so great a sacrifice for the common weal of Christendom. The practice, as we have seen in chap. xiv., had been going on for a considerable time, but never on such a large scale as the present. Moreover, the Popes had endeavoured, by prudent regulations, to temper the harshness of the measure. Thus, in 1225, Honorius III. sent to England a request that one² benefice should be reserved to him in every cathedral and collegiate church, whether secular or religious. Archbishop Langton summoned a council at London in 1226 to consider the proposal. It was resolved that even this limited concession should be refused; at all events, unless the patrons and founders of the benefices consented, and unless the universal Church deemed it a proper concession to make.³

We have seen how Bishop Grosseteste set his face against the system, not on mercenary, but on conscientious grounds, though these were far from being the motive of the general agitation that was raised against papal provisions; both clergy and laity being chiefly moved by interested motives. It is true that the patrons whose rights were invaded by

¹ See ch. xvii. p. 215.

² Matt. Paris says *two* benefices: and, according to him, the Pope assigned as a reason for the demand the desirability of removing an occasion of scandal. The Court of Rome, says the Pope, has been accused of venality in its administration; presents and bribes being required by ecclesiastical officials for expediting affairs. Now, this is entirely owing to the poverty of the Church. The straits to which it has been reduced prevent it from furnishing competent salaries to its officials. Hence some such arrangement as the one proposed would do away with the necessity of exacting the fees so loudly complained of.

³ *Ista universæ Christianitatis latitudinem respiciunt: et quoniam nos quasi in extremis mundi constituti sumus partibus; cum viderimus qualiter cetera regna erga tales se habuerint exactiones, dominus papa, cum ab aliis regnis habuerimus exemplum, in obsequiis nos inveniet promptiores.* M. Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, iii. p. 102.

these provisions had a just ground of complaint: but the Holy See had repeatedly intervened to safeguard their rights from being curtailed by these irregular presentations.

Thus, on July 28, 1232, Gregory IX. addressed a rescript to the Archbishop of York (Canterbury was then vacant), and the Bishops of Durham and Coventry, by which he prohibits any agent for the execution of "provisions" from suspending henceforth any prelate from the collation of a benefice without special leave of the Pope, also from presuming to confer any church benefice without the consent of the lay patrons.¹

The exorbitant demand now made threw the prelates into a state of the utmost consternation. How would it be possible for them to resist the storm of indignation with which such a proposal would be met by all classes of the community? But this was not all. The provision for the Roman clerics was, after all, only an indirect way of helping the Court of Rome over its difficulties: it did not put money into the papal coffers. As that exchequer was now in the last stage of exhaustion, it became necessary to replenish it: and the Papal Court naturally looked to the opulent kingdom of England as their resource in this emergency.

The usual meeting of the bishops took place after the Christmas festival on January 13, 1240. They met in London; but the meeting was as fruitless as its predecessors: for it was chiefly held to protest against Henry's oppression of the Church. The prelates presented something like thirty *gravamina*: and they declared that if those grievances were not redressed, they would proceed to inflict sentence of excommunication on the king's counsellors. The difficulties of the situation were enhanced by the legate, Otho, demanding a subsidy of one-fifth from the beneficed clergy. It would appear that the demand, in the first instance, fell only on the foreign clergy, who were provided with benefices in England,² for whom little or no sympathy would be felt. They com-

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., app. xxix., p. 550: see also chap. x. p. 137, of this work.

² Ann. Dunstabl. (p. 154). "Papa ad subsidium ecclesiæ Romanæ fecit tallagium per omnes ecclesias. . . . Clerici transmarini in Angliā beneficiati solverunt quintam partem reddituum suorum in subsidium Papæ."

plained, indeed, to the king ; but he declined to interfere, saying that he would not, and could not, contradict his lord the Pope in anything whatsoever.

Subsequently, however, the same demand was made upon the whole Church in England. The Pope's letter was read to the bishops, who, this time, were assembled at Reading. They replied that they were quite unable to undertake such an insupportable burden, which, moreover, was a matter that concerned the universal Church, unless it was previously carefully discussed in council.¹ Hence, the further discussion of the matter was adjourned to some future occasion.

At this synod of Reading, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who had just taken the cross, presented himself in order to take leave of the assembled prelates. They begged him not to leave the country in the deplorable state to which it was then reduced. Richard, addressing himself to the archbishop, said : " My father and my lord, even if I had not taken the cross, I should still have to leave the country, when I see the desolation to which it is brought. Especially, as many seem to share your opinion, and imagine that I might do something to prevent it, whereas, I can do nothing." These mournful words must have struck a responsive chord in the archbishop's breast, who was even then meditating a similar course, that of retiring from a hopeless task.

At a subsequent synod, held at Northampton, on July 2, Edmund, whom nothing could induce to assume an attitude of opposition to the Holy See, used all his powers of persuasion to induce the prelates to concede the demand. The archbishop, if we are to believe Matthew Paris, addressed them in these terms : " Brethren and friends, your experience will enable you to see clearly in what a critical position we are placed at present, so much so that we must needs be weary of life. Let us, however, make a virtue of necessity. For I do not see how we can resist this demand, when both the Pope and the king concur in enforcing it."

In this question St. Edmund admirably evinced the

¹ " Responderunt Episcopi quod nullo modo tam importabile onus, quod universalem tangebatur ecclesiam, subirent sine prolixi consilii diligenti deliberatione." M. Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, iv. p. 10.

purity and sincerity of the motives which governed him in taking the attitude which we have seen him assume in this history. Though he did not, like Grosseteste, openly oppose papal provisions, we know that he had his views about them. Both prelates frankly admitted the absolute right of the Pope to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices ; but what they deplored, and what Grosseteste was prepared to resist to the utmost, was the intrusion into offices to which was attached the care of souls of persons who were incompetent for such charges. The responsibility under which they lay of rendering an account to God for the welfare of the flock committed to their care, could not but convince them, that to comply with such a demand as the wholesale importation of three hundred Roman clerics to fill English benefices, must necessarily prove highly detrimental to the spiritual welfare of the people.¹ But though both prelates shared the same sentiments, there is a marked difference in their public action between Archbishop Edmund and Bishop Grosseteste. The latter boldly and unequivocally uttered his mind on the subject to both Pope and legate, whilst Edmund is never known to have opened his lips in reprobation of the course which was being taken. He simply bowed his head in silence, determined to do his duty ; but at the same time, his reverence for the vicar of Christ forbade him to criticise his decisions, or to utter a word of complaint against them.

With regard to the other demand of an income tax of twenty per cent., no such conscientious considerations entered in : it was simply a pecuniary matter ; and, however grievous and burdensome it might be, Edmund at once gave an example of cheerful acquiescence. Out of his impoverished exchequer, drained as it had been by vexatious litigation,

¹ In the annals of St. Alban's of this period, the following incident is recorded : "A certain Italian cleric, Hugo by name, had obtained a papal provision to a living in the presentation of the abbey. After having enjoyed the benefice for some years, he began to feel remorse of conscience—'*unde fructus, ægro animo plurimis annis, heu mihi ! recepi, temerarius*'. Full of these scruples, he went to the abbot to resign his benefice. The abbot, astonished at this unwonted phenomenon, exclaimed : 'I have not found such faith in any transalpine man—*non inveni tantam fidem in aliquo Transalpino*'; and he generously reinstated him in his living." *Gesta Abb. S. Alb.*, i. 298.

he immediately paid down the required subsidy, amounting to eight hundred marks; and thus compelled the other prelates, for very shame, to imitate his example, which they did eventually, though with a very bad grace, and after a prolonged resistance. For, at the synod of Northampton on July 2, the discussion was again adjourned. It was resumed at London, on November 1, by which time Edmund must have left the kingdom. Otho, in the meantime, had contrived to work upon some influential people, and bring them round to his views. But what daunted the clergy more than anything else was the attitude of the king, who took the part of the legate, and sternly refused to countenance them in their resistance to the subsidy. They were therefore bound at last to yield, and Otho, having squeezed all he could out of the reluctant clergy, soon after took his departure, to the relief of many and regret of few, amongst whom, of course, would be the king.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP MEDITATES FLIGHT.

When they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another. Matt. x. 23.

WE must now revert to the Christ Church controversy. From November, 1239, to Lent of 1240, there seems to have been a truce between the contending parties, for we hear no more of the dispute until the latter period, when the archbishop took another step in order to coerce the monks into submission. On account of the enormous influence possessed by the convent, it would seem that the sentences pronounced by the archbishop were but little regarded. Hence, he thought it necessary to have recourse to the secular arm, and addressed a mandate to the sheriff of Kent, the object of which was to enforce obedience to his decrees.¹ He recites the sentence of excommunication passed upon the monks, which had been published in every parish church throughout the province; moreover, the archdeacon had denounced all who communicated with them, as included in the same sentence. But he is astonished to hear that some people communicate quite freely with them. Hence, he forbids any such intercourse under pain of excommunication. The sheriff is not to allow the monks the slightest hearing in any matter that may come before him, but he is to treat them as excommunicated persons. He issues this monition that no one may pretend ignorance of the facts. Moreover, he sends Jordan, his own cleric, to the sheriff, who will acquaint him with the real posture of affairs.

We are not informed whether the monks had any sub-

¹ App. xx.
(322)

stantial ground for their apprehension, alluded to before, that the archbishop would take steps to seize their temporalities in consequence of their contumacy. His relations with the king at this time were such that he could hardly hope to succeed in such an enterprise. The monks, however, were so alarmed at the possibility of such a contingency, which would have resulted in starving them into submission, that they took steps at the king's court to prevent it. They succeeded in obtaining from the king an order directed to the sheriffs *de returnio non admittendo*, by which they were instructed not to make any writs concerning the affairs of Christ Church returnable to the archbishop, but that they are to execute such writs themselves. This order is dated January 31, 1240.

The archbishop took up the challenge by directing the following letter to his official, dated from South Malling, March 4, 1240.¹ He orders the said official to publish in all the churches of Canterbury, on three festival days, sentence of excommunication on all and singular who shall avail themselves of the above order, or of any other pretext to enter upon any fee belonging to the monks of Christ Church, in violation of the archbishop's rights.

We now proceed to give the archbishop's last letter in this prolix correspondence.² It is dated March 15, 1240. He says that he has heard that they were alienating the property of the Church in cases not permitted by canon law ; that they were striving to upset its franchises; and, he grieves to say, that they are making it subservient in regard of its prerogatives. He forbids them under pain of excommunication from adopting any such measures, and orders them to revoke those already made. Further, he deems it necessary to forbid them from hearing confessions, and deprives them for the present of the faculty of absolving penitents.

It would seem that in this indictment the archbishop refers to the machinations of the monks with the lay nobility, by which they sought to enlist their support even at the expense of their estate and sacrifice of their dignity. Thus

¹ App. xx.

² App. xxi.

we may account for the statement of the chroniclers and biographers, that among the causes which compelled the archbishop to abandon his office, were the persecutions and invasions of his rights which he suffered at the hands of the nobles, though they do not specify any particulars.¹

An answer was sent to this letter by the convent on March 22.² They are sorry to say that their woes and sufferings are aggravated day by day. With respect to the archbishop's charges, they regret to hear them ; but they have made no alienations of which they need be ashamed. Nevertheless, they admit they have been in fault, inasmuch as on certain occasions some uncanonical alienations were made, which they did not revoke as they ought to have done. However, they have not given their consent to them, and never will : " As for our franchises by which we have stood through ill report, never, by God's help, shall they suffer through our fault : our predecessors have left us an example how to suffer contempt, insult, and injustice in their defence. Whereas it is alleged that our church of Canterbury lies grovelling, and is made subservient : that church once the most noble and pre-eminent among the churches of the West : we are sorry for it : but if it has been stripped of its honour and dignity, it is not our fault. She sits solitary, rehearsing over again the lamentations of Jeremy ; she knows no more the consecration of bishops ; she witnesses not the rite of ordination ; she wonders what has become of her solemn processions ; whereas, even in a general interdict, she was wont to see conferred on those who asked for them baptism, the Viaticum and penance, now confessions are not allowed to be heard, and the power of absolution is taken away as far as you can take it away.

" As we have appealed against the wrongs you have inflicted, or mean to inflict on us ; and we are now prosecuting that appeal ; we are justified in regarding with suspicion these recent measures, so we renew our appeal, and

¹ " Comitibus atque baronibus terræ undique sibi injuriantibus." R.R., f. 182 r^o col. 1.

² App. xxi.

protest against your taking any step to prejudice the case now before His Holiness."

And thus, at length, this long and weary controversy finishes, so far as the archbishop was concerned. For the next item of information with which we are furnished in the chronicle is that a rumour was spread about that the archbishop was going abroad. There is, however, a curious despatch, which seems to have arrived from Rome about this time, from which we make a few extracts before passing from this subject. In this letter the sub-prior informs the convent how their affairs are going on. The writer unbosoms himself with the utmost candour, and informs the brethren that the *curia* is on the whole adverse to their cause; that they can count upon very few friends, whilst it will be difficult to add to their number, as long as the agents go about empty-handed.¹ However, they had the good fortune to secure a hearing from the Pope, notwithstanding his infirm state of health, on February 15. After considerable discussion on both sides, in which the archbishop's agent provoked considerable mirth by his Latin solecisms, the question was adjourned till March 2. The Pope, after listening to the statements of both parties, told the agents of the chapter that he did not think they were excommunicated. However, nothing was decided, and the matter was still further adjourned. The sub-prior's letter is despatched after this adjournment, and he shows himself hopeful of ultimate success. But the monks must not be niggardly in supplying them with the sinews of war. They must be prepared even for a lavish outlay, if they are to obtain any tangible results. Everything depends on this; and they significantly add: "We trust that this hint will be sufficient to men of intelligence".²

We now turn to more public affairs, and we find that on Sunday, July 1, of this year (1240), St. Edmund consecrated Hugh of Pateshull, Bishop of Coventry.³ This see had been

¹ *Vacua manu.*

² "Summopere curandum est ut ea quæ causæ ipsæ requirunt, parcitate et similitate exclusis, magnifice impendatis. Vertitur enim in his totius ecclesiæ status et deliberatio. Satis dictum credimus intelligentibus."

³ This great West Midland Diocese is variously termed the See of Coventry, of Lichfield, or of Chester. Matthew Paris calls it by the last appellation.

vacant since the end of 1238. Early in 1239, William de Raleigh, of whom we have often heard, was elected. The reason assigned why the monks of Coventry elected him is characteristic of the times. They elected him because he was the king's clerk ; and they feared that if they elected one who was not in favour at court, their election would be annulled, as it had been in other cases. But William, about the same time, was also elected to the See of Norwich ; and he preferred the security of the East Anglian district to the troublesome proximity of the Welsh borders. A new election was held, which resulted in a double choice : the canons of Lichfield choosing their dean, William of Mancetter, whilst the monks of Coventry chose Nicholas de Farnham. The latter was, according to Pitseus,¹ who gives a sketch of his career, a very eminent physician of his time. He afterwards became Bishop of Durham, and was the recipient of a miraculous favour through the intercession of St. Edmund, which is thus related by Matthew Paris :² In the year 1244, consequently before the saint's canonisation, the bishop was seized with a mortal sickness, and brought to death's door. In this extremity, he made a vow to visit Edmund's tomb at Pontigny, if he were able to accomplish it. In execution of his vow he was carried on a litter by easy stages. But by the time he arrived at the south coast, he was so exhausted that he could travel no further. Now, he had in his service one W. who had been St. Edmund's barber. This good man had thoroughly appreciated his master's qualities, and had religiously preserved certain portions of his hair out of veneration for his memory. Having communicated this fact to the bishop, the latter ordered him to steep the hair in some water, and to give him the water to drink. This was done, and the bishop was immediately restored to perfect health."

The double election at Lichfield and Coventry arose from a misunderstanding. It had been decided at Rome, in 1228, that to prevent similar cross-elections, the bishop should be elected alternately by the monks of Coventry and the canons

¹ Relation. Histor. (Paris, 1619), t. i. p. 312.

² Hist. Maj., iv. 330.

of Lichfield. The misunderstanding, of course, arose from the previous abortive election ; each party claiming the next right of election. The difficulty was solved by both the elected entering a *nolo episcopari*. Finally, at a third election, Hugh de Pateshull was chosen and confirmed by St. Edmund, about Christmas, 1239. His consecration by the archbishop took place at Newark Priory, near Guildford, on July 1, 1240. His episcopate was a very short one, for he died December 8, 1241. Perhaps he killed himself with excessive work, which would not be unlikely if he were a kinsman of Martin of Pateshull, a celebrated jurist of the time, about whom there is an amusing letter.¹ His monument, with a sculptured effigy much mutilated, is on the south side of the choir of Lichfield Cathedral, and is the oldest monument of the kind in the cathedral.

About the same time, there was an election impending to the vacant see of Hereford. On the subject of this election, there is a letter of Bishop Grosseteste to the archbishop,² from which it appears that the abuses against which he had protested and struggled were still rampant. He writes in the year 1240, and says "that it is rumoured that intimidation and bribery are now employed in all episcopal elections. He exhorts Edmund to cope valiantly with the evil, especially with reference to the impending election for Hereford." It will be remembered that Edmund had already consecrated Ralph of Maidstone to that see in the first year of his pontificate. But this prelate resigned at the end of 1239, and entered the order of St. Francis. The monks, having received the royal licence, proceeded to the election. Then commenced the royal intrigues which form the subject of Grosseteste's letter to the archbishop.

¹ R. Lett. Hy. III., cclxxxi. p. 342. The letter is from an itinerant justice to the chief justiciar, and belongs probably to the year 1228. He writes to be excused from going on circuit any longer, as his colleague, Martin de Pateshull, wears him out. "For the said Dan Martin is a strong man, and so much in earnest about his work, and inured to it, that he has worn out all his colleagues with the most grievous toil, especially Dan William de Ralegh and myself. And no wonder, for he begins to work every day at sunrise, and does not finish before night." This indefatigable workman rested from his labours in February, 1229.

² Gross. Lett., lxxxi. p. 264.

Henry was anxious to procure the election of a foreign favourite, Peter de Egeblanka (*i.e.*, Aqua Alba), a Savoyard. Grosseteste suggests that Edmund should write to the chapter, and exhort them to choose without fear or favour, one who was fit for such an office. He ought also, the bishop thinks, to call their attention to King John's charter on the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, and Pope Innocent's confirmation of the same ; as also to the decrees of the Council of Oxford on the same subject. In the same letter, the bishop recommends that after the election, steps should be taken to scrutinise carefully the means by which it was brought about. The letter concludes by applauding the archbishop's indefatigable career, and wishing that he may secure the heavenly prize.¹ He was in truth fast approaching the end of his laborious course.

What steps, if any, the archbishop took, in answer to this appeal, we are not informed. Perhaps, by this time, he thought that his intervention would be futile. At all events, the king's candidate was elected, August 24, by which time Edmund had either left the country, or was certainly on the point of leaving it. The bishop-elect was not consecrated until a month after St. Edmund's death.

Edmund was now convinced that the task which he had unwillingly taken upon himself, and which he had so conscientiously striven to discharge, was a hopeless one. His spirit was broken, and his feeble body, emaciated by austerities, began to give way under the trials to which he was exposed. He had maintained the struggle as long as he saw a hope of being able to discharge his duty ; but now he thought it better to yield to the malice of his adversaries than to be made the butt of interminable law-suits. If he resorted to extreme measures, the legate would annul them. In the words of our biographer, Otho, who wished to be on good terms with the king, when he saw that the royal sentiments were quite averse from the archbishop, and that the latter was surrounded by adversaries on every side, decided to pay court to the majority. Using, therefore, the power which he

¹ " *Applaudentes vestro cursui infatigabili ad bravii comprehensionem.*"

possessed, he annulled the archbishop's acts: absolving those whom he had excommunicated by name, whilst, on the other hand, he struck with anathema or suspension those whom the archbishop had at any time absolved.¹ In quoting these and similar statements from the records of the time with regard to the relations between the legate and the archbishop, we must remember that they are strictly *ex parte* statements, coming, for the most part, from the legate's declared enemies. It must also be borne in mind that, whilst Edmund naturally only regarded the interests of the Church in this country, the legate was in duty bound to consider the welfare of the universal Church and of the common Father of Christendom. If he remained in the country whilst these abuses were being perpetrated and did not correct them, it would seem as if he approved of them.² The difficulties of the archbishop's position and his unhappy relations with the king are graphically described by his contemporary, Robert of Gloucester: "Tho sprong ther gret kontek · betuene Henri ur king & the erchebissop seint Edmund · and nozt vor lute thing. Vor the king tho he adde iwived · & an eir adde al so, He drou to other conseil · than he uas iwoned to do: And of the riztes of holi-churche · and of the gode olde laue, That he adde of is chartre ymad · he him gan with drawe. Seint Edmund pitoſliche · wel ofte him bi souzte, That he withdrawe of is dede · and bet him bi thohte. Ac it was ever the leng the wors · so that atte laste; Seint Edmund him huld stedevast · and amansede³ vaste Alle that holichurche · in suich unrizt brozte; & wende vorth over se · vort the king him bet bithozte, And deide ar he come aze · & ibured uas ek ther. As in zer of grace · twelf hundred & fourti zer." In the Lambeth MS. there are additions to the Life published by Martène, amongst which are certain reasons why St. Edmund left England. The writer says that it was

¹ "Otto vero legatus, placere regi cupiens, postquam vidit cor ipsius regis jam penitus aversum ab ipso archiepiscopo, et undique sibi adversarios multiplicari, multitudini studuit complacere. Auctoritate igitur qua fungebatur, facta archiepiscopi cassavit, et eos quos aliquando archiepiscopus absolverat, anathematis vel suspensionis vinculis innodavit." E., f. 140 vº.

² Higd., Polych., vii. 232.

³ Excommunicated.

objected against him that he was not strict enough in defending Church rights. To which he answers that the Church of Rome, which ought to have supported him, was at that time in such a deplorable plight as not to be able to help itself. Again, the presence of the legate was an obstacle to his efforts. Thirdly, he wrote to the Pope to ask what he was to do; the Pope replied that he should by all means keep on good terms with the king. Fourthly, he acted according to his suffragans' advice.

Again, he says, others objected that Edmund was too parsimonious, and on that account had to leave the kingdom. In answer, he says that the archbishop was burdened with a debt of about 7000 marks,¹ whilst the buildings were in a state of dilapidation; if he had spent more, he could not have met his obligations. Moreover, he considered all he had as the patrimony of the Crucified One, to be expended on the poor and not on the entertainment of the rich or the encouragement of buffoonery.² His resolution to leave was not hastily taken; he had long meditated it in his mind. It had been suggested to him by others, for Bertrand tells us that when some one upbraided him with bearing so tamely the affronts that were put upon him, and that it would be better to resign the archbishopric, he replied: "If I thought more of the rank than I do of the dirt under my feet I would resign it before night, and be glad to do it". When others pitied him for what he had to suffer, he would good-humouredly answer: "As a mother gives a draught of medicine to a sick child; and says, 'Drink this for your health'; so we are willing to drink these bitter draughts of adversity for our soul's health". To those who counselled vindictive measures, he said: "Bear in mind that our Lord did not resist those who put Him to death, but earnestly prayed for them; to God and not to man belongs the power of vengeance. Were they to tear out my eyes, or cut off both my arms, I should not love them the less nor change my countenance towards them. For I wish to avoid sin, and not to make others'

¹ Upwards of £100,000.

² Lamb. MS. 135, f. 136 v^o col. 2. "*Quidquid habuit patrimonium Crucifixi fuit, quod in pauperes non divites vel histriones est expendendum.*"

faults a scandal to myself." He said he would rather walk into a blazing fire than ever commit a sin against God, on whatever plausible pretext.

The leading men of the country took advantage of the impunity which they enjoyed, to trample his rights under their feet, whilst the archbishop did not dare to proceed against them for fear of compromising himself with the king or the Pope, and Edmund instinctively shrank from even the semblance of opposition to either of them. Thus, when in 1239 he, by the advice of his suffragans, excommunicated all transgressors of the liberties granted by Henry and confirmed by the legate, Gualo, he did not include Henry the chief offender. He had even gone so far as to pledge his faith and make himself surety for Henry that he would be faithful to his promises, as the bishops of England reminded the king after the Saint's death. Again, in a particular case of spoliation, from which the Church of Canterbury suffered—when it was robbed of the wardship of the lands of Ralph Fitz-Bernard, a fee of Canterbury—he excommunicated those by whose counsel the king had perpetrated this injustice, but exempted from the operation of this censure the king and queen, his brother, Earl Richard, and Stephen Segrave.¹

The archbishop's position was a most painful one. He was compelled to witness a series of outrages and violations of right and justice ; and was powerless to resist the wrong done or to punish the offenders. As an example we may take the arbitrary imprisonment of Ralph de Britto, a canon of St. Paul's, who was sent to the Tower on the accusation of a perjured informer. It was with the greatest difficulty that the archbishop obtained the canon's release. During this anxious time he still kept the serenity of his soul, and his own troubles did not diminish his solicitude for others. A poor man at this time was cured of fever by drinking water which Edmund had blessed. One of his clerics suffered from a quartan fever ; on the day when he expected his attack he was passing through the hall, where Edmund sat at dinner, who asked him why he was not at dinner with the rest ; he

¹ Ann. Dunstapli., p. 150.

replied that he expected an attack of fever. The Saint said : " I will make the sign of the Cross over this piece of mullet in the dish before me, and I will put it into your mouth in the name of the Holy Trinity ; if you swallow it you will be healed ". He did so joyfully, and sat down to eat with the rest, perfectly well, and never had a subsequent attack. A man of great literary reputation had a bad knee ; when he saw Edmund passing by, he asked him to give his blessing to the sore place. He did so, and the wound was cured instantly.

In the midst of his trials and difficulties, it is quite natural that the archbishop's thoughts should often revert to his martyred predecessor, St. Thomas, and that he should seek in his conduct an example of the course he ought to pursue. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied, an incident occurred which seemed to give a supernatural sanction to the step he contemplated. It is thus related by our biographer : The man of God perceived that the time had come when he must yield to the forces arrayed against him, according to the saying : " When a madman runs amuck, it is better to get out of his way ".¹ He was praying one night with more than his usual earnestness, that the Angel of the Great Council might direct his steps, and inspire him with the resolution of doing that which was best, most befitting, and most conducive to his own spiritual welfare under the present circumstances. In the midst of his prayer, whilst he felt a great reluctance to withdraw from the position in which God had placed him, he heard a voice which seemed to him a revelation from above, instructing him how to act. The voice said : " Trust what is written round the edge of thy small seal, and follow the example of him whose martyrdom is represented in the midst thereof ". The seal in question was one he used for his private affairs, and it bore the inscription : " Ut Edmūdum doceat mors mea, ne timeat ".² In the centre was represented St. Thomas the Martyr, and the soldiers scooping out his brains. Matthew Paris informs us³ that at the bottom of the seal there

¹ " Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori." Ovid, *Rem. Amor.*, l. 119.

² So in Eustace, but the seal itself has no " ut ".

³ *Addit.*, vi. 126.



SEAL OF ST. EDMUND. (Reverse.)



SEAL OF ST. EDMUND. (Obverse.)

was the effigy of a prelate in a posture of supplication, whom St. Thomas is addressing in the words quoted. In the annals of Henry IV.,¹ it is related that a parliament was summoned to meet at Coventry, in 1404, from which all who were connected with the legal profession were rigorously excluded. Hence it is stigmatised as the *Parliamentum illiteratum*. Blackstone says that "Sir Edward Coke (speaking of this parliament) observes with some spleen that there never was a good law made thereat".² Its deliberations do not seem to have had a happy issue. At all events, the primate, Archbishop Arundel, had a very anxious time in resisting the onset which these parliamentary knights made on the franchises and property of the Church. The annalist says that the one object of their deliberations was how to plunder the patrimony of Christ. In the midst of these anxieties the archbishop sought consolation in spiritual reading; and took up by chance the Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury. It must have been the same Life from which we are quoting; for he lighted upon this very passage, which is not found in Bertrand, or in any other writer. The archbishop was struck by the similarity of the trials of the saintly prelate to those which he himself experienced. He read the passage where it is said that Blessed Edmund had had a private seal made for himself, on which was engraved the passion of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, with the inscription round about it: "Edmundum doceat mors mea, ne timeat". Looking on this seal, Edmund saw as in a mirror, continues the annalist, the course he ought to pursue; and that he ought not to fear the threats of perverse men, but should be prepared to endure death itself for justice' sake after the martyr's example. This passage in St. Edmund's Life encouraged Archbishop Arundel wonderfully to suffer any extremity rather than sacrifice the rights of the Church. That St. Edmund should have had such a seal engraved, and bearing such an inscription, evidently shows in what groove his thoughts had been running, and that he had long anticipated that as the difficulties which beset his path were precisely the same as those which St. Thomas

¹ Chron. S. Alb., p. 391.

² Comm., i. 177.

encountered, so it would be necessary for him to follow the example of that illustrious martyr, to imitate his constancy, and to be prepared even to suffer the same fate. But Henry III. was not cursed with his grandfather's ungovernable temper; and so Edmund was spared the tragic consummation which crowned St. Thomas' conflict.

Through the kindness of Dr. Sheppard, the librarian at Canterbury, we are enabled to present our readers with an exact copy of this most interesting seal which still remains attached to several documents in the archives of the cathedral. They are, of course, somewhat defaced, but by taking casts from several specimens we have been enabled to reproduce a facsimile of the seal in its integrity.

One would suppose, from the foregoing narrative, that Edmund was himself the designer of this seal; but the researches of Dr. Sheppard have proved that such is not the case. For, short as was the pontificate of Edmund's immediate predecessor, Richard Grant or Weatherhead (1229-1231), one document, at least, bearing his seal, exists in the archives at Canterbury. It is exactly the same as St. Edmund's, except, of course, that it has the legend, "*Ricardum doceat*," etc. Hence we learn that Edmund, who always had a great devotion to St. Thomas, admired his predecessor's seal so much as to have adopted it for his own, substituting *Edmundum* for *Ricardum* in the legend, and his own effigy for that of his predecessor.

Our Saint was favoured with another vision of the holy martyr, which is not mentioned by our biographer, but is related by Bertrand. St. Thomas appeared to Edmund and exhorted him to act manfully. He strove to kiss the martyr's foot, but St. Thomas prevented him by withdrawing it, whereupon Edmund wept bitterly. St. Thomas said: "Why do you weep?" "Because I am unworthy to touch your foot with my lips." "Do not weep on that account, for the time approaches when you shall kiss me on the mouth."¹

Yet another time he dreamed that he entered the cathedral in order to venerate the relics of St. Thomas. After his

¹ Ap. Martène, Thes., iii. col. 1812.

prayer was done, Thomas appeared to him, and said : " I know, my father, that you want me to show you the wounds on my head". Then he took Edmund's hand into his own and drew it over his head ; and he bowed himself down that Edmund might feel the scars of the wounds. He thought he would put a few questions to the martyr about his adversaries, and asked what would become of them. The martyr replied : " You will deal with them as so many dumb cattle ". He then disappeared.

Though not a martyr, Edmund had to undergo an equivalent martyrdom. For by no other name can we characterise the systematic persecution which compelled him to abandon the office to which God had called him, to discharge the duties of which he had devoted all the energies of his soul. The revelation he had received left him no longer in doubt as to the course he ought to pursue. He determined to follow the path which St. Thomas had taken, step by step, for he recognised in the voice which had addressed him the utterance of his martyred predecessor, giving him at once counsel and consolation. He had been all his life a devout client of the holy martyr, often invoking his aid in all his troubles ; but, henceforth, he redoubled his devout and fervent invocations, being assured that as Thomas had by his glorious passion exchanged the cares and troubles of this life for an eternal crown of glory, so might he himself, by manly endurance of worldly trials, take his flight under the martyr's guidance, to the God of all consolation. This thought gave him inexpressible comfort. He became a changed man. His countenance was no longer clouded and anxious, but gay and cheerful, for his heart was relieved of a load of anxiety, hesitation and doubt. Now, whenever any troublesome question arose, or when legal advocates came to embarrass him with their chicanery, he would clasp his hands together, and lifting his eyes to heaven, would pray with fervour : " O Lord Jesus, who in Thy prayer didst say : ' Father, not My will, but Thine be done ' ; such also be my form of prayer : not as I will, but as Thou wilt, let it be done ; as providence shall decree, so let it happen. God grant that my Church may obtain its rights, and let others, though they be our

adversaries, enjoy what belongs to them in peace and security."

Whenever he heard that his adversaries had won their case against him, a thing which often happened, as Otho, the legate, with almost papal power,¹ threw all his influence in the scale against him; he was not in the least moved in consequence; he never uttered any harsh words, nor was his countenance changed, but like the patriarch Job, he would say: "As it hath pleased the Lord, so hath it been done. Blessed be the name of the Lord. Men learned in the law have come to this decision after due deliberation. We must suppose that so many and such learned men could not have been mistaken nor deceived."

But, in spite of his resignation, or rather, in consequence of it, his troubles went on increasing. For his patience only emboldened his enemies to persecute him the more. Then he bethought him of the Gospel maxim: If they persecute you in one city, flee to another. Since he was hindered from exercising his pastoral office according to the dictates of his conscience, he formed the resolution of imitating the example of St. Thomas, by retiring from the country.

¹ "Legatus, immo, alter papa."



SHRINE OF ST. EDMUND, PONTIGNY.

From "The History of St. Edmund's College." By kind permission of the Very Rev. Bernard Ward.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FLIGHT TO PONTIGNY.

Lodged in the abbey, where the reverend abbot,
With all his convent, honourably received him,
To whom he gave these words, "O father abbot,
An old man, broken with the storms of state,
Is come to lay his weary bones among ye ;
Give him a little earth for charity".

—Shaksp., Hy. VIII., act iv. sc. 2.

STRANGE to say, the date of Edmund's final departure from his native land is not given by any (except one) of the numerous authors who have written about him. The one exception is the Osney chronicler, who says he left England about the Feast of All Saints, which can hardly be correct. All (ancient writers) agree that he died on November 16, 1240. Hence, if he left only in November, we should have to crowd into the short space of less than a fortnight, not only the last sickness at Soisy, but all that Edmund is related to have said and done at Pontigny, which is hardly possible. Besides, it is distinctly stated by the biographers, who were with him at the time, that he suffered much from the intense heat at Pontigny, and was recommended in consequence to try the more bracing air of Soisy. He must, therefore, have been at Pontigny before the month of November. And yet, not more than a month or two at the most. For, as we have seen, he consecrated the Bishop of Coventry on July 1 ; but Wykes says this took place "long before he crossed the sea";¹ whilst Matthew Paris affirms that his stay at Pontigny was only "for some days".² But we are able to limit the time of his departure still more closely, by the fact that, before he left the country, he consecrated Howel Bishop of St.

¹ "Diu ante transfretavit."

² "Per aliquot dies."

Asaph. The precise date of this consecration is nowhere given, but we know it must have been much later than July 25, for, on that day, Howel's predecessor, Hugh, witnessed a charter granted by Llewellyn to the abbey of Basingwerk (Flintshire). Hence we must allow sufficient time, after July 25, for the death¹ or resignation of Hugh, and for the election of his successor, before he could be consecrated by Edmund. This would certainly bring us to September. On the other hand, on September 30, Albert was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, at Westminster, by the Bishop of Worcester. As Albert was Edmund's intimate friend, it is not likely that he would have failed to exercise his right of performing the consecration if he had been in the country at the time. Hence, we are almost necessarily led to fix the latter part of September as the time when St. Edmund left these shores, never to return. If it be objected that the heat could not have been excessive so late in the season, we would remark that, on interrogating a person who took part in the pilgrimage to Pontigny in September, 1874, with the view of eliciting some details, we found that the pilgrim's most vivid recollection was the intense heat which prevailed at Pontigny at that time.

To return now to St. Edmund, whom we left at the end of the last chapter, bent on the thought of imitating the example of his predecessor, St. Thomas. The time, then, was now arrived when he felt it was no longer possible to support the intolerable burden of the episcopal charge, deprived as he was of the means of fulfilling it conscientiously. His exchequer was quite exhausted; the rights and privileges of his Church were trampled under foot with impunity; if he complained to the king, he only received evasive replies; if he appealed to the legate, that prelate only made light of his scruples, and reversed his decisions so that his power of action was crippled on every side. So, after taking counsel with a few who shared his confidence, he made preparations to leave the country secretly; so, at least, says our biographer, but Matthew Paris affirms that the archbishop first sought an interview with the

¹ The date of his death is nowhere given.

king, to bid him farewell, and as he was leaving the royal presence, he said with tears in his eyes: "You will never see my face again".¹ The discrepancy is explained by the Gervase Chronicle, from which it appears that Edmund did intimate his approaching departure to the king, but without waiting for his full and formal consent, left the country secretly.² It seems, however, that before leaving, Edmund paid a visit to the south coast. For Bertrand tells us that "some one" to whom he had communicated his purpose asked him if he was going to Pontigny; he replied: "We will go to Pontigny, and there, if it please God, we will work all manner of good". But from the Lambeth copy of the same work, we learn that "some one" was the Prior of Lewes,³ for we there read that on his departure from England he secretly imparted the cause of his retirement to the Prior and Sub-prior of Lewes, who then put the question and elicited the reply given above.⁴ Whilst in this neighbourhood, he administered, for the last time, episcopal consecration to Howel ap Ednevet, Bishop-elect of St. Asaph. It has already been stated that the precise date of this consecration cannot be fixed. It is not mentioned by any writer of the period; and our only authority is the customary cautionary letter of "alibi," in the archives of Canterbury. In fact, the new edition of Le Neve⁵ calls in question the consecration itself, ascribing two fatal errors to the document: first, that it gives as the date of the consecration 1242, when Edmund was dead; and, secondly, it asserts that Howel was consecrated along with Bishop Grosseteste. It is, moreover, stated that Howel's predecessor, Hugh, was alive in 1241, for on August 29 of that year, after Edmund's death, he became surety for David, Prince of Wales. It would be difficult to accumulate more errors in an equal amount of space. For the "Cautio," which we have inspected, and will be found in our appendix,⁶ bears

¹ Hist. Angl., ii. p. 435.

² "Et tandem non ad plenum Domini Regis petita licentia . . . navem conscendit." Gervas. Cantuar., vol. ii. p. 179.

³ Belonging to the Cluniac congregation.

⁴ Lamb. MS. 135, f. 132 r^o col. 1. Cf. Vitell., c. xii., f. 289 r^o col. 1.

⁵ Ed. Hardy, vol. i. p. 66.

⁶ Appendix xxii.

no date at all, nor is it stated that Howel was consecrated along with Bishop Grosseteste; the writer has evidently confounded the "Cautio" of Bishop Howel with that of Bishop Hugh, who was consecrated along with Bishop Grosseteste; both bishops being described in their respective letters by the simple initial H. Finally, it was not Bishop Hugh, but Bishop Howel, who became surety for Prince David, on August 29, 1241. See the account in Matthew Paris,¹ where it is stated that the bishop's father, Ednevet Vaughan, also entered into the same recognisances.

The consecration took place at Boxgrave Priory, near Chichester.² We have no further particulars regarding it. It must have been a hurried and furtive function, and performed by the archbishop, staff in hand, something like the first Pasch of the Israelites, on the night when they fled out of Egypt.

When Edmund left London for the last time on his way to the coast, we are told by the Lanercost chronicler that on reaching the top of a hill,³ near London, he turned round towards the province which he was deserting, and, lifting up his consecrated hand, gave his blessing to his beloved country; and at the same time pronounced a malediction on the faithless Countess Eleanor and her offspring, if she should have any.⁴ Certainly, adds the chronicler, if she should have any children they are not likely to prosper.⁵

Dean Hook lifts up his hands with pious horror and hopes that this story of Edmund's curse is not true.⁶ We will

¹ Hist. Maj., iv. p. 321.¹

² A small alien Benedictine priory, subject to the Abbey of L'Essay in Normandy, founded in the time of Henry I., by Robert de Haya, who, in the registry of the priory, is styled a kinsman of the king. F. Gasquet, in his Henry VIII., etc. (vol. ii. p. 29), mentions that at the Dissolution, Lord de la Ware sent a petition to Cromwell on behalf of Boxgrave, "that it might be spared, as many of his ancestors and his wife's mother lie there". The parish church is under the roof of the church of the monastery, and there, he adds, "I have made a poor chapel to be buried in".

³ Probably the rising ground of Blackheath.

⁴ She afterwards gave birth to five sons and one daughter.

⁵ Lanerc. Chron., p. 39.

⁶ Vol. iii. p. 215.

therefore relate what fate befel this ill-starred family ; from which our readers will be able to judge what the dean's protest is worth. After the Civil War, in which her husband and one of her sons perished, the Countess Eleanor was stripped of her property, and retired to France ; her estates were subsequently restored to her, but she died a year after, in 1274. Her eldest son, Henry, fell along with his father in the battle of Evesham, 1265. Simon, the second son, and Guy, the third (who was taken prisoner in the same battle), abjured the realm and went abroad ; in 1271, being at Viterbo, they foully assassinated their cousin, Henry of Almaine, whilst he was praying after receiving holy communion in the church of St. Blaise. When the murderers issued from the church Guy told a friend what he had done, saying : " I have taken my revenge ". " Aye," said his friend, " but your father was trailed." Guy immediately returned to the church, seized the body by the hair of the head and trailed it through the aisle, leaving it bleeding in the street.¹

For this crime Dante has placed Guy in the "Inferno".² In the third line the poet alludes to Westminster Abbey, where Henry's heart was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel.³ The body was buried at Hayles Abbey in Gloucestershire, founded by the Earl of Cornwall.

Both the murderers were excommunicated by the cardinals then assembled at Viterbo for the election of a successor to Clement IV.,⁴ and Simon died soon after. Guy, after many adventures, was captured at sea by a vassal of the King of Aragon in 1287 ; he was consigned to a dungeon, and never more heard of.

Richard, the fourth son, went to live with his mother and died in exile. Aimery, the fifth, supposed to have been an

¹ Note in Longfellow's Dante.

² Cant. xii. 118.

" Mostrocci un'ombra dall'un canto sola,
Dicendo : ' Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cuor che'n su'l Tamigi ancor si cola '."

³ Stanley Memorials, c. iii. p. 140.

⁴ It was at this conclave that St. Philip Benizi had such a narrow escape from being elected Pope.

accomplice in his cousin's murder, fell into the hands of Edward I.; and, after a long imprisonment, was released through the Pope's intervention and retired to Rome. Eleanor, the only daughter, also suffered imprisonment, but was at length released, and married Llewellyn in 1278. Thus the name of the great De Montfort disappears from history in shame and infamy.

Most of the manuscripts represent our Saint as embarking from the Isle of Thanet; whilst one MS.¹ specifies Sandwich as the port of embarkation.

Hence Dean Hook is certainly wrong in stating that he embarked from the coast of Sussex. The exact spot however is designated by the Canterbury Chronicle and the Polistorie as a place called "Greistaneshende," between Dover and Sandwich. The spot cannot be identified now under that name; but it may probably be sought not far south of Sandwich, and perhaps derived its name from its having formed the termination of one of the paved Roman roads which led through Canterbury to the coast.²

Both the Chronicle and the Polistorie state that Edmund when he left the country was exceedingly ill.³ Hence we may suppose that the malady which carried him off had already laid fatal hold upon him. Whilst he was crossing the channel, as he gazed intently on the fast-receding shore of England, he wept bitterly, being convinced that he should never see it again; he, moreover, began to conjure up in his mind what many and great misfortunes were in store for it, and how the Church would be reduced to a state of servitude.⁴ With fervent prayers he committed himself and the interests of his Church to God, to the ever-glorious Virgin Mother, and to St. Thomas, his predecessor and guide. He was accompanied by very few attendants, so much had his resources

¹ Bib. Reg. 2, D. vi.

² There is a place called *Stoner* close to Sandwich near the ample estuary which in St. Edmund's time ran far up into the land, but which is now cultivated fields. St. Thomas, after his flight from the Council of Northampton in 1164, embarked at Sandwich in a small wherry.

³ "De grevouse maladie empris." Polist., f. 208 r^o col. 2.

⁴ M. Paris, Hist. Ang., iii. p. 280.

been reduced ; but amongst them were some Dominican friars, in whose society he always delighted.¹

He landed on the French coast at Gravelines.²

The resolution he had formed to follow the footsteps of St. Thomas led him to seek a refuge in the monastery of Pontigny, where that illustrious martyr had found an asylum when persecuted by Henry II. It was a Cistercian abbey, and its intimate connection with three such luminaries of the English Church as St. Thomas, Stephen Langton, and St. Edmund demands a brief account of its origin and history up to this period. We cannot do better than borrow our description from one who is well competent to speak on the subject—P. Massé, author of the French Life of St. Edmund, and himself a member of the religious community at Pontigny called the Edmundian Fathers.³ The abbey was founded in 1114 by St. Stephen Harding, from Cîteaux,⁴ who placed at the head of the new colony Hugh of Macon, a friend of St. Bernard. The new monastery, though humble in its beginnings, soon changed the face of the country. The surrounding district was brought under cultivation ; the rural population felt the humanising influences which were brought to bear upon them. Pontigny became a centre of light and culture, and a school of piety ; so as to convert the district into a paradise such as Stephen Langton depicts it in his rapturous description. The little river Serain, bordered with osiers, laved the abbey walls ; whilst all around umbrageous forests of oak and birch guarded the silence and solitude of the retreat. The church (we follow the description of P. Massé)⁵ was commenced about 1150, and it exists now in the same state as when it was first built ; it is in fact the only Cistercian church which has escaped the ravages of time and

¹ "Fratres Prædicatores multum in comitiva habebat." It was from one of these Dominican friars, then far advanced in years, that Nicholas Trivet obtained the details which he has furnished in his annals about our Saint.

² "Apud Graveninges cum multa applicuit infirmitate." Gervas. Cant., ii. 179.

³ *Vie de S. Edme.*, ch. xiv.

⁴ It was the second of the first four daughters of Cîteaux ; the others being La Ferté, Morimond, and Clairvaux.

⁵ *Vie de S. Edme.*, p. 395.

the hand of the destroyer. As such it is an interesting example of their style of architecture: its characteristic features being unity of plan and severe simplicity in execution. The attention is not distracted by a multiplicity of details as in so many of our Gothic cathedrals, but the eye takes in at once the colossal grandeur of its proportions. "*La simplicité, la pureté des lignes, la gravité du style architectural, ont produit du grand, du beau, du solennel dans leur rencontre, l'ogive s'allie au plein-cintre roman: c'est le style ogival primitif.*"¹ Twenty-four chapels radiate in the form of a crown around the apsidal choir. The lancet windows furnish but a "dim religious light"—a fit place for contemplation to one of Edmund's disposition. Such a peaceful asylum must have been welcome indeed to those who sought refuge there from the storms of life,—welcome above all to Thomas a Becket and to Stephen Langton, whom tyrannical sovereigns forced to exile themselves from their native land.² Now it opens its hospitable doors a third time to receive another persecuted Archbishop of Canterbury. What a relief it must have been to them to exchange the menaces of an irate monarch, the insults of rude nobles, the chicanery of legal processes, for the solemn chant of the Divine offices; to exchange the harassing cares of an office hampered on all sides by difficulties for the quiet and regular routine of monastic observance; where all are united together by one fraternal bond of charity, to help each other in the accomplishment of their great aim, the greater glory of God and their own sanctification.

St. Edmund had never, as far as we know, visited Pontigny before; though he was no stranger to the fair realm of France, having spent, as we have seen, several years of his

¹ Chaillon des Barres, quoted by P. Massé.

² Archbishop Langton is said to have expressed his grateful acknowledgments by the following verses:—

"Est Pontiniacum pons exulis, hortus, asylum:
Hic graditur, spatiatur in hoc, requiescit in illo".

St. Thomas stayed two years at Pontigny, from 1164 to 1166; Stephen Langton was there for five years, from 1208 to 1213, that is, during the greater part of the time when England lay under interdict. Other bishops joined him there; and the Bishop of Worcester was buried there.

happy youth in the schools of Paris. But Pontigny was not a stranger to his thoughts. Long before his self-inflicted exile, his mind had travelled in that direction, and we find him in 1238 confirming and adding to a grant made to the abbey by Archbishop Langton, out of the tithes of the church of Rumenal¹ which belonged to the See of Canterbury, for he increased the annual stipend from fifty to sixty marks.² This grant was subsequently, out of reverence for the Saint, held so sacred that it continued to be paid even during the wars between England and France, and down to the change of religion in the sixteenth century. His devotion to St. Thomas naturally led him to single this monastery out as the most suitable asylum in which he might take shelter, and spend his time in peaceful seclusion, in prayer and contemplation, until better days returned to him and to the kingdom of England, and he himself was somewhat relieved of the burden of debt with which he was overwhelmed. Such are the reasons which our biographer assigns for the choice of his place of exile; and yet the writer of the *Polistorie*,³ makes the singular statement that Edmund was on his way to the Court of Rome, when he was seized with his last sickness. But as no vestige of such a statement is to be found, we believe, in any other writer, we can only treat it as an aberration.

On his way to Pontigny, he was met by Blanche, the queen-mother, with her children, who, having heard of his arrival in France, hastened as far as Senlis to meet him, and do honour to the illustrious fugitive. This pious tribute of reverence and affection must have been doubly grateful to his feelings after the contempt and outrage which he had endured at home, where he had been neglected by the king, flouted by the legate, insulted by the barons, and vilified by those

¹ Probably Old Romney, one and three quarter miles W. by N. from New Romney, to the church of which there was attached a cell dependent on the Abbey of Pontigny.

² Archbishop Boniface subsequently in 1264 conferred the whole benefice on the abbey.

³ "Ces jurneyes de poy en poy continuant devers la Curt de Rome sun chemin prist." F. 208 r^o col. 2.

whom he sought to reclaim. His interview with Blanche was a long and sympathetic one, for she rightly appreciated his sanctity and learning. She caused her sons to be brought into his presence, and commending herself and them to his prayers, humbly besought his blessing upon them. She also earnestly entreated him with clasped hands to pray unceasingly and fervently for the welfare of the French nation, and for the safety of the king, which he with all sincerity promised to do. Nor can we doubt, says Eustace, that he fulfilled his promise, and we can well understand the writer's confidence that it was owing to Edmund's blessing and prayers that the king subsequently recovered from the desperate malady which threatened his life; in fact, according to some, his life had already ebbed away, when he was miraculously restored to life and health. To the same cause he attributes the unparalleled career of honour and prosperity which attended the king subsequently through his victories in the field, and the able administration of his kingdom.¹

The queen, who estimated his supernatural gifts at their true value, begged of him to take up his abode in the kingdom of France, wheresoever he might choose to stay, and promised him, on the part of the young king, a safe and peaceful and honourable asylum, where he would be entertained at the royal expense. The young king (now known as St. Louis IX.) and his brothers joined their petitions to their mother's. But St. Edmund had already formed his resolution to follow the footsteps of his predecessor, and declined to choose any other asylum than Pontigny.

He thanked Queen Blanche for her proffered hospitality, but requested permission to retire to Pontigny, which was accordingly granted him; and taking affectionate leave of the royal family, he hastened to the much-desired goal of his pilgrimage.

Arrived there, he was received with the utmost respect and ceremony befitting his sacred dignity. Though it was his wish to live with the community as one of themselves, yet they would not hear of such a thing at first, and assigned him

¹ E., f. 142 vº.

a commodious house suitably provided with apartments, where he could stay with privacy and comfort.¹ His reluctance to accept this indulgence was overcome by the assurance of the monks that the house had been consecrated by the residence therein of his martyred predecessor. When he learned this fact he accepted the offer with gratitude, and even with joy. When once he was installed in his new abode, he abandoned himself without reserve to the unwonted luxury of a life of prayer, recollection, and contemplation, undisturbed by external solitudes. Still he did not forget the cause of his exile, nor the Church which he had abandoned. For he was frequently heard to sigh, and to give utterance to such expressions as these: "How much better would it be for me to die than to witness the woes of my people, and the way God's Church is oppressed. Woe is me that my sojourn is prolonged upon the earth. Long enough and too long have I watched everything hurrying headlong to ruin. My Lord and my God, take my soul to Thyself." Then with sighs and tears, he would pour forth his prayers for the suffering Church in England, and earnestly invoked the intercession of the holy martyr, St. Thomas.

Nor would he altogether intermit the discharge of the duties of the pastoral office; for he was always ready, and even eager to hear confessions, to preach the word of God, and to practise every other good work which might contribute to the salvation of souls. The good result of his zeal and charity soon made itself apparent throughout the whole district. Thus, on one occasion, he was preaching at Legny,² when a woman brought to him her sick daughter to be cured. Edmund said to her with a smile: "Do you believe, without any hesitation, that your daughter can be cured by my touch?" She said: "I do, my lord". Then he made the sign of the Cross on the girl's brow, clasped her head with his hands, drawing them down her cheeks, saying: "The Lord give thee health"; and she went away perfectly cured of her complaint. Jaspar, we know not on what authority, mentions,

¹ "Cum cameris honestis et arcanis." E.

² Half a league from Pontigny.

besides Legny, the adjacent villages of Venouze and Montigny-le-Roy, as having been evangelised by our Saint.

The good simple monks wondered much to see such devotion in one whose whole life had been spent in the world. When they found that he restricted his diet habitually to the proportions of Lenten fare, they remonstrated with him, and said : " Holy father, Blessed Bernard of Clairvaux has said : ' Bridle the body, but do not destroy it ; control it, but do not oppress it '. Whilst Holy Scripture exhorts us : ' Let your service be reasonable ' ¹ Consider also the well-known maxim : ' A beast of burden (that is to say, our body) must be provided with a load and with a whip, but also with some provender '." Yielding somewhat to their remonstrances, the archbishop in some respects mitigated the rigour of his austerities, but by no means to the extent they wished. Such austerity on his part put these cowed monks to the blush, although they followed the strict Cistercian rule, when they compared their pusillanimity and tepidity with his heroic penance and fervour.

Not content with his holy example, the community wished to hear some words of instruction from his lips. Accordingly, at their urgent request, he one day entered the chapter-room where they were assembled, and delivered a discourse which, whilst it enlightened their minds with heavenly wisdom, moved their hearts also with holy aspirations. The discourse was at once argumentative and full of unction. It was delivered with all the elegant terseness of the Latin tongue, combined with the vivacity of French expression. Our biographer gives a summary of this sermon, which we now reproduce.

¹ Rom. xii. 1.

CHAPTER XXV.

SERMON AT PONTIGNY—SPECULUM ECCLESIAE—CONFESSION OF ST. EDMUND.

*Edmund's Sermon to the Monks at Pontigny.*¹

"HE who is of God hears the words of God."

But all are from God, therefore they all hear, which is not true. You must know then that one thing proceeds from another, as from an efficient cause ; and in this sense, all things are from God. Again, one thing proceeds from another, as from a material cause ; in this sense, nothing is from God, for God is not the material of which anything is made. Thirdly, one thing is from another as its formal cause, as the form of the wax is from the seal ; in this sense, only the good are from God, because He informs them with His grace and with virtues.

They hear the word of God ; namely, the seven words on the Cross, which are like the sound of the seven strings on the harp of the mighty David. Now, in a harp, the strings are stretched from one board to another. And so our Lord was stretched on the two beams of the Cross ; that is, the stem and the transverse bar. Sevenfold too are the gifts of the Holy Spirit ; to wit, the gift of fear, piety, knowledge, fortitude, counsel, understanding, and wisdom.

The first string uttered this melody : "Eli lama sabac-thani," which means, "My God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" That strain inspires us with fear, for if our Lord saw Himself abandoned by His Father, much more might we and ought we to dread lest we should be forsaken by Him. The Jews broke this string when, casting away fear, they cried out : "We have no King but Cæsar"—as much as to say : "We fear no one except the emperor".

¹ For the Latin text of the sermon, see MS. Life, f. 155 r^o.

The second string is that of piety : " Father, forgive **them**, for they know not what they do". The Jews broke this **string** when they cried out : " Crucify Him ". This was cruelty.

The third string rendered a note of knowledge : "**Behold thy Son!**" Our Lord knew St. John to be a virgin. **Therefore** He entrusted a virgin to a virgin. This string the **Jews** broke when they said : " Who is he who struck Thee? " as much as to say : " He does not know ".

The fourth string utters a note of strength ; to wit, " **To-day thou shalt be with Me in paradise**". Here is matter for fortitude—a promise which inspires confidence. The Jews broke this string when they said : " Himself He cannot save " ; as much as to say : " He is powerless ".

The fifth string gave a note of counsel : " I thirst ". For counsel comes to one's aid in adversity ; and our Lord wished for some help on that occasion. But they offered Him vinegar, drugged wine or poison, a corrupt and noxious beverage, all which things are unpalatable. An unwise or an uncouth man is one who has no discrimination. This string was broken by the Jews, who are a race without counsel ; since they lost their country and ruined themselves by crucifying Jesus. This punishment was inflicted by Titus and Vespasian.

The sixth string gave a note of understanding, when He said : " It is consummated " ; as much as to say : " The Scripture is fulfilled, and the understanding of the sacred text laid open ". This string was broken by the Jews in expecting the Messiah (after He was come). Heretics do the same by interpreting the Scriptures wrongly ; and Christians do the same by a wicked life.

The seventh string gave a note of wisdom : " Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit ". *Sapientia* (wisdom) is derived from *sapere* (to relish). It appertains to the tongue in respect of two of its natural functions, namely, taste and speech. The Jews broke this string by not being able to distinguish between God and man ; by being ignorant, and wilfully ignorant, of the Word of the Father ; that is to say, the Son. They could not relish Him. They confused all things together like the foolish creatures they were. Now,

the highest kind of relish, and the most delicious taste of all, is to converse with God. "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet."¹ Moreover, the foolish people broke this string by saying, in their madness: "He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God"; imputing to Him that He represented Himself to be what He was not.

Would that proud man would take note of the strain of fear; for fear humbles a man and calls back the mind to itself. Would that the envious would pay attention to the note of piety; for piety rejoices in another's welfare, whilst the envious repines. Would that the passionate would pay attention to the strain of knowledge; for anger hardens the soul, and prevents it from knowing the truth, whilst knowledge illuminates, it gives time and opportunity for deliberation, and shows us what ought to be done. Would that the slothful would pay attention to the strain of fortitude; for sloth is spiritual wearisomeness; when a man grows weary of study and prayer, weary in fact of his life; it comes from cowardice of spirit. Would that the avaricious would pay attention to the strain of counsel; for the wisest counsel is this: "If a man wishes to obtain mercy, he must first bestow it upon the needy; whilst the avaricious do not practise the works of mercy, which are, to feed the hungry," etc. Would that the intemperate would hear the note of understanding; for wine and drunkenness take away the heart, that is, the understanding; whilst sobriety is health of soul and body.² Would that the lascivious would hear the note of wisdom, and be sensible of the flavour, and sweetness, and delight that are in spiritual things, instead of relishing the rankness of the dung-heap. As the prophet Joel says: "They rotted like cattle in their own filth".³

Saul listened to David's harp and he grew better. Would that we might hear that harp, and so be relieved of the grievous burden, and burdensome grievance of our sins.

God grant that we may be of God, and hear the words of God, that so we may reign together with Him, who liveth, etc.

¹ Ps. xxxiii. 9.

² Eccli. xxxi. 37.

³ Joel i. 17.

Speculum Ecclesiæ.

This treatise is the only literary composition of St. Edmund which has come down to us. We are not informed at what period of his life he wrote it. But it was not published until his exile at Pontigny, when he dedicated it to the monks of that community. Hence this is the most suitable place in which we may give some account of the work.

It is evidently intended to supply the faithful with what would now be called a catechism of Christian doctrine.¹ That is to say, it is a summary which sets forth the chief articles of faith on the end of man, our duties towards God, towards our neighbour, and towards ourselves, on virtues and vices, on the commandments, on the sacraments, on prayer and the Divine office, on contemplation.

The treatise may be found in Bigne's *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xxv. pp. 316 *et seq.*; where it is thus entitled: "Treatise of St. Edmund, theologian of Paris and Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to the Cistercian monks of the monastery of Pontigny, and called '*Speculum Ecclesiæ*,' extremely useful and necessary to all Christians".

It begins thus: "In the name of our most sweet Lord Jesus Christ, here begin the chapters of the following Book, composed in a simple style whereby one is warned not to wish to know too much, and never to lose sight of interior holiness".

Those who wish to have some idea of the contents of this treatise will find a summary of them in the appendix.² Here we will content ourselves with calling our reader's attention to a few salient points. Two things strike us in perusing this treatise—the precision, clearness and accuracy of its doctrinal exposition, and the depth and tenderness of devotional feeling which pervade it. For the first Edmund was indebted to his early training in the scholastic method and discipline at the schools of Paris; and this treatise alone is sufficient to justify the high estimation in which he was held by his countrymen

¹ In one MS. copy it is entitled "*Summa sancti Edmundi*".

² App. xxiii.

for his proficiency in theological science and skill in doctrinal exposition. We see there the subtle analysis, the systematisation of doctrine, the correlation of facts and principles characteristic of the scholastic method carried out to its highest perfection ; nevertheless, through all the restraints of this scientific formalism, there wells forth from the depths of his great soul and tender heart a gushing fountain of devotion which fills the soul with an ineffable unction, and helps one to understand how it was that his scholars used to lay down their books and dissolve in tears as they listened to his lectures. For this well-spring of devotion he was indebted to his life-long gift of contemplation. From the time when he wandered, as a boy, through the meadows of Oxford, until these days of his exile, he had acted on the practical conviction of the truth which is laid down in the third chapter : that "every moment is lost which is not given to the thought of God". No wonder, therefore, that the learned Carmelite, Honoratus a S. Maria, in his treatise on the methods of contemplation as taught by the fathers, gives such a high place to our Saint amongst the masters of the spiritual life, and guides to the giddy heights of Divine contemplation. He says¹ that our Saint "applied himself from his youth to the contemplation of the eternal truths, and was one of the brightest ornaments of the University of Paris. He united in himself, a rare concurrence, the science of the heart with that of the school, mystic with speculative theology ; and so, allowing the light of the intellect to penetrate his heart, he became a perfect mystic theologian who has illuminated the Church no less by the sanctity of his life than by that admirable treatise of spirituality, which is entitled '*Speculum Ecclesiæ*,' in which one finds many excellent things concerning contemplation."

There are two manuscript copies of this work in St. John's College, Cambridge : MS. E, 24, 3, and MS. G, 11, 4, bearing the introduction : "*Iste liber est qui docet vivere perfecte et est nominatus speculum sancti Eadmundi Conf. In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi ; hic incipiunt materie que sunt*

¹ Tradit. des Pères, t. i. p. 48.

tacte in sermonibus eruditis sequentibus dictatis ad vitandam curiositatem," etc.

There is also in the Bodleian, MS. Digby, 20, a French version of this work, which contains several passages that are not found in Bigne's edition. In the appendix we shall take note of some of these additions. This treatise is, as the prologue asserts, eminently useful to all Christians; it is especially useful to pastors of souls by supplying them with an ample store of doctrinal and devotional matter for the pulpit, for catechetical instruction, for the confessional, and for the guidance of souls in the way of perfection.

The first chapter is addressed to religious, a thought which would naturally be suggested by the fact that he was dedicating the work to the monks of Pontigny. But he would also no doubt be influenced by that which had been his great preoccupation during his whole episcopate—the restoration of the monastic state to its pristine observance and fervour. Hence he quotes the momentous maxim, that as a call to the religious life is a call to the height of perfection; to deviate from that standard is to tend towards the abyss of damnation.

(Ch. 2.) Next he considers in what perfection consists, namely, in the proper discharge of our duties towards God, our neighbour, and ourselves. Our duty towards God is to do His will, and His will is our sanctification.

(Ch. 3.) Holiness springs from knowledge of the truth and the love of goodness. This knowledge includes self-knowledge, what we are, have been, and shall be, as to body and soul. Now, in speaking of the imperfections of the soul, he makes the remark that every moment that is not given to the thought of God is a moment lost.

(Ch. 4.) The second source of holiness is love, with which we are inspired by the thought of God's benefits; after recounting which he breaks forth into that tender apostrophe: "All these and many other favours does thy sweet Spouse, Jesus, bestow upon thee".

(Ch. 5.) In gratitude for all these favours we ought to think of God and speak of Him always, day and night. When we awake in the morning, we should think how many have perished during the night, as to body and soul, whilst we

have been spared. He then gives specimens of prayers which may be used with advantage, thus : " O Lord Jesus Christ, I give Thee thanks, who hast watched over me, proved and visited me, Thy unworthy servant N., and hast brought me safe, sound, and harmless to this present hour. I thank Thee for this and for all Thy other benefits, which of Thy sole goodness Thou hast bestowed upon me, Thou who bringest me from the day's beginning even to its close, who livest," etc.

Another general prayer for friends and enemies, for the living and the dead, for all one's kinsfolk and for oneself : " Into Thy Hands, O Lord, and those of Thy holy angels, I commend this day (or night) my soul and body, my parents, brothers, sisters, friends, enemies, acquaintances, kinsfolk, and benefactors, and all Catholic people. Keep us O Lord, this day (or night), through the merits and intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints, from all vices, lusts, sins, and temptations of the devil, from sudden and unprovided death, and from the pains of hell. Enlighten my heart with the Holy Spirit, and with Thy grace, and make me always obey Thy commandments, and let me not be forever separated from Thee, who with the Father," etc.

(Ch. 6.) There are three ways of contemplating God : (1) in the creature, (2) in Scripture, (3) in Himself. The first way of contemplation exhibits to us the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in created things. These things ought to help us to lift up our hearts to God. How many, on the contrary, abuse the creatures of God in order to offend Him ! Say, therefore, to Him : " Because Thou art, therefore are they ; because Thou art fair, therefore are they fair ; because Thou art good, they are good. Justly, therefore, do all Thy creatures praise Thee, adore Thee, glorify Thee, O Blessed Trinity."

(Ch. 7.) The second way of contemplating God is in Holy Scripture. If the Scripture is above our comprehension, we can always make it serve to our edification, by inspiring us with a hatred of sin, a love of virtue, the fear of punishment, the desire of eternal glory, the contempt of this world, the thought of what we must do, and what we must give up in

order to prepare us better for the next life. Then follows a summary of the chief moral and dogmatic truths which are contained in the revealed Word of God. These are explained in the next eleven chapters.

(Ch. 8.) The seven deadly sins, which are the same as in our catechism, except that the sin of sloth he terms sadness, despondency or recklessness, a literal rendering of the theological term (*acedia*), which signifies the not caring for one's salvation, or for the means towards it.

(Ch. 9.) The seven evangelical virtues. These correspond to our eight beatitudes, with the omission of the last one. They are the remedies against the seven deadly sins.

(Ch. 10.) The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, as in our catechism. At the end of this chapter there is another effusion of his devout spirit: "See, now, how prompt and solicitous is our Lord Jesus Christ, to provide everything for our soul's health".

(Ch. 11.) The ten commandments. We adore God by a right faith, we serve Him by good works. The first precept regulates our duties to God the Father; the second, our duties to God the Son, for He is the Truth; the third, our duties to God the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier. Under the third commandment, he shows his pastoral solicitude, by telling his flock how they ought to spend Sundays and holy days: "I will tell you, my man, how you ought to keep these days holy. If you are well, rise from bed, and do not go on lounging on account of the cold, or of sleepiness. For the more irksome it is to rise, the more merit you will have. Then go to church and say matins devoutly; then hear mass and recite the other 'hours' without chattering to anybody.¹ If there is a sermon, listen attentively to the Word of God; commit it to memory and fulfil it in work. When you come home to dinner, be mindful of the poor. After dinner, do not go to taverns or athletic sports, or dances, or other vain amusements, for they often lead to accidents and grievous

¹ From this passage it is clear that it was the custom in those days for all devout Christians to assist at the whole of the Divine office in their parish church.

sins.¹ Rather visit the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, and so finish the day in God's service."

(Ch. 12.) The theological virtues, as in our catechism.

(Ch. 13.) The twelve articles of faith. In our catechism the Apostles' Creed is divided into twelve articles; but by St. Edmund it is divided into five articles, the other seven articles being supplied by the sacraments.

(Ch. 14.) The seven sacraments. Children should be confirmed before completing their fifth year and be well instructed beforehand.

(Ch. 15.) The four cardinal virtues, as in our catechism.

(Ch. 16.) The seven works of mercy, as in our catechism. In this chapter he gives excellent advice on the subject of poverty and riches. He quotes St. Bernard's saying that the poor have nothing on earth, whilst the rich have nothing in heaven. Hence whatever the rich wish to have in heaven, they must first purchase it from the poor here on earth by their alms. Who are the rich and who the poor? Some have riches and love them: these are the avaricious. Others have them not, yet love them: these are the covetous poor and bad religious, who are as bad as the rich as far as their intention goes. Some have riches, but love them not: these are upright men who make good use of their riches. Others neither have them nor wish to have them: these are true religious, the real "poor in spirit," to whom belongs the kingdom of heaven.

(Ch. 17.) The seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, as in our catechism. Four conditions are required in prayer: (1) perfect love for Him to whom we pray; (2) certain hope of obtaining what we ask; (3) firm belief in Him whom we address; (4) humble diffidence in ourselves.

Multiplicity of prayers is not necessarily a good thing. It is better to say one "Pater noster" with good understanding and attention than to say it thousands of times without understanding or devotion. It is the same as regards the Divine office. "Psallite sapienter." To sing wisely is carefully

¹ The Saint here alludes to the Sunday sports which were so much indulged in by our forefathers; such as dancing on the village green, archery, wrestling, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and such like.

to meditate on what you utter with the lips. If your body is in the choir, your lips on the psalter, but your heart in the streets, you are miserably divided, and you cannot be heard of God.

(Ch. 18.) The state of the soul and body in heaven and in hell. He concludes these chapters by the observation that if you bear in mind all the principles laid down in the preceding chapters, you will easily apply any sermon you hear to your own edification.

(Ch. 19.) He next proceeds to treat of the contemplation of God in Himself, which may be made in two ways: first, in the humility of His human nature; secondly, in the sublimity of His Divine nature. He then explains a method of applying the seven canonical hours to devout meditation on the mysteries of our Lord's life, especially His Incarnation with all its tenderness; His life with all its beauty; His Passion with all its ardour of love.

(Ch. 20.) Thus, at matins, we may meditate on the birth of our Lord, or on His apprehension in the garden.

(Ch. 21.) At prime, we may meditate how Jesus was mocked, or on His Resurrection.

(Ch. 22.) At tierce, on the coming of the Holy Ghost, or on the scourging of our Lord.

(Ch. 23.) At sext, on the Incarnation, or the Crucifixion. In this chapter the tenderness of his devotion makes itself conspicuously manifest, as where he says, that "if one had been our Creator and another our Redeemer, we should have loved our Redeemer more than our Creator. Hence He, our Creator, would also be our Redeemer that He might more surely gain our love." Again: "No creature could possibly suffer so much as Jesus did; since no one ever had in himself so much truth. Certainly, never was there sorrow like unto Thine, O sweetest Jesus!"

(Ch. 24.) At none, on the death of our Lord, or His Ascension.

(Ch. 25.) At vespers, on the Lord's Supper, or the Descent from the Cross. In this chapter he gives a clear and forcible exposition of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, which, he says, contains three things—the visible element, namely, the

species of bread and wine, the reality of Christ's flesh and blood imperceptible to our senses, and the spiritual grace imparted to those who receive the sacrament worthily.

(Ch. 26.) At compline, on the sweat of blood, or on our Lord's burial.

(Ch. 27.) He then treats of the contemplation of God in His Divine nature.

In this life we cannot see God as He is, otherwise there would be no room for faith, which is necessarily of the unseen. Still we know God "in part"; for if God were wholly inaccessible to us, infidelity would be excusable. God reveals Himself to us in four ways: by reason, by revelation, by Scripture, and the works of creation. He then proceeds to state the argument by which our reason arrives at the conclusion that there is one Supreme Being without a beginning, who is the Author and Ruler of all things that exist. Not only this, but he also (Ch. 28) seeks an argument from reason, to establish the congruity of the mystery of the Holy Trinity, of the doctrine that God is One in substance, Three in personality.

(Ch. 29.) There are three degrees of contemplation. The first is that the mind should divest itself of corporal images. The second, that it should regard itself thus concentrated in itself. The third, that it should rise above itself, and look down upon itself from above. When any sensitive influence reaches us, we must trample it under our feet, and regard ourselves as incorporeal. How wonderful is man's soul in its powers and operations! From this we may rise to some conception of Him who created us. How great must He be who made all things, rules all things, supports all things, pervades all things, encompasses all things! Think again of God's infinite bounty to all His creatures; of the Divine goodness, sweetness, beauty. If we find such attractions in corporal things, what must they be in a spiritual substance which is imperishable? What in God the Creator of all things? Such contemplation engenders in the soul faith, hope, and charity. Then banish from your soul all these corporal images, and let the pure intellect rise above all earthly considerations up to heaven. There you will find

such ecstasy, and such secrets, as no man knoweth but he who hath experienced them. I cannot explain them ; for how can I utter with the lips what I cannot think in my mind ; and that secret surpasses all thought. All that I can do is to try and live up to that contemplation.

There is a striking resemblance between this chapter and St. Augustine's argument, when treating of the same subject in his memorable conversation with his mother, at Ostia, a few days before her death.¹ "We conversed together then alone, and how soothing was it to our feelings! . . . We discussed between ourselves what the eternal life of the saints was destined to be. . . . We opened wide the mouth of our heart over the torrents which flow from Thy heavenly spring . . . that so we might imbibe from that source, according to the measure of our capacity . . . some sort of judgment on so great an argument. Our conversation had arrived at this point : that the gratification of the corporal senses . . . does not seem worthy to be compared with, nor even mentioned along with, the delights of that eternal life. And so, lifting ourselves up with more ardent aspirations towards that end, we discussed, one by one, all earthly things, and that firmament itself from which the sun and moon and stars shed their rays upon the earth. And we kept rising higher and higher, reflecting in our inmost soul on Thy works, discussing them, and expressing our admiration for them. Then we came to our own intellect, and we rose even above that ; so that we bordered on the region of unfailing fruitfulness where Thou dost feed Israel for ever on the pastures of truth. . . . And whilst we were conversing and striving to compass that idea with all the impulse of our spirit, we seemed to get some sort of glimpse of it ; and then we heaved a sigh, and left the highest thoughts of our mind clinging to that idea, whilst we wandered back to the utterance of the lips, where the spoken word begins and ends. . . . And so I said : Suppose the case of one who is dead to all sensitive emotions, to whom the earth, the waters and the sky suggest no images, whom the heavens do not move, whose own soul is at peace, and

¹ S. Aug. Confess., ix. c. 10, n. 23 *et seq.*

rises above itself by thinking of that which is not self; untroubled by dreams and pictures of the imagination; to whom all tongues are mute, and all signs destitute of meaning; to whom everything that is transitory is as if it were not' (for, if we but listen, all these things say to us: We did not make ourselves, but He made us who abides for ever); if when he hears this, such an one were to hold his peace, and give hearing to Him that made them; and suffer Him to speak alone, not through them, but by Himself, so that we hear His Word, not uttered by the corporal tongue, nor by the voice of an angel, nor by a thunder-cloud, nor by the figure of a parable, but Himself, who in all these things is the object of our love; if we hear Him speak without the intervention of these things, just as now we stretched forward and grasped with daring flight of thought, the eternal Wisdom seated high above all; and if this vision could be prolonged, and all other visions of far inferior kind could be withdrawn, so that it should absorb the beholder and fill him with ecstatic joy . . . like that momentary glimpse of comprehension for which we sighed so much; would not this be what is meant by: 'Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord'? And when shall that be? shall it be when 'we shall all rise again,' but shall not all be changed?"

We think that every one must be struck with the similarity of thought which characterises the two writers, especially if our readers will read the original passage in the "Speculum"; for it is most difficult to present such a subject (on which there is much to be said, and hard to be intelligibly uttered)¹ in a condensed form.

The thirtieth and concluding chapter resumes the question with which he started: how to live honourably, amicably and humbly. To live honourably is to live according to the principles laid down in this treatise; to live amicably is to apply these principles to one's neighbour, for God's sake, and not for any lower motive; we should bear in mind three maxims: Do to another what you wish done to yourself; Take without murmuring what is given you; Bear patiently

¹ Heb. v. 11.

whatever a man may say to you. Lastly, we must live humbly, showing that humility which springs from truth and charity; from truth, because humility is the truth; from charity, by imitating the example of humility given to us by our Lord Jesus Christ.

We cannot do better than conclude this notice with the fervent words which form our Saint's conclusion to his treatise. "May our sweetest Lord Jesus Christ so enable us to honour God, to love our neighbour, to humble ourselves, that we may deserve to be honoured for our honour, to be loved for our love, and for our humility to be exalted to the joys of heaven prepared for us from the beginning of the world. Let all say: Amen."

St. Edmund's Confession.

We now present our readers with a curious fragment which, we believe, has not been mentioned by any writer on our Saint, whether ancient or modern. It is to be found in a manuscript at the British Museum.¹ It is contained in a vellum quarto said by Hardy to date from the fourteenth century. Amongst other miscellaneous matter, it contains this fragment without any indication as to the source whence it was derived. It is written in English of the period, and we present it to our readers in its original form: as it will no doubt interest all devout clients of St. Edmund to see his mother-tongue, as he spoke it, and especially it will interest the student of English literature. It purports to be a species of examination of conscience, by which the Saint sought to facilitate the confession of their sins on the part of the ruder members of his flock. It is quite characteristic of his style and spirit, and furnishes another instance of his pastoral solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the people committed to his charge. It is introduced here as being a kind of appendix to the "*Speculum Ecclesiæ*".

Seynt Edmunde the archebishope prechid this Confessyon to the peple to teche hem the bettere to kunne² shryve hem,

¹ Bibl. Reg. 18 A x. ff. 60-51. We have not been able to discover any other copy of this fragment.

² Be able to.

and he hymself seyde it eche day to God. Quia (bonum) est confiteri Domino et psallere, etc.¹

Confessyon of seynt Edmond archbishop.

God, fadir almyzti, that art one God in thre persones and that art only the hope of my liif and my salvacion, graunte me this day that thou wil heyre and underfonge² my schrift that y synful wrecche wil shewe tofor the. Swete Lord Jesus Crist y wote wel that noon evel that y have do may be hid from the: that al nis pleny open tofore thin eyen: and therefore, Lord, y beknowe with hert and mouthe myn synnes; for thi mercy is so grete that y schryve me to the with repentaunce and sorwe in hert and with lowe and very humble will. Y beknowe to the, Lord, that y have fowliche synned azens thi wille and azens thi commaundementis fram the begynninge that y hadde witte of mannis hidre to in pride, in vayne-glorie, in detractioun, in wroth, in unschilful sorwe in adversity, and in unskilleful joye in prosperite; and nouzt be obedient to ham that y owzt, in glotonie, in slowthe, in ydelnesse, in fowl pollucions, in drunkenesse, in foly lautzres and that ofte in to moche spekyng and in begilyng myn euen oftene, in forsweryng, in theft, in raveyne, in evil speche, in bacbytinge, in schrewid coveitise, in schrewid conscience, in schrewid wille, in wicked desires, in grucching, in fals wittenessyng, in leyninge, nozt kepide silence in tyme.

Of alle this y crie the, swete Jesu, mercy. Also in ydel (f. 61) wordys, in fowl errour, in presumpcion, in arrogance, in slowthe, in negligece, in wanhope,³ whereof y crie the, swete Jesu, mercy. Also y have covetide worldly worship, worldly good and fairnesse and other virtues of kynde, to passe other in schrewid pointis of lecherie, slepyng and wakyng and in many wickid willis; and thus and many other wyse y have broke the ten hestes⁴ of the my God: and enschewid⁵ the counseil of my confessours and of other holy men, and the ordinaunce of the souveryns of holi cherche; wherefore y cri to the swete Jesu, mercy. Also evel spendid my five wittes; as in heryng, sayinge, kysyng, sorrowyng,

¹ Ps. xci. 2.

² Receive.

³ Despair.

⁴ Commandments.

⁵ Forsaken.

spekyng, smellyng, felyng, in superfluite with alle my body, of fowl lyvinge, wherof y crie, swete Jesu, mercy. In takyng thi precious body and blessid blode unworthilich and with oute schrifte and verray penaunce : and be slowthe and necgligence left ¹ to serve the and bide ² to the wher of y crie to the, almyzti God, mercy. Swete Lord, to the y beknowe al my synnes in wich y am gilte : of ze of many mo than y can telle or thenke ; alas ! y wrecchyd and untristy ³ creature, so chargid with synne ! but, swete Lord, thou art so sufferans and ful of mercy, have mercy of me, synful wrecche, that wilnest nat the deth of no synful man, but that he repentith hym and life, and of the synful thou makest goode and quykest the dede : y be seche the for thi grete pyte rere me up dede from the deep of synne : for thou wolt noon be lost but alle be savyd. Swete Lord God, let nowzt thi longe abydyng be lost ne woided in me ; but for the love of thi swete blissful modir of wham thou were bore man in this world, and thoruh the bysechyng of alle thin holy halwyn, sende grace fram thyn heye holynesse in to me that y mowe (v^o) wexe fram this tyme forward in to goodnesse and swyche repentaunce, with open schrift, and ⁴ that y mowe receyve thi precious flesch and blessid blood clenliche and worthilich to for my deeth, and forzefnesse of alle my synnes, that y mowe come in to the liife withoute ende. Amen.

And say thi " confiteor " to the preest whan he goth to masse.

¹ Omitted.

² Pray.

³ Worthless.

⁴ In the MS. " hand ".

CHAPTER XXVI.

ST. EDMUND'S LAST SICKNESS AND DEATH.

WHEN Edmund had finished his sermon, which he addressed to the monks in their chapter-house, he made an earnest appeal to them that he might be received as a member of the community, and so be privileged to share in their spiritual fruits. Needless to say that the request was joyfully granted.

From that time forth he went about exactly as one of the community, although he did not put on the monastic habit. He joined with them in all their monastic exercises; and, as a sign of his fellowship with them, would often regale them with the extra dishes which are called "pittances".

It was not long,¹ however, before he began to sicken of some complaint; in fact, as we have seen, he was very ill at the time when he left England. From Matthew Paris' account it would appear that he suffered from a kind of dysentery, though he does not use the term. But Robert Bacon, in his *Life*, distinctly mentions dysentery as the complaint from which Edmund suffered. We quote his words, as they seem to indicate that the patient had not yet reached what might be termed old age. He says: "From the very beginning of the dispute between him and the stubborn monks he began to feel some symptoms, though as yet trivial, of the malady which carried him off, and was attacked with dysentery, which ordinarily is not a fatal complaint except in old age".²

His complaint, though it caused him considerable suffering, did not affect the vigour of his intellect, nor the keenness of his perceptions. As he found the heat extremely trying, his medical advisers recommended him to try a more bracing air,

¹ "Parvo tempore." E., f. 143 vº.

² R. B., f. viii. vº col. 1.

and one more resembling that of his native country. They thought he had better leave Pontigny for a time, and, after recruiting his health and strength by change of air, return to them when a cooler season had set in. No man was more tractable than Edmund in such matters, and he made no difficulty in acquiescing in their advice. It was decided that he should go to Soisy, distant about twenty leagues from Pontigny, where there was a house of canons regular, dependent on the Abbey of St. James at Provins.

Whilst preparations were being made for his departure, the brethren, as soon as they realised the loss they were about to sustain, were inconsolable, and broke out into loud lamentations: "Why, O father, do you leave us? Who will take care of us when you are gone? Why are you in such a hurry to quit those who are so devoted to you, and who look up to your example? The consolations we have experienced from your presence amongst us only make the parting more bitter. Behold, we have just had time to taste the sweets of your conversation, of which, alas! alas! we are forbidden to enjoy our fill. Surely some sin of ours has merited for us this chastisement." The archbishop was grieved to the heart at the sight of their tears and at listening to their reproaches. Wishing to console them, he said: "Brethren, grieve not at my departure; with God's blessing, I will come back to you on the Feast of St. Edmund, king and martyr (November 20)". And so it turned out in fact; for, on that very day, the body of the blessed confessor was brought back to Pontigny, as we shall proceed to explain.

He took his departure then from Pontigny and retired to Soisy, though the journey in his enfeebled state of health was a very trying one, and extorted from him many a sigh and groan.

On the way he had to pass through Coulours, where there was a preceptory of the Templars. Observing the monastery, he inquired to whom it belonged. They told him that it belonged to the Templars. Then he remarked: "I will rest there on my return". And so it happened; "for," says our biographer, "in that very monastery we passed the night as we escorted the body back to Pontigny".

At length, though with much difficulty, he reached the favoured house at Soisy, which was destined to be the scene of his departure from this world. The monastery in which St. Edmund breathed his last has long since disappeared ; but a chapel was built out of its ruins, which still exists, and is dedicated to him. There is also a holy well in the vicinity which bears his name. The inhabitants of this district still retain a fervent devotion to his saintly memory, and a lively faith in his intercession.¹

The Abbot of St. James, Guy de Villenoxe, hastened to Soisy to meet and welcome the illustrious guest ; and everything was done calculated to promote his restoration to health. But the hopes which the physicians had entertained of his recovery were not realised. He grew weaker and weaker, and the malady from which he suffered increased from day to day. He had the consolation in his last sickness of receiving the affectionate ministrations of his brother Robert, and of his friend and chancellor, Richard de la Wych. He was also attended by several faithful followers, amongst whom must be numbered his chamberlain, Bertrand, and his chaplain, the monk Eustace, both of whom subsequently wrote his Life. One little incident is mentioned by both these authors, which seems very trivial ; but we have resolved to omit nothing as trivial which the biographers have thought proper to relate of the Saint's life. They both give the story in the same way, without any variation, but also without any note of time, except that it took place during his pontificate. It is also related by R. Bacon in the same way as the others. But a similar story is told, with more detail of circumstance, by another author, the chronicler of Osney, who refers it to the period of Edmund's last sickness. The Osney story is as follows : " Finding himself near his end, Edmund desired his chamberlain to burn his hair-shirt, so that no one might find it and become aware of his penitential austerities. The domestic took the garment to the fire, and heaping a lot of charcoal upon it, left it to burn. Returning after a time, he found the hair-shirt still intact, the fire having made no

¹ *Vie de S. Edmc.*, p. 277.

impression upon it." Bacon expresses it thus: "It was as impervious to fire as an ancient salamander".¹ The Osney chronicler resumes: "He went back to the archbishop and informed him of the fact, who said: 'I will set fire to it myself'. He did so, but still the garment would not burn. An hour afterwards, Edmund drew the hair-shirt out of the fire, still whole and unconsumed. 'Since it is God's will,' he said, 'take it to my brother Robert.' Then he returned to his bed."² It is worthy of note that the old French Life by Charlet, in reporting the incident, gives as its authority "one of the Saint's disciples named Bayon,"³ evidently no other than Bacon. This furnishes another confirmation of our view, that the Life in St. John's College, Cambridge, in which this passage occurs, is by Robert Bacon. The other writers, Bertrand and Eustace, merely state the fact that the garment would not burn, whereupon the domestics threw it into a deep pool and covered it with stones, without saying anything to the archbishop about it. Probably their account refers to some other incident of a similar character to that told by the Osney chronicler, who, by his manner of relating it, appears to have been an eye-witness of what he describes. His presence at the Saint's death is also evidenced by the fact that we are indebted to him for a relation of St. Edmund's last words, which are not to be found in any other writer.

Bertrand also takes care to inform us that scarcely any vermin were found in the linen garments with which he covered his penitential costume. "Whereas," he says, "the wearing of hair-cloth conduces to the production of vermin; and when we consider what sort of complicated hair garments he wore, it is the more surprising that he should have been comparatively free from a pest from which every one suffers more or less." So far Bertrand.⁴

¹ "Sed vellus caprinum simile veteri salamandre permansit in ignibus incombustum." R. B., f. v. v^o col. 2.

² Chron. Osn., ad ann. 1240.

³ P. 24.

⁴ As Bacon expresses it "(quas), nullus, ut assolet inhabitabat lens (a maggot) pulex sive pediculus". R. B., f. v. v^o col. 2.

When St. Edmund became aware that the days of his earthly pilgrimage were numbered, he earnestly entreated that the most Holy Viaticum should be brought to him. His request was complied with, and, before receiving it, he recited the creed; then, bursting into tears, he poured forth such ardent expressions of faith and love, as to convince all those who were present that he realised our Lord's presence as vividly as if he stood beneath the Cross on which the Redeemer of the world suffered and died. No words can express the rapture of his countenance, his gushing tears of devotion, the fervour of love which inspired his utterances.¹ But these were some of the expressions which fell from his lips when the most Holy Viaticum was brought to him. "Thou, O Lord, art He in whom I have believed, whom I have chosen for my portion, whom I have loved, whom I have preached and taught; Thou art my witness that I have sought nothing on earth but Thee alone." Some were rather surprised at this outburst. As the metrical Life expresses it:—

Lord, this was an heyne word · & he that thus sede,
Guod & holy moste he be · and holy life lede.²

But it is manifest, says Eustace, that the words were prompted by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that their object was to inspire the beholders with a higher appreciation of this most holy sacrament; whilst the supernatural signs which took place after his decease furnished corroboration to his words, and set the seal of Divine approbation upon them. Though his adversaries thought they had vanquished him, and, even after his death, tried to depreciate the testimonies to his sanctity, yet those miraculous signs proved that he had not lived in vain. For God, who is wonderful in His saints, arose to vindicate his cause, and made his sepulchre glorious. The fame of these prodigies spread all over the world, and caused a revival of Christian faith; sinners began to pluck up

¹ "Vultu hilari et læta facie. Vidimus illas lacrymas pietatis ac jugem et perpetuam mentis serenitatem, cujus testimonium vultus immutabilis erat. Audivimus quoque os illud congruens vitæ et in quo erat conscia purificati pectoris sermonis luculentia." Cleop. B. 1, f. 27 vº; and Harl. 2, f. 95 rº col. 1.

² Trin. Coll., Oxon., MS. 57.

hope and courage, and the universal Church rejoiced in the new glories with which his merits had invested her.¹

During the whole of his last sickness, Edmund never rested on a bed like other dying people, but sat in a chair, sometimes reclining his head on his hand.² After the Saint had received the Holy Viaticum, he began to feel a little better, as if the spiritual banquet with which he had nourished his soul had diffused its salutary effects even to his feeble frame. He was propped up by a cushion, so that he might be able to sit up; and he remarked in English to those who were standing round him: "Men seth gamen gooth on wombe—ac ich segge gamen gooth on herte". "People may say that pleasure is for the stomach: I say that it is an affair of the heart." This he said with a smiling countenance and in a tone of pleasantry. As all the manuscripts quote this vernacular expression, we are left to suppose that it was an exceptional thing with Edmund to use the English language. He would perhaps use French in ordinary conversation and Latin in clerical society.³ The occasion of this remark may have been an incident recorded by Bertrand. The good abbot of St. James had brought the invalid some little delicacy,⁴ thinking that it would be grateful to him in his present state of weakness. But he put it aside, saying: "It is now many years since anything that could gratify the palate has entered my mouth".

His meat, indeed, was to do the will of his heavenly Father; his one solicitude had ever been to nourish his soul with Divine contemplation; and that spiritual banquet had been to him a perennial source of joy, springing up in his

¹ E., f. 144 vº.

² Nec in lecto jacere secundum morem morientium visus est. Sed vel sedit, vel caput super manum suam reclinavit. Lamb. MS. 135, f. 133 vº col. 2.

³ It is a curious illustration of the fluctuating state of the English language at this period that this short and simple phrase is repeated only twice in exactly the same form. In each of the other cases some variation is found. We refer those who are curious in such matters to appendix xxiv., where a list of the various readings, thirteen in number, in the manuscripts is given.

⁴ Apparently some stewed quinces. It appears from the MS. Vitell. C. xii. f. 289 vº col. 1, that the abbot afterwards declared that he was not quite sure whether Edmund had said that he had "never" tasted such things or had not tasted them "for a long time": "*utrum dixerit sanctus multo vel nullo tempore*"; but he is quite sure that he said one or the other.

heart, which made all carnal satisfactions distasteful to him. This perfect contentment of soul which shone in his countenance, lighting up his features with a heavenly radiance, was an object of wonder to all beholders. When he wept, his tears were a pleasure to see; in every mood of his soul, whether of joy or of sadness, he was constantly employed in making acts of thanksgiving; so that he seemed already to have entered upon the life of the blessed in Paradise, and to have a foretaste of its joys.

But if his own soul overflowed with joy and consolation, it was otherwise with his faithful attendants. They were full of grief at the thought of losing their beloved master, and full of anxiety as to their future lot. They had been selected by him with care, well trained, and kept under vigilant discipline. And now it grieved him to hear their lamentations. "What," said they, "is to become of us? If our dear master dies, where shall we go? Far from our country, exiles and penniless, where shall we obtain food? Courtly prelates can find revenues for their clerics, but our master leaves us to beggary. Alas! alas! dig we cannot; to beg we are ashamed. We have not been accustomed to traffic; nor have we the means of carrying it on. The king and the nobles will be incensed with us on account of our master, whom they hated. What have we to look forward to but a death of misery?"

When the archbishop heard these sad complaints on all sides of him, he was moved with compassion; and, calling one of them to him who seemed more affected than the rest, he said: "Friend, I will write to a certain acquaintance whom I can trust on your behalf. He will not disregard what I say, nor will he fail to help you in your need." Then, calling for writing materials, he at once set about writing the letter, which runs as follows: "Edmund, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, to his venerable brother in Christ, William (de Ralegh), by the same grace, Bishop of Norwich, health and sincere love in our Lord. Although it is a common saying that death puts an end to all things, nevertheless adversity cannot impair, nor can death destroy that love which springs from the root of charity, for charity never

falleth away. Inspired by this love, we have for a long time cleaved to your paternal constancy with all our heart; and we know by experience that our person is the object of your ardent attachment. We are now cast down by a grievous bodily malady, and almost at the point of death. Hence we cease not to implore your enduring love to show its constancy in our regard, earnestly and humbly begging you, for friendship's sake, to be mindful of our soul; and to be so kind as to pray for us, and to get prayers said for us, throughout your diocese.

"Moreover, we also entreat you generously to take into your service our dearly-beloved Robert of Essex, the bearer of this letter, whom before God and man we believe and have experienced to be worthy of commendation in morals, in trustworthiness, and in the satisfactory discharge of his duties. We trust that, for our sakes, you will recompense in him the services he has rendered us, which have made so deep an impression on our heart for some time past. Further, as the dead find but few friends, especially in England, we take the precaution of forwarding to your loving care our last will and testament, drawn up by ourselves and signed with our seal, in which also you will find the names of our executors. For the love of Him who is the magnificent rewarder of all good deeds we entreat you to impart to the aforesaid executors your kind advice and assistance. Given at Soisy, xviii. Kal. Dec. (November 14), in the eighth year of our pontificate."

It will be observed that this most touching letter was written only two days before St. Edmund's death, as we shall see later that he died about sunrise on the morning of November 16. He showed the same tender consideration for several other members of his household, giving to each of them a testimonial written by his own hand, all of which were effectual in attaining their object. In handing them these letters he remarked: "This handwriting of mine, which is well known to the trusty friends to whom I have written on your behalf, will be much more efficacious than my seal". This kindly and considerate act calmed the anxiety of his dependents, and it is a significant proof of the fervour of charity with which his heart overflowed.

Nor did he forget his beloved poor at the gate of the monastery ; for during his last sickness, when he was no longer able to crawl to the gate, he gave strict injunctions to his chamberlain to relieve all the poor pilgrims ; he was to give them one, two, three, or even four silver pieces, according to their apparent necessity ; and he empowered him to take as much money from his chamber as he required for the purpose.

It is clear, from the letter above quoted, that Edmund was well aware of his approaching end, as he entreats his friend so earnestly to supervise the execution of his will. Feeling himself grow weaker and weaker, he now asked to be anointed. This sacrament was accordingly administered to him, which he received with extraordinary signs of compunction, and fervour of devotion. Raising his hands and eyes to heaven, in proportion as his bodily vigour languished, the fervour of his spirit seemed to increase, as though he were already emancipated from the trammels of the flesh.

After the holy anointing, he seized the crucifix from the hands of the minister, and asked that the images of our Lady and of St. John should also be brought. With devotion wonderful to behold, he kissed the sacred wounds depicted on the crucifix in ruby tints ; not once, but over and over again he kissed them, bathing them with his tears : it seemed as if he could not tear himself away from that embrace : then mixing wine and water, he washed the sacred wounds therein, and making the sign of the Cross over the ablution, drank it off, saying : " You shall draw waters with joy from the Saviour's fountains ". He never drank anything after that. He seemed to find an ecstatic joy in pressing his lips to the sacred wound in our Lord's side. Our biographer remarks that this act of devotion, and the form which it took, caused great surprise to all who witnessed it. For it must be remembered that St. Edmund was one of the first masters in that school of mystic devotion, which in God's providence was destined to enkindle the fervour of charity in the hearts of the faithful, by opening to them the treasures of the Sacred Heart of our Lord. St. Bernard had led the way in his marvellously beautiful exposition of the Cantic of Canticles ;

and Bertrand tells us that this inspired book was Edmund's favourite subject of meditation, in which, as in a garden of delights, he would entertain himself with the Divine Spouse of his soul. A devout client of St. John, he drank in from the same source as the beloved disciple those copious draughts of Divine love which overflowed from his breast and found expression in ways which were then strange to the beholders. Almost at the same time as St. Edmund, the great St. Gertrude, and her sister in religion, St. Mechthild, in their far-off Saxon cell, were receiving like revelations of the loving mysteries of the Sacred Heart, and were pouring forth their souls in ecstatic communion with their Divine Spouse.

*O singularis caritas
Et mira commutatio !
Hic corde respirat tuo ;
Tu vivis Hujus Spiritu.*

When the doctor came to feel his pulse, he remarked that it was very feeble. Edmund answered : " Never mind that, for I am prepared, like a man who is girded up for a journey ; in good Catholic fashion I have been fortified with all the rites of the Church. I have given orders that candles and other things requisite for my funeral should be prepared in sufficient quantity, as it is becoming and expedient." Then Bertrand relates a dream which some one had on the night before our Saint died. He saw Edmund seated on the pontifical throne of Canterbury, which some persons were trying to upset ; then he perceived the tomb of St. Elphege open, into which Edmund was received ; whilst St. Elphege brought the covering of his tomb and covered Edmund up ; he then intoned the antiphon : " Statuit ei Dominus ".

In his last moments the Saint thought of the community of Christ Church, which had caused him so much anxiety and trouble. Still, he would not die without imparting to them his forgiveness. He forgave them everything, and also revoked the sentence which he had passed upon them, on condition of their submission and making due satisfaction. Then joining his hands together as well as he could, he earnestly asked pardon for himself from all the members of that community. He next thought of Pontigny, which had

opened its gates to the exile, and he bequeathed his body to that monastery. The Prior of Soisy, seeing the archbishop approaching his end, gave vent to his grief, and exclaimed: "Alas! are you going to leave us so soon; and shall we never see you again?" He replied: "Not so; my heart and my love will ever abide with you". They did not understand his meaning at the time; but, after his death, when the body was opened, his heart was taken out and deposited in the abbey of the Canons Regular at Provins. Then they knew that he had spoken prophetically. The reason for removing the viscera was that the body had to be carried from Soisy to Pontigny, a distance of twenty leagues, a journey which would occupy at least two days.

There was yet another legacy which he had to bequeathe. It was in favour of his two sisters, who were nuns at Catesby. He left them his grey cloak, made of the stuff which is called "camelot," along with a lambs'-wool cape. He left them, in addition, what seems to have been a triptych—a silver plate, on which were engraved the figure of our Lady, holding the Divine Infant at her breast; also the passion of our Lord, and the martyrdom of St. Thomas. These sacred relics were preserved at Catesby with the utmost veneration; and it pleased God to glorify His confessor by the numerous miracles wrought through their instrumentality.

His last bequest was that of his drinking-cup, which he left to his faithful friend and chancellor, Richard de la Wych, as a testimony how much he had entwined himself in his heart's affections.¹

When he had fulfilled all these duties of pious affection, he sank back exhausted and remained silent. His exertions seemed to have been too much for his failing strength, and he apparently fell into a semi-comatose state.

For the following particulars, and for his last utterances, we are indebted to the Osney chronicler, as they are not mentioned by the biographers. They appear to be derived from an eye-witness: "About midnight he said to those who were attending on him: 'What hour of the night is it?'

¹ "Quem jamdudum nobis invisceravimus." Life of St. Rich.

They answered : ' It is about midnight '. Then he remained quiet for a time, and asked again : ' What hour is it now ? ' They said : ' Just before dawn '. He lay still another space, and then asked a third time : ' What hour of the night is it now ? ' They said : ' It is the dawn '. The archbishop said : ' And I commend you to God '. Then uttering the invocation, ' Into Thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit, ' he breathed forth his soul to God. It was Friday morning, November 16, 1240."

Our biographer, without entering into these minute particulars, describes his passing away in general terms which are quite in keeping with the above account. He says : " He fell into a sleep, which proved his last. He sank quietly into the repose of death, after the fashion of one who falls asleep, without any of those struggles which affect the dying ; without any death-rattle or conflict of any kind he expired and bade adieu to his brethren and to the world." Thus he fell asleep in the Lord calmly and placidly. Fitting indeed it was that one who had ever been a lover of peace should have a peaceful passage to eternal rest. Thus did the most blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and glorious confessor of our Lord, pass from this fleshly tabernacle to the court of heaven ; from this land of exile to his Father's house ; from the darkness of this world to the glories of Paradise.

It has already been observed that a more circumstantial account of St. Edmund's last moments has been given by Eustace in the sworn deposition which he made in the cause of the Saint's canonisation. We have supposed that this is owing to the fact that his impressions of the event were then more fresh and vivid than when he wrote the Life subsequently. Hence we will now supplement the foregoing narrative by a few passages from this deposition.¹

When Edmund broke out into that ecstatic utterance on receiving the Holy Viaticum, it seemed to the bystanders as if a light from heaven shone round about him : and a dazzling brightness beamed from his countenance, whose

¹ Corp. Christ. Coll., Oxon., MS. 154, f. 384 col. 2 *et seq.*

ashy paleness was all at once changed to a rosy hue. All present were struck with astonishment and drew nearer to behold this spectacle of a man as it were transfigured and conformed to the likeness of Christ's glorified Body.

When, after being anointed, Edmund seized the crucifix, the same writer says that he kissed the sacred wounds with such avidity, as though he were trying to extract some hidden sweetness which lurked therein. He covered the crucifix with repeated and impassioned kisses, but especially the wound in our Lord's side, repeating with streaming eyes the words: "You shall draw waters with joy from the Saviour's fountains". Then he added: "Lord, I wish what Thou wilt; I call Thee to witness that I wish nothing but Thy will". "Who," continues the writer, "could relate without weeping, what torrents of spiritual joy he quaffed from these fountains? weeping, do I say? rather with a burst of joy; but, in fact, it is a subject for both smiles and tears: for God has made 'music in his mourning,'¹ and therefore it is right that we should sympathise with him with tears of joy. The salt sea surges he drank down as milk; and he drank the wine which God had mingled for him now converted into nectar. His end was conformable to the life which he had led. It pleased God, the Author and Rewarder of sanctity, who had enriched Edmund with merits, now to make his holiness evident by innumerable miracles, so that the just man when dead might rebuke the unjust who live,² and that he might appear glorious amongst His saints. If to overcome the devil, to triumph over the world, to tame the flesh, to esteem the misfortunes of others as one's own, be a martyrdom; then the crown of martyrdom as well as the glory of confessorship is due to Blessed Edmund."

We have before observed that there are no means of ascertaining Edmund's exact age at his death. The only indication of age we have been able to find is in the short treatise "*De promissione B. Thomæ*,"³ where it is stated that he died "*in ætate bona*," a term which is sufficiently vague.

¹ Eccli. xxii. 6.

² Wisd. iv. 16.

³ Apud Martène.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BURIAL OF THE SAINT AT PONTIGNY.

ON the day following St. Edmund's death, Richard, his chancellor, took all the letters which have been mentioned above, and gave them to those in whose favour they had been written, to be carried by them to their destination. When they had received them, the domestics, after bidding farewell to the clerics who remained with the corpse, took their departure with many sobs and tears. The next step was to call all the household together, and break up the archbishop's seal: a necessary precaution, to prevent the possibility of fraud or imposition. This seal, as we have already remarked, bore a representation of his predecessor, St. Thomas, undergoing martyrdom. The Saint had followed his example on earth, and he was now his associate in heaven. In fulfilment of Edmund's dying wish, the body, after the internal organs had been removed, was conveyed by easy stages to Pontigny. The route of this funeral procession is still known by the name of the "Chemin de S. Edme.". Our biographer, who saw it all, has given us a very graphic account of this journey, which we will now reproduce:—

"On that day, November 17, the body, arrayed in pontifical robes, was borne from Soisy as far as Traisnel.¹ The funeral *cortege* was followed by an immense multitude all inspired with fervent devotion which they expressed in canticles of praise. The procession in its progress received continual accessions to its numbers, like a river continually swollen by the influx of its tributaries. Every one of that vast multitude pressed eagerly forward to catch a glimpse of the venerated

¹ Our biographer quaintly renders this name by its Latin equivalent: "ter-angulum pagum"—"the three-cornered village".

features of the Saint. The roadway became blocked in consequence, whilst the ministers exerted themselves to the utmost to keep back the surging crowd. For each one deemed himself happy in being able to touch the body, thinking to find in that contact a means of deliverance from all their evils. Nor was their confidence unwarranted; for very many on that journey experienced the reward of their faith in the relief they obtained from their various maladies. Mothers brought their sick children; others again, suffering from various infirmities, cried out: 'O ye bearers, why are you in such a hurry? Why do you not allow us to rejoice at least for a short while in the presence of the sacred body? Even if we are sinners and unworthy of such a favour, it is those who are sick, and not those who are well, who have need of a physician.' Not one of that vast throng who did not think an injustice was done him if he failed to touch the bier, or to kiss a hand or a foot, or at least to see the body.

"In the midst of this crowd, we who were in attendance marched along; some of us clerics, some religious; there were priests robed in surplices, albs, and copes, walking in processional order, as far as the crowd permitted. There were also along with us many monks wearing their cowls, conspicuous amongst whom was the Abbot of Pontigny, who had come to meet the procession. When he saw the great concourse of people, and the wonderful devotion and veneration exhibited to the sacred remains, both by clergy and laity, he gave orders that a space should be cleared of strangers around the bier; and then addressed himself to the Saint, as if he were alive before him, in these terms: 'My good father, as a brother of the Pontigny community, you are bound to obey me. I speak to you with confidence; I am your abbot, you are my monk; I am your superior, not as archbishop, but as monk. Obey me and grant the request I make of you. I beg of you not to work any more miracles until you reach your final resting-place, Pontigny.' In fact, the abbot was afraid, that in consequence of the prodigies already wrought, the sacred remains might be seized by violence or stratagem and deposited elsewhere. Hence, he sealed the bier with his seal in the presence of the writer of this narrative and of many

others. Now, the abbot was justified in claiming the body, on the ground of Edmund's having been, on his own petition, admitted to the fraternity of the convent. And the abbot used to say jokingly to seculars: 'What have you to do with the remains of one of my monks?' At other times, he would advance a more serious argument, namely, the prophecy of Blessed Thomas. For St. Thomas, when leaving Pontigny, had promised the monks that one of his successors would amply recompense them for the kindness they had shown him. 'Now, unquestionably, the promise is fulfilled. Edmund will pay all the debt which the blessed martyr owes to the impoverished house of Pontigny. You English have your martyr, we will keep our own monk and our confessor.' Such was the conversation that went on that evening whilst the various claimants were disputing about the possession of the body. We took good care to appoint a sufficient guard during the night, with relays of watchers to succeed each other; for we feared lest, through our sinful demerits, something untoward might happen to the remains.

"On the morning of the second day (Sunday, November 18) we resumed our march, and passed through Villeneuve l'Archevêque, where we were met by a concourse of men and women, who were loud in their joyful acclamations and devout invocations. Here took place a repetition of the scene of the day before. Everybody was pressing forward to kiss the body, and the procession was brought to a standstill. This was very annoying to us, but there was no help for it, as neither entreaties nor threats availed aught to curb their eager anxiety. In fact, the multitude, by main force, obtained possession of the body and carried it off to their church, placing it on the high altar. Some made a rush for the church, others, on account of the dense crowd which thronged the sacred edifice, waited outside until the body was brought out again. At length, after waiting a considerable time, we began to remonstrate, and then the authorities of the place, taking stout cudgels in their hands, went into the church and began to lay about them, and so forced the people to evacuate the church. We then took up the body and continued our march, with a vast crowd preceding and

following us, until we reached towards evening the preceptory of the Templars at Coulours, the spot where the Saint had foretold that he should rest a night on his return from Soisy to Pontigny. There, in truth, we spent the night with the sacred body, chanting the psalms the whole night through. We took notice that there was a good deal of whispering going on, and that the brethren of that monastery were in frequent confabulation with one another, so we began to suspect that they would take the body from us by force. For they said: 'The Saint himself declared in the spirit of prophecy that he wished to rest here'. But we stoutly resisted their attempt, and clearly showed both from the archbishop's words and from written documents what his intentions really were; but it was only with great difficulty that we pacified them, for we warned them that if they persisted in using violence, they would undoubtedly feel the weight of the Divine vengeance, and the resentment of the Saint, who, beyond all question, spoke only of one night's rest at their house. At length, they allowed us to depart, though with great reluctance.

"It was now the third day of our journey (November 19), and just as on the two preceding days, a countless multitude of people of both sexes accompanied us on the journey, who kept shouting: 'Where is the holy body, where is it?' In the procession, one side consisted of clerics, the other of religious, chanting the psalms. There were crusaders and clergymen robed in sacred vestments, rustics who had actually left their cattle yoked to the ploughs in the fields, all flocked together from the surrounding fields, villages, castles, and hamlets, and formed a vast concourse like the battalions of an army. Two of our number¹ were very much astonished at this unusual gathering, and said one to another: 'What is the meaning of all this uproar?' For it seemed to them altogether beyond the bounds of reason and propriety. One said to the other (God knows what he meant by it²): 'It appears that the monks of Pontigny want to manufacture a

¹ Perhaps Christ Church monks sent to watch the archbishop.

² Quo animo Deus scit.

saint, and to profit by the offerings which will be made at the tomb, and so they are making a great fuss about the wonders wrought through this body. For the people keep on crying: "Let us go and meet it; let us run on in front; let us follow behind; let us see him; let us touch him; let us venerate the holy body in any way we can". See how they struggle with one another to get near it. And yet there is no evidence as yet of his sanctity whether ocular or written.' The other monk replied¹: 'If he were a saint and properly canonised, he would not care to be buried in a Cistercian monastery, nor to remain there entombed. Almost all the famous saints rest in the houses of the Black Monks; few or none in those of the Cistercians.' To prove his statement he quoted the examples of the monasteries of Canterbury, St. Alban's, St. Edmund's Durham, and many others both in England and France. And so they and some others went on wrangling on this topic, according to the word of Isaiah: 'I will lead the blind into the way which they know not; and in the paths which they were ignorant of I will make them walk'.² But after the splendid display of miracles which took place in the course of a few days, the following expression of the same prophet received a marvellous illustration: 'I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight'.³

"Not only these critics, but others also of our number, both clergy and laity, who had been in the Saint's service, and so had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of his sanctity, were nevertheless incredulous. They were unwilling to admit that the supernatural signs afterwards vouchsafed were a sufficient proof that he was any very special friend of God. In this their incredulity they were certainly inexcusable. To this number belonged certain members of the Christ Church community. God forbid, however, that the rest of the fraternity should be made responsible for the delinquency of some, as the poet neatly expresses it:—

"*Parcite paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes*".⁴ Hence

¹ The "*animus*" of this one is tolerably plain.

² Is. xlii. 16.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "The fault of few seek not to lay on all."

it would be manifestly unjust to lay on the whole household of the Saint the blame of the incredulity of some. Undoubtedly, the flame of charity, unless it is nourished by devotion, soon grows cold and expires in ashes. Nor ought we to be surprised at this manifestation. In the school of our Lord Jesus Christ, the best of all Masters, there were some disciples who had learned from Him the rudiments of faith; and yet it is written that He upbraided them with their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them that said He was risen from the dead.¹ How much more likely is this to happen with those whose eyes are darkened with the mire of worldliness? And yet they compare us to owls and bats, who are incapable of seeing the light of heaven! Truly, in these days, it is no easy thing to distinguish a hypocrite from a saint, a sincere lover of God from a dissembler. We have been led to make these remarks, because a variety of opinions was expressed even by men of discretion, respecting the merits of the glorious confessor, St. Edmund. But 'man sees the face, God looks into the heart'.² What I consider a sound principle to go upon is this: that when God by manifest signs makes any one illustrious, man ought to learn therefrom to venerate one whom God has glorified."

The Saint's prediction was verified; and on the Feast of St. Edmund, king and martyr (November 20), which was our Saint's birthday, his body was brought back to Pontigny, and deposited in our Lady's sanctuary. The interment took place on St. Clement's Day, November 23.³ In the meantime, an immense concourse of people had gathered to the spot, so that it seemed as if some annual fair was being held. The obsequies were performed in the presence of all the monks, the secular clergy, and a large number of the nobility. They were honoured too by the assistance of many bishops, abbots, and priors.

"Nothing was wanting to render the ceremony impressively

¹ Mark xvi. 14.

² 1 Reg. xvi. 7.

³ The writer says on the XI. Kal. Dec., which would be November 21. XI. is probably an error for IX.

solemn in the way of musical instruments, lights and vestments; whilst the sacred vault ceased not to resound with the plaintive notes of the Divine office.

“ Thus was he laid to rest in the place of his choice; and there, as well as elsewhere, wherever his memory flourishes, the most wonderful prodigies attest his sanctity, and at the same time add strength and confirmation to Christian faith; for such signs and wonders have scarcely been heard of in our times, and the fame thereof is spread throughout Christendom. Such miraculous signs are a proof that he really lives in Christ, and by the consolation which he imparts to his votaries, manifests his power with God.

“ The prodigies which took place seem to recall the apostolic times, so numerous and striking were they. Let England rejoice in having produced so distinguished a patron, for he was sprung from the town of Abingdon. Let Pontigny rejoice at having received in its bosom the remains of such a great prelate. Let France exult which has opened its gates to give a refuge to the exile. Let every one in fine rejoice whose privilege it has been to render him any kind of service or comfort of companionship. On the other hand, let all those repent who have ever been guilty of inflicting on him any annoyance or trouble or evil imputation; and let them now, at least, honour him in his triumph, even though they, in their ignorance, or in their wilfulness, once persecuted him who knew how to bear wrongs patiently. God is the avenger of His saints; and they shall come to adore where his feet have stood.¹ Yes, O Christ, Thy soldiers conquer in the long run: for they fight for justice and truth; and when their adversaries have been subdued, they glory in a perpetual triumph.” So far our biographer.

We must now mention one or two anecdotes related by M. Paris and others, not because we attach any importance or even much credibility to them, but because we do not wish to omit anything related of our Saint; and they will serve as specimens of the kind of gossip in which the monks of the period indulged. M. Paris, then, tells us² that St. Edmund,

¹ Ps. cxxxii. 7.

² Addit., vi. 129.

at his death, wore a very poor ring. A certain friend, noticing this, substituted a better one, saying: "I will lend you this, and you will restore it to me with interest". He was present afterwards at the Saint's translation, and taking his hand into his own, said: "I lent you this ring, now restore me my property". And though others had tried in vain to detach it, the finger moved spontaneously and quietly dropped the ring into his hand. Then he said: "Now at last I am quits"—"Nunc adhuc sum quietus".

Apparently the same or a similar story is related by the writer of the additions in the Lambeth MS.¹ A certain monk called Peter, the sacristan, was present in the discharge of his office when the body was brought to Pontigny. It was his duty to keep back the press of the crowd and to admit them to approach in an orderly way. When he saw the devotion with which numbers presented themselves, eager to possess themselves of some relic, or bringing various ornaments to be touched, he said to himself: "How is it, Peter, that all this devotion of the faithful does not incite you to get hold of some keepsake belonging to the sacred body which will be serviceable for future contingencies, especially as you are the sacristan and have the disposal of such things? It must be done. I know what I will do." Then going nearer, as if he had some duty to perform, he tried to detach the ring from the archbishop's finger and to substitute another in its place. As the ring did not yield to his first slight efforts, he tried greater force, but in spite of the most violent efforts, the ring would not stir. At length, being afraid of being discovered, he retired to think over the matter; afterwards, though half ashamed of himself, he returned to the attack; but this time he addressed himself to the Saint, applying his lips to the ear of the corpse, as if it were alive, and said: "I have sinned, holy father, in not first asking your permission before appropriating to myself what is yours. But as what I am doing is intended for your honour and the welfare of the faithful, pardon me and kindly grant my request." Then he tried again, and as soon as he touched the ring it glided into his

¹ f. 135 r^o col. 1.

hand. Overjoyed at his success, he made a clean breast of the whole affair to the abbot, who congratulated him and ordered the ring to be kept with the other relics ; by touching which many benefits are conferred on the sick up to this present day.

What seems to cast a doubt on these stories is the statement previously recorded that Edmund wore all his life the ring of his mystic espousals, and that he expressed a wish to be buried with it. It seems unlikely, therefore, that he would have favoured, whether alive or dead, any attempt to deprive him of it, or would have been more inclined than was Cecily de Sanford to part with this precious pledge of the fidelity with which he had kept his sacred engagement.

In the same manuscript there is a footnote¹ in a contemporary hand which states that, when the body was brought to Pontigny, a certain monk, moved it was supposed by the Holy Spirit, exclaimed: "Never before has such a noble treasure entered into this house ; it remains, therefore, that we should guard it well".

After the devotion of the faithful was satisfied the grave was filled with earth, and then it was found that miracles began to diminish. One of the monks, Brother Herman, had a vision in which he saw St. Edmund, who complained that, being covered with earth, he could not raise his hand in order to work miracles. This seems to have given occasion to the first informal and provisional translation of the body, which took place about three months after the Saint's death, probably with the approbation of Walter, Archbishop of Sens, who came to visit the sacred remains. The body was brought to the surface and exposed to the veneration of the faithful, and the miracles resumed their wonted course. The writer of the Lambeth MS. observes that the pressure of the chalice in the confined space of the coffin had caused an impression to be made on the body.² It was noted as a coincidence, showing the intimate relation between St. Edmund and St. Thomas, that the very first person cured

¹ f. 136 r^o col. 1.

² *Ibid.*

at the tomb was called Thomas de Legny. He was a helpless, hopeless cripple, and was restored to perfect health by being placed on the tomb. The miracle was testified by thirty-four witnesses before the Pope and cardinals.

The writer of the additions in the Lambeth MS. furnishes two ingenious reasons why St. Edmund should not be buried in England. The first is, that the country should be justly punished which makes a practice of always persecuting good bishops; and the second is, that a great light ought not to be hidden in a remote corner such as England is confessed to be. He next puts to himself the objection: How then do you account for St. Thomas being buried in that country? to which he answers: First, because the circumstances of the English Church required it; that, where sin abounded, the grace (of miracles) should more abound; secondly, the Church which mourned for his death would have grieved still more if deprived of his body. God, therefore, wished to console her by granting her the coveted possession; thirdly, Providence disposed that those who had persecuted him should be witnesses of the signs and wonders wrought at his tomb, and so be either moved to repentance, or condemned by their obstinacy to greater reprobation. It does not seem to have occurred to this writer that the same reasons would apply equally well to the case of St. Edmund.

After this brilliant effort the writer is emboldened to push his investigation still further, and inquires why St. Edmund chose to be buried amongst the Cistercians. First reason: All Cistercian churches are dedicated to our Lady. When God saw His servant seeking an abode, He provided one for him in His Own Mother's house, thus committing a virgin to the care of a Virgin. Further: But why at Pontigny, when there are so many other Cistercian houses all over the world? The first and chief reason is, because God so willed it; our Lady willed it; and the Saint willed it. But there are three other reasons not to be despised: First, many archbishops and bishops took refuge there, whom it entertained to the best of its ability; it was only fitting then that one of them should remain there for ever, who should promote

its honour and interests ; secondly, St. Thomas took refuge there, and, when he was leaving to return to England in order to suffer martyrdom, he wanted to indemnify the monks for what they had expended on him, but had not the means to do so. However, he promised them that some one should come after him who would recompense them. And so it happened. For St. Edmund was this successor, who gave them a fourfold recompense ; thirdly, Pontigny is half way on the road to Rome, and to St. James of Compostella, for the majority of pilgrims. Hence they will all, or nearly all, turn aside there to visit the sacred body ; and so the Saint's name will be glorified to all the ends of the earth.

Before we pass to another subject, we may now relate the sequel and termination of the Christ Church controversy. The archbishop's part in it had been closed by his solemn forgiveness on his death-bed, and it was now hushed in the peace of the grave. But the monks still remained under interdict. The tidings of the archbishop's death do not seem to have mitigated the rancour of their sentiments ; for some time between his death and March 28, 1241, Prior Roger issued a manifesto, in which he bitterly inveighs against Archdeacon Langton, because he and his party have drawn up an account of certain miracles said to have been wrought by St. Edmund. This was only done, he says, with a view to prejudice the case of the convent in the eyes of the king and at the papal court.

But as it was absolutely necessary to appoint a successor to the vacant archiepiscopal throne, the monks were obliged to take steps to obtain their release from any possible censures so that no cloud of uncertainty might hang over so important an election. Hence a deputation was sent to Rome, who succeeded in obtaining from the Pope a commission to investigate the matter and impart the requisite absolution ; but the biographer observes that it was an expensive business for the monks. This commission was issued by Gregory IX., on March 6, 1241, and was directed to the Abbot and Archdeacon of St. Alban's, and the Prior of Dunstable. These prelates duly executed their task, and gave the

necessary absolution on May 4. On June 16 the prior and convent wrote to the Pope to notify to him the election to the Archbishopric of Boniface of Savoy, stating that they had previously sought and obtained absolution from the censures imposed by Edmund "of good memory"; not, indeed, because they thought they were bound by them, but "ad cautelam," that nothing might vitiate their election. But in the meantime, Pope Gregory died, and the election was only confirmed by Pope Innocent IV., on September 16, 1243. As the bull of confirmation is not extant anywhere except in the Canterbury Chronicle, edited by Stubbs from which we have gleaned the above particulars, we give the text of a portion of this document in the appendix.¹ The Pope states that it has been suggested to him that the prior and convent were excommunicated by the late archbishop; but the sub-prior² asserted that the sentence was inflicted after their appeal to the Holy See. He then recites that his predecessor, Gregory, had ordered the absolution of the chapter "ad cautelam". "We, therefore, having deliberated on the aforesaid matters in council with our brethren, having regard to the fact that the said election was made in full concord, that the prior and convent persevere in their demand; having regard also to the personal merits of the candidate, do hereby, in the plenitude of our power, supply any defects that may exist in the aforesaid election, and permit the said Boniface to become the pastor of the church of Canterbury."

¹ Appendix xxv.

² It will be remembered that it was the sub-prior who conducted the affairs of the convent in Rome.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CANONISATION OF THE SAINT AND TRANSLATION OF HIS RELICS.

THE fame of the miracles wrought at St. Edmund's tomb could not fail to raise the question of his canonisation ; and, in fact, as early as 1245, only five years after the Saint's death, the project was entertained by the reigning Pontiff, Innocent IV.,¹ who had just then opened the celebrated Council of Lyons. The council was held at Lyons in order to be out of reach of the Emperor Frederic, who, notwithstanding, succeeded in arresting, imprisoning, and maltreating many prelates who were on their way to assist at the council. Besides the Pope, many other eminent ecclesiastics were anxious to proceed at once to the cause of Edmund's canonisation ; and so to give effect to the concurrent appeal of the faithful throughout Christendom. Eight archbishops and about twenty bishops concurred in presenting a petition for his canonisation. But the Pope urged that there were still more pressing affairs concerning the universal Church which had to be discussed and settled ; afterwards he hoped to be able to accomplish their wishes ; for, he added, both God and the world render testimony to his sanctity and virtues ; on which account we rejoice in the Lord, and render Him abundant thanks.

The fact was that difficulties were raised through the intrigues of some who were adverse to the cause, and "whom," says the writer, "it would not be safe to name". M. Paris states that though nearly all the prelates present concurred in the prayer of the petition, yet the matter was delayed for

¹ Gregory IX. died August 21, 1241, and was succeeded by Celestine IV., who reigned only eighteen days. After his death there was a long vacancy, until Innocent IV. was elected, June 24, 1243.

a time through some secret agency.¹ But we need not have the same scruple as our biographer. The difficulty arose, of course, from those who had persecuted the Saint whilst living, and who had thwarted all his endeavours to promote the welfare of his flock. They were the King of England and his courtiers; the monks of Christ Church; all, in short, who had opposed the Saint in his measures for their correction and reformation. A natural instinct moved them to oppose the exaltation of one whose glory could only redound to their discredit. Hence a determined opposition to the canonisation was set on foot by these adversaries, which was for a time successful, but which in the dispositions of Divine Providence only resulted in the Saint's greater glory. For, just as St. Thomas' incredulity only made the truth of our Lord's Resurrection more striking and manifest, so did the opposition which was made in this case cause the sanctity, the virtues, and the merits of St. Edmund to stand out in greater relief. It provoked further investigations which resulted in a cumulative mass of evidence that effectually broke down all opposition and served to place the Saint on a pinnacle of glory far removed from the reach of envious criticism, and which even conciliated the veneration of his detractors. As the abbot and convent of Pontigny remark in their petition to the Holy See: "Wonderful as are the miracles wrought by him and through him; nothing is more wonderful than the fact that the whole world hastens to do honour to one who was but lately the object of the world's scorn and hatred".

Even King Henry himself, some years afterwards, visited his tomb in a humble and contrite spirit, deploring the part he had taken in the Saint's discomfiture; and supplicated (not in vain) his aid and intercession on his behalf.

Against the factious opposition of the adversaries a devoted band of the Saint's friends and followers set themselves earnestly to work in the cause of the canonisation, and spared themselves no trouble or fatigue until they had accomplished the desired result. Foremost amongst these were Albert of Cologne, now Archbishop of Armagh; Richard de la Wych,

¹ M. Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, iii. p. 295.

the Saint's chancellor ; Bertrand, his faithful companion and subsequent biographer ; and Eustace, the Christ Church monk, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention. Of these Albert has left an account of the whole process, which will be found in Martène, and from which we proceed to cull a few particulars. This relation is addressed to the community of Pontigny, and commends the accuracy and veracity of the Life written by Bertrand, who had now become prior of that monastery. He then gives copies of letters from several bishops soliciting the Saint's canonisation. These letters are mainly couched in the same form, and the same phrases are constantly recurring in them, phrases which were subsequently incorporated in the Lives of the Saint afterwards published. Hence we need not reproduce these letters, as one of them would be sufficient to give an idea of the general tenor of them all. We must make an exception in the case of persons or communities who had more intimate relations with Edmund, and in whose letters details of special interest are found which we shall not fail to notice as we go on. Amongst those who sent letters of postulation Albert enumerates the Archbishops of Sens, Tours and York, of whom the latter, Walter de Gray, had been Edmund's companion at Oxford ; the Bishops of Bourges, Meaux, Senlis, Auxerre, in whose diocese Pontigny is situated, and who, in consequence, undertook a special investigation, and sent a report thereof to the Pope ; Salisbury, Winchester, London, Chichester, Lincoln, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester and Bath. The letter of the church of Salisbury is interesting on account of St. Edmund's long and happy connection with that church. Hence we proceed to give an abstract of its contents, which will serve to furnish an idea of the character of the other letters. As this letter is not given in Martène we publish the full text in the appendix.¹ It may be found in St. Osmund's Register (Rolls edition), whilst the original still exists at Pontigny.² It is addressed to Gregory IX., who died August 21, 1241. Hence it must have been written shortly after the Saint's death. This fact also proves that the Saint could not have died later than 1240. In this

¹ App. xxvi.

² With the seal intact. Massé, p. 414.

letter the bishop, dean and chapter state that they are about to present a "plain, unvarnished tale" concerning those things which they have heard and seen, and which their hands have handled, regarding the venerable Edmund, once attached to their church and thence translated to the archiepiscopal dignity. "You must know," they say, "that he lived with us for about ten years, conversing in an excellent and praiseworthy manner; a true imitator of him of whom it is written that 'he was a lamp burning and shining'.¹ He burned with that fire of which He speaks who says: 'I came to cast fire upon earth'.² In all his works there was conspicuous a zeal for souls, fervour of charity, and tenderness of devotion. He despised the world; he was a true evangelist by his lectures and sermons. His teaching was so catholic and lucid that everywhere it was said of him that 'his tongue was as the pen of a scrivener that writeth swiftly'.³ His knowledge of the Sacred Text was extensive and profound, so that in his expositions it seemed to the hearers that the finger of God wrote in his heart the words which flowed from his lips. He was like another Baptist in the desert of England preaching to the multitude, to the profane, to the military, to great and small of both sexes, to religious and clerics; and he preached to them with unction and effect, in a clear and impressive style, and he preached incessantly. He imitated the Baptist also in the austerity of his life, in food, in clothing, in watching; never or seldom retiring to bed, and always bearing about in his body the mortification of the cross. When he was made archbishop he retained his former humility and sweetness; he was a stranger to all elation, and made himself agreeable to all. His charity for the afflicted was unbounded. That we may not weary your holiness, occupied with so many and such great cares, by a long narration, it seems to us, in fine, that he was in every sense a true worshipper of God, powerful in work and word, ever labouring in the Lord's vineyard, watching and waiting for the Lord's blessed call. And since he has now been called by God, and the Divine mercy has made evident his great merits by the frequent miracles

¹ John v. 35.² Luke xii. 49.³ Ps. xliv. 2.

wrought at his tomb and elsewhere through his invocation, we supplicate your paternity to deign to command that such a shining light shall be placed on a candlestick by being enrolled on the Catalogue of the Saints."

Another interesting letter is that addressed by Edmund's old Alma Mater, the University of Oxford. They say that "he was in our university for no short space of time, both as scholar and teacher. When he was made master of arts, before being promoted to orders, and not bound by the obligation of a benefice, he, yielding to a Divine impulse, and led by a spirit of piety, used to hear mass every morning before he gave his lecture; and that he might do so with more devotion, erected in the parish where he lived an oratory to our Lady, whom he ever loved with a special privileged affection." They quote as their authorities for Edmund's virtues, Robert Bacon, rector in theology, and Richard Dunstable, prior of the Dominicans at Oxford, of whom the former was his intimate friend, whilst the latter spent several years in his service.

Another intimate friend of Edmund was Robert, Abbot of Merton, who, in his letter to the Pope, says that the Saint, "before he entered on his theological lectures, lived for more than a twelve-month in our house, and on subsequent occasions stayed with us a long time, going in and out as one of ourselves. Our brethren delighted much in his conversation and profited by his advice, for his life was a pattern to all. Living in the world, he trampled it under his feet; young as he then was, he surpassed his elders in faith, in learning, and in prudence; though a secular, he lived like a religious—in fact, his life was the very model of a good religious. His time was spent in study and meditation, he was most fervent in prayer, he fasted continually, he never slept during the time of the matin office, but frequented our choir just like one of ourselves; nor was he content with the external forms of religion, but he was imbued with its essential spirit, which he had imbibed from the Holy Spirit, and thus had mastered all its hidden secrets; so great was the control which he exercised over his senses, that he was not able to recognise again the brother who waited on him at table for a whole year." This letter is dated February, 1242.

The letter of Richard, his chancellor, is dated from Orleans, where he was then preparing for the priesthood, April 20, 1242. In it he testifies, as the archbishop's executor, that the Saint had chosen Pontigny as his burial-place out of devotion to our Blessed Lady.

The chapter-general of the Cistercian order, assembled in 1241, commissioned the Abbot of La Ferté to address a petition to the Pope for the Saint's canonisation. Abbot Bruno did as he was instructed, but before the letter reached its destination the aged pontiff was himself dead. He was succeeded by Celestine IV., who followed his predecessor to the grave within a few weeks. Innocent IV. next succeeded to the pontifical throne, who was destined to confer on Edmund the honours of canonisation. For, soon after his election in 1243, in consequence of the numerous and urgent petitions that had been addressed to the Holy See on the subject, he appointed a commission of investigation to examine the cause. This commission at first consisted of Albert of Armagh, the Bishop of Senlis, and the Dean of Paris. Their instructions were to inquire into Edmund's merits, the truth of the miracles reported, and to examine witnesses. The result of the investigation had to be transmitted to the Pope, who required them also to send four or three, or at least two selected cases of miracles wrought, for his personal inspection. The commission went to work without delay, and inquests were held both in France and England. In execution of the French commission, there is a letter signed by Albert and the Dean of Paris, summoning all the faithful of the Provinces of Rheims, Sens, and Lyons, who know anything of Edmund's miracles, to attend and give evidence at Pontigny, on the Sunday before July 22 (July 17), 1244.

In England, it was conducted by the Bishops of London and Lincoln. The report of the French inquest was drawn up at Pontigny, and the results of both were sent to the Pope. Innocent, however, thought that the affair had been too much hurried, the celerity with which the commissioners executed their task not according with the slow and methodical Roman procedure. He, therefore, ordered a second inquest, prescribing this time that there should be fewer miracles, but

more proofs for each miracle. Whilst engaged on this second inquiry, Albert and his colleague were both attacked by fever in the month of August. The physicians pronounced Albert's case a desperate one. He then made a vow to make an offering to the tomb of St. Edmund, if he recovered; it was something he valued very much, being a present from Cardinal Otho. His vow was heard and he was cured. This naturally spurred him on to still greater exertions in the second inquiry, in which he had associated with him the Premonstratensian Abbot of St. Marianus and the Dominican Prior of Auxerre. They were instructed to restrict themselves to four or five miracles, into which they were to institute a searching investigation, and report the result to the Pope. The English portion of this inquiry was conducted by Richard de la Wych, the Augustinian Prior of Esseby, and Robert Bacon. To this period of the inquiry appear to belong several important testimonials from English bishops and prelates, from which we make a few extracts. Richard, who was now Bishop of Chichester, in a letter to the Pope, thus speaks of Edmund: "He was an excellent preacher and teacher; all his utterances being inspired with a fervour and unction which could only have its source in Him of whom it is written: 'Our God is a consuming fire!'"¹ There are letters also of the same tenor as Richard's from the Bishops of St. Asaph's, of Carlisle, and of Bangor.² The latter adds: "I say what I know and I bear witness to it; for I have known the aforesaid archbishop intimately from my youth upward, having once been his pupil in the schools, and having been favoured with his special affection". Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, says that "he was ever bathed in a Divine light, and that he cast out from the temple of his bosom the din of secular affairs, and always preserved the gravity which became his dignity".

The letter of the Abbot of Reading is interesting, as showing how and where Edmund spent his holidays whilst at Oxford. He says: "When he was teaching theology at Oxford, he came to spend the Christmas holidays with us.

¹ Deut. iv. 24.

² Richard, Bishop of Bangor, 1237-1268.

And whereas people are wont at such a season to indulge in a little relaxation, he, on the other hand, omitted nothing from his customary discipline, still preserving the same abstinence as to food, the same watchings, the same assiduity in prayer and meditation, the same constant flow of tears, the same ceaseless genuflections, the same attention to study; whilst all the time he strove as much as possible to conceal his austerities from the observation of others. We, the monks, began to feel quite ashamed of ourselves, and when we saw such an example before our eyes, were perforce driven to amend our lives and observe a stricter discipline."

The Abbot of Westminster, who seems to have known him in his younger days, says that as a youth he was very quick at learning, and though shows and spectacles are very common in places frequented by students, yet he was never known to be present at them, being always occupied in prayer or study; he was never found in the "company of them that love vanity".¹

In Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a manuscript Life of St. Edmund (R. v. 40) which contains marginal notes reproducing various testimonies to our Saint, namely, those from the prelates of Merton, Reading, Salisbury and York. There is also a testimony from one who calls himself *Frater Clemens*,² *Dublinensis Episcopus*, which is not found elsewhere. But, unfortunately, the edge of this folio has been clipped in such a way as to mutilate the marginal note. He appears to testify that, when he heard from his companions and fellow-students and brethren in religion, before he became bishop, the eminent holiness and wonderful manner of life of Edmund, he began to cultivate his personal acquaintance with a view of stimulating his own imperfection to the acquisition of virtue by his saintly example. "I was thus," he says, "an ear-witness and an eye-witness of his virtues, and when I considered his wonderful abstinences, those most sacred vigils in which he

¹ Ps. xxv. 4.

² No Clement appears in the list of Dublin prelates published in Gams' *Series Episcoporum*. In fact, there seems to be no room for him, for Henry of London occupied the see from 1212 to 1228. He was succeeded by Luke, who held it till 1255. Possibly Clement was an auxiliary bishop.

spent the whole night in prayer, I stood aghast ; for, in my opinion, they altogether surpassed human endurance."

To this period also probably belong the interesting depositions furnished by various members of Edmund's household, which are to be found in the *Corpus Christi*, Oxon., MS. 154. But, as we have already drawn from this important source in the course of this work, we need not now repeat their testimonies.

The question was now formally moved at the Council of Lyons in the presence of the Pope, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Aquileia, and upwards of two hundred primates, archbishops and bishops, besides many abbots and other prelates.

But there was, at the time, another very serious question before the council, namely, the deposition of Frederic from the imperial dignity, and from the throne of Sicily and Jerusalem. It was suggested that Edmund should first be canonised that he might intercede on behalf of the Church in this important crisis. The bishops acclaimed the proposal with enthusiasm, and petitions from kings and princes poured in in favour of it. But the Pope, who did not wish to act with precipitation, thought it better to appoint a conciliar commission to examine the matter. It consisted of seven members : three cardinals, John, Hugo of S. Sabina and William ; three bishops, Grosseteste, the Bishop of Cambray and Mag. Vincent ; the seventh was the famous Alexander of Hales.

In the execution of their commission they sent a letter to the Abbot of Bayham, ordering him to report on two or three unmistakable miracles, and instructing him to send sufficient witnesses to the Pope to give evidence in his presence. These instructions were sent by the hand of Frater Eustace, our Saint's chaplain and biographer. They are dated from Lyons, April 8, 1245.

The reports when completed were duly sent to the Pope at Lyons. In the French report, which was delivered in May, 1245, it is stated that they had restricted themselves to those miracles which were confirmed by many witnesses, and could not be gainsaid ; although every one cried out that

witnesses were not necessary in such evident cases of incurable maladies. They observe that more miracles were reported on the first inquest, but with fewer witnesses. The commissioners had limited the scope of their inquiry, on this occasion, on account of the great distances which would have to be traversed in order to examine all the witnesses. They trust that the Pope will at length satisfy the people's desire.

In like manner, the English commissioners, whose report is dated November, 1245, state that they have examined the cases with all possible precautions, and have restricted themselves to a few cases, and those of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of a natural cure, and where sufficient evidence was forthcoming.

Similar instructions had been sent to the Diocese of Lincoln and to Simon Langton, Archdeacon of Canterbury. We have Simon's answer, which is interesting.¹ He says that he had consulted with others on the subject, and especially with Eustace, his coadjutor, "who has laboured more than any one in this business". On the following morning he started off for those parts of England where the most substantial miracles were to be heard of,—six days' journey from Canterbury.² There he summoned witnesses to appear before him, who testified that the miracles were the common talk of the whole country. But when Simon intimated to them that they would have to go to the Pope at Lyons to make their depositions, they complained bitterly and broke out into abuse of the clergy and prelates generally, and were in fact on the point of uttering open blasphemy (historical truth compels us to admit this), if their excitement had not been adroitly calmed by the masterly skill of Simon Langton, who begged them to take the trouble of going to the Pope in order to give evidence to the truth, promising them to pay all their expenses. But they urged such valid excuses and canonical impediments, "that I saw," he says, "no way of compelling them to go, except a very few whom I send to you. Frater Eustace will explain everything to you *viva voce*." This letter is dated June 6, 1246.

¹ Apud Martène.

² There can be no doubt he refers to Catesby convent.

The commission reported that the inquest held was in perfect form, and that the prayer of the petition might safely be granted. Everything seemed now to promise a speedy and favourable issue to the cause of the canonisation, when the difficulties alluded to at page 390 began to arise. The faction of the Saint's adversaries plied their intrigues and machinations, and with such success as to delay for a time the further progress of the cause.¹ The Court of France laboured earnestly to promote it, but the Court of England put obstacles in the way; and the monks of Christ Church had their agents on the spot to work amongst the cardinals, some of whom they gained over to their side. In fact, one of the cardinals, who seems to have belonged to the advanced rationalistic school, is reported to have said: "What is the meaning of all this talk about miracles? I do not believe in them a bit; the time is gone by for such things. All that we have to do is to inquire into his acts. If the universal Church had not adopted St. Martin's office, I would never believe that he raised three dead persons to life. Why, Christ Himself did no more than that, 'forgetting,' says our biographer, 'what our Lord said: 'He that believeth in Me, the works that I do, he also shall do, and greater than these shall he do.'"² He also observes that this same cardinal was afterwards appointed legate and came to Pontigny, where he threw himself before the shrine of St. Edmund and with great compunction uttered these words of the prophet: "And the children of them that afflicted thee shall come bowing down to thee, and all that slandered thee shall worship the steps of thy feet".³ The same prelate dedicated three new altars in honour of the Saint.

Meantime, in the face of this determined opposition the friends of the cause began to despair. It seemed as if all the immense pains and labour which they had bestowed upon it were entirely thrown away, when, happily, Providence raised up for them an efficient supporter in the person of Cardinal John (of St. Lawrence in Lucina), one of the papal com-

¹ "Habuit hoc negotium mordacissimos detractores et validissimos impugnatores." Albert *in loco*.

² John xiv. 12.

³ Isa. lx. 14.

mission, who took up the defence of the cause, and safely guided it through this desperate crisis. Even Stephen of Lexington, now Abbot of Clairvaux, once the pupil, secretary, and friend of St. Edmund, even he despaired of a successful issue. In the bitterness of his soul, he exclaimed: "We have got three holy bodies in our monastery, illustrious by many miracles, awaiting canonisation; but what is the use, if such a case as Edmund's breaks down! It is better to abstain from attempting it." But Cardinal John encouraged them to go on, and summoned that "fidus Achates" Bertrand, who had to bear the chief brunt of the work,¹ and said to him: "Be not afraid, but be constant and finish what you have begun. Go wherever the Pope sends you; I will take care to provide you with all that is necessary, and we will not rest until we have succeeded." Bertrand thereupon plucked up hope again, and resumed his weary wanderings through France and England. He brought back a host of witnesses and a mass of evidence, and even the persons themselves who had been cured, and presented them to the Pope, at Lyons. The subjects of the miraculous cures were invited to attend at the cardinals' residences in order to be minutely examined and tested by them. In the face of this accumulated evidence, and in the presence of the very recipients of miraculous favours, the mouths of the detractors were effectually stopped. The Pope seems to have feared lest he should incur the Saint's righteous indignation if he listened any longer to the objections of the opposition; he was, moreover, inspired by a motive of gratitude, for he could not but attribute to St. Edmund's intercession the successful result of certain recent negotiations with the emperor. Hence, he resolved to proceed at once to the solemn canonisation of our Saint. On the Saturday before the third Sunday of Advent, 1246, the cardinals were asked one by one what their opinion was on the question of Edmund's canonisation. They replied that if the ancient saints had gone through such a strict process of examination very few of them would have been canonised. The ceremony itself took place on "Gaudete" Sunday (December 16),

¹ "Cui totum pondus negotii incumberebat."

in the cathedral church of St. John the Baptist, at Lyons, when, in full council, the Pope solemnly pronounced his decision : " For as much as the blessed Father Edmund has been found so faithful and prudent a servant, whom the Lord hath placed over His household, we, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, have decreed that he is to be enrolled in the Catalogue of the Saints ". Thereupon all joined heartily in the *Te Deum*, which was sung in thanksgiving. The narrator remarks that the musical effect was somewhat discordant. We dare not venture to translate the passage ; but we give the original text ; no doubt musical critics will be able to judge what would be the effect of the harmonies there described : " Alii tono, alii semitono, alii diapente, alii per diatapsalon,¹ alii vero usque ad diapason voces extollebant " ; but he shrewdly remarks that it was all toned down to perfect unison by the time it reached the Throne of Grace, because the song went up from their hearts to the one God, who is the Beginning and the End of all things.

The mass, of which the Introit begins, " Gaudete in Domino semper," was then sung by the Pope, and the solemn ceremony terminated, whilst Edmund was henceforth and for ever enrolled amongst the white-robed army of the confessors of Christ.

The bull of canonisation was issued by Pope Innocent on January 11, 1247. The complete text will be found in the appendix.² It is of course a *résumé* of the chief points of Edmund's saintly life and virtues which have been described in the preceding pages ; so that, to avoid repetition, we refrain from giving a translation of it, but will content ourselves with furnishing our readers with a general idea of its contents. The Pope begins by congratulating the Church on having obtained a new Saint, a new intercessor, strengthening thereby in the hearts of the faithful their hopes of salvation ; a Saint, moreover, who, by his example, shows them the way of salvation. Let the saints of heaven too rejoice at the accession of a new comrade. He sang a song of triumph over the triple

¹ ? Diatessaron.

² App. xxvii.

enemy—the devil, the world, and the flesh ; a song elicited from that sweet-toned instrument, his soul, whose three strings were a pure intention, a perfect work and candour of speech. He then proceeds to discuss his holy life. The more his life is dwelt upon, the more attractive does it become. What charms us most is the fact that from his tenderest years he began to love God ; nor did he ever dismiss that love from his breast, for he had imprinted it on the tender tablets of his heart with the pen of serious reflection ; that this fervour of the spirit might not be extinguished by the fire of carnal desires, he tamed his flesh with severe austerities. The bull then enumerates the various penances which the Saint inflicted on his body during his whole life as narrated in this volume. As a doctor and preacher, he poured the light of knowledge into the minds of his hearers. Plucking from the hearts of the faithful the weeds of vices, he sowed therein the seeds of virtues. To sum up all : Jesus he knew by a firm faith, and whom he knew he loved with an undivided heart, and that Object of his love he desired with all his soul, as is proved by his own exclamation when the Holy Viaticum was brought to him. It will be observed that the bull omits any reference to his archiepiscopal office, as no doubt the Pope was anxious to avoid giving any cause of offence to Henry III. It then proceeds to refer to the many miracles wrought at his tomb in evidence of his merits and sanctity. After reciting several particular cases the bull continues : “ By these and many other patent miracles, which we do not deem it necessary to rehearse, he made himself glorious ”. At these words Matthew Paris, who quotes the bull, gives a characteristic marginal note to the following effect :¹ “ Many others, indeed ! for Edmund is said to have resuscitated more than thirty dead persons at Pontigny,² besides other portents ; nor do we think there is a saint in all the court of heaven whose miracles and merits have been hushed up and decried as in his case ” ; alluding, of course, to the recent attempts made to arrest the canonisation.

¹ Addit., vi. 120.

² Nic. Trivet remarks on the frequency with which infants who had been overlaid were restored to life through the Saint's intercession.

To continue, the bull proceeds to say: "Let Canterbury sing a song of triumph because she has been honoured above all other churches in modern times by two venerable patrons, of whom one (St. Thomas) adorns her with the rosy tint of his martyrdom, the other with the fair white robe of his confessorship. Let fruitful Canterbury exult with unbounded joy, because, from the threshing-floor of its sanctuary, it has sent to the garner of the Most High so precious and pure a grain.¹ Let Pontigny rejoice because it was honoured by the long residence there of one of those saints, whilst the other, as soon as he came there, gave up his soul to heaven, but enriched it with the treasure of his body." Next follows the promise of St. Thomas, and its fulfilment.

"Wherefore, having made careful inquiry according to the usual forms into the sanctity of life and the truth of the miracles of the same St. Edmund, and having submitted the same report to a rigorous discussion, having arrived at full conviction, by the general advice and consent of our brethren, and of all the prelates then present at the apostolic see on the Sunday of Advent, when the Church sings 'Rejoice in the Lord always,' we did declare him worthy of being inscribed in the Catalogue of the Saints, or rather we proclaimed that he had been so inscribed." The Pope then orders the feast to be observed on November 16, the day of his death, and enjoins on all bishops to see that the feast is observed. An indulgence of one year and forty days is granted to all who, with right dispositions, visit the shrine on the annual festival; and an indulgence of forty days to all who visit it during the octave.

The canonisation of a saint necessarily involves the translation of his relics, that is to say, their elevation to a place of honour, where they may receive the veneration of the faithful, which it is now their right and their duty to render them. In fact, in the early ages of the Church, before formal process of

¹ There is here possibly an allusion to the ancient name of Canterbury, Dorobernium, according to the quaint etymology of B., the author of the Life of St. Dunstan, who says that it means "Door o' the Barn". Britain was one of the granaries of the Roman Empire, and Canterbury was the depository whence the corn was shipped to its destination.

canonisation was introduced, this elevation of the body constituted virtual canonisation. Thus, when the popular devotion gathered round a certain tomb, if, in course of time, it received the sanction of many and striking miracles, the neighbouring bishops would meet together and agree that the time was come to give the approbation of the Church to this worship, by raising the body to a place of honour, and surrounding it with the precious testimonies of piety and devotion. This ceremony then had to be performed in St. Edmund's case. We have seen that a sort of informal and provisional elevation took place privately shortly after his death; but now, after his canonisation, that ceremony had to be carried out publicly with all the solemn rites of the Church. It was performed on June 9, 1247. We have two accounts of the ceremony, one by Albert, the other by St. Richard, who were both present at it. Albert's account is as follows: Before the canonisation he had been translated from the Archbishopric of Armagh to that of Livonia, Prussia, and the adjacent provinces. As he was on his way to Lyons to attend the council, he had a dream, in which he saw Edmund arrayed in pontifical robes, giving his blessing from the tomb to the assembled prelates, who, thereupon, raised his body to a more honourable place. This forecast of the future was now about to be realised, and he hastened with joy to Pontigny to assist at the translation of his friend's body. It was he too who preached the sermon on the occasion. He took for his text the words: "We know that we have been translated from death to life, because we love the brethren".¹ He then went on to show that the love which inspired them gives life to the dead and brings them to life everlasting. This love showed itself in Edmund's case in inexhaustible works of mercy. Therefore, his name is in benediction. He is become our patron, our example, our advocate in heaven, especially on behalf of those who are able to venerate his relics. For the soul still retains a yearning to be reunited to its body. He then gives examples of the efficacy of the Saint's relics. "St. Anastasius inspired the Pope of that period

¹ 1 John iii. 14.

to take his head and go forth therewith against the enemy who were besieging the city, and straightway they were put to flight. St. Stephen protected the church of Metz, in which his holy relics reposed, from the flames at the period of the invasion of the Huns. Hence, we may confidently hope that, after this solemn ceremony is performed, St. Edmund will prove our special advocate before the Throne of God."

There were present at the ceremony, the King of France, St. Louis IX., his mother, Blanche, his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonsus of Poitou, Charles of Provence, and their sister, Isabella, the Cardinals Peter of Albano, and Odo of Tusculum, the Archbishops of Bourges, Sens, Bordeaux, and Prussia, the Bishops of Chichester, Troyes, Auxerre, Orleans, Amiens, Chaume, the Abbots of Pontigny and Clairvaux. These ecclesiastical dignitaries went in procession to meet the king, who, however, as a pilgrim, declined the honour and begged that it might be given to his mother, which was done. This took place on the Saturday before the translation, which was performed on the following day, Sunday, the Feast of SS. Prime and Felician. The sacred relics were watched all the night through by bands of choristers. By special licence of the Pope, the church was thrown open to women on the day of the ceremony; for a constitution of the order forbids the ingress of women to Cistercian churches. But the church was cleared a little before daylight, that preparations might be made for the ceremony. When all were assembled, some of the brethren opened the tomb and exposed the body of the Saint, which was quite perfect and incorrupt, not having lost so much as a hair of his head.¹ All, at once, began to sing the *Te Deum*, being moved with devotion at this unwonted spectacle of bodily incorruption. Guido, Bishop of Auxerre, as Bishop of the Diocese, carried the body to the high altar, where it was left for the veneration of the faithful, but at night time it was enclosed in a secret place in the upper sacristy, for fear of accidents.

As soon as the sacred body was in a position for public veneration, the queen-mother, Blanche, prostrated herself

¹ A more minute description of the condition of the body will be found in St. Richard's letter.

before it and addressed the Saint in these words: "O most holy lord, confessor of Christ, who, at my entreaty, didst impart thy blessing to me and my sons, when thou wast an exile on earth, and didst deign to honour me with a visit, confirm now what thou didst then happily begin, and establish the kingdom of France in peaceful and victorious stability".

We now proceed to lay before our readers the letter in which St. Richard describes the same ceremony. It is interesting as revealing to us the emotions which he felt when he was permitted to see once more, after a lapse of seven years, the features of his beloved master. The letter is addressed to the Abbot of Bayham,¹ and is taken from our biographer:—²

"Richard,³ by the grace of God, Bishop of Chichester, to his venerable friend R., Abbot of Begeham, greeting. In order to make you acquainted with the facts concerning the translation and the condition of the most holy body of St. Edmund, you must know that on the day after Trinity Sunday last past, that is to say, on May 27, 1247,⁴ the tomb of our most holy father, Edmund, was opened in the evening, only a few being present. We found the body whole and entire and exhaling a most delicious odour.⁵ There was the head with its covering of hair; and the face had a ruddy tint; the body with its members was perfect and entire in every respect. The sweet odour it diffused was something surpassing any balm or incense, and was quite heavenly. Only the nose was a little injured through contact with a metal plate

¹ A Premonstratensian abbey in Sussex, founded in 1200 by Robert de Thornham from Brokeley.

² See the Latin text in the MS. Life, f. 154 r^o.

³ The MS. erroneously has E.

⁴ The MS. has "mense Junio, xv. Kal. Jun.," which is self-contradictory; for xv. Kal. Jun. would fall on May 18. Trinity Sunday in 1247 fell on May 26. There is no mention in Albert of this private and preliminary inspection of the remains. He was probably not present at it.

⁵ A footnote added by a Pontigny monk to the Lambeth MS., f. 136 col. 2, says: "They found the flesh like that of a living man, and so pleasant to look upon that they imprinted a kiss upon his sacred breast and perceived a delightful odour. Who would not be astonished or hesitate to say that this is a wonderful miracle, granted to very few saints indeed!"

which pressed upon it. The whole body and especially the face was found in a state of perfect preservation, and as fresh and supple as if it had been steeped in oil.¹ We may suppose that this miraculous preservation is a sign of the virginal integrity which he vowed and consecrated to God at the time when, with his ring, he espoused himself to our Blessed Lady, and placed a ring also on the finger of her statue as a pledge of his engagement. Again, the oil or the oily appearance may be taken to signify the special unction of grace with which he was endowed in his life and teaching and in the gifts of knowledge. For grace was spread abroad over his lips² whether he lectured, disputed, preached or taught. Therefore the Lord hath anointed him with the oil of gladness³ above all the lecturers and doctors of his time. We also noticed certain other indications of his virtues, which when we get the opportunity we will explain to you fully in conversation, as stress of occupation prevents us from committing them to writing. But with regard to what I have mentioned, you need entertain no doubt whatever: for we speak what we know, and we testify to what we have seen; and of the truth of what we have written we convey to you the most undoubted assurance. With our own hands we have handled his holy body; we took a comb and carefully and reverently we combed and arranged the hair which lay thick on his comely head. On the Sunday before the feast of St. Barnabas⁴ (June 9) was celebrated the feast of the Translation of our most blessed father, in the presence of two cardinals, the one of Albano, the other legate at the Court of France; archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, whose number exceeds our power of computation. The feast was celebrated with the utmost enthusiasm and grandeur; and the church resounded with the Divine praises. Such a solemnity

¹ Precisely the same description is given by M. Paris of the state of the body. He moreover adds that when the monks wanted to bestow a portion of the remains upon King Louis, who was just starting on a crusade, he energetically refused the offer, saying: "God forbid that what He has preserved whole and entire for so long a time should be mutilated on my account".

² Ps. xlv. 3.

³ Ps. xlv. 8.

⁴ The MS. erroneously has St. Bernard.

reflected no little honour upon our own nation. May your holiness fare well with all the prosperity you can desire for length of time."

Albert, speaking of the enthusiasm which this ceremony evoked, says that the monastery and even the adjacent villages were altogether insufficient to accommodate the crowds of people ; and they were obliged to shelter themselves in tents and booths, which gave to the surrounding country the appearance of some important annual fair.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POSTHUMOUS GLORY OF ST. EDMUND.

THE shrine of St. Edmund, at Pontigny, became famous throughout Christendom, on account of the uninterrupted series of miracles wrought, and graces vouchsafed there on behalf of those afflicted with the manifold ills to which the human body and spirit are exposed. For those were the ages of faith, and they who laboured under any affliction of body or soul, especially when human remedies had failed, never hesitated to have recourse to the patronage and intercession of the saints. Their faith and pious confidence were often rewarded by the granting of the favour which they sought.

The records of these cures and graces conferred have been preserved in voluminous manuscripts, of which many exist at Pontigny, whilst others are to be found in the archives of Oxford. Martène, in his *Thesaurus*, vol. iii., has published a selection from these miracles, but even these are too numerous and prolix for reproduction in this work; nor are they generally of sufficient interest to the modern reader, except a few, which seem to present some characteristic features which make them worthy of notice. There are two manuscripts in the Bodleian which set forth the miracles wrought by the Saint at his tomb. One is the MS. Bodl. 240, and the other is at the end of the *Life* by Robert Rich, in MS. Fell. I. vol. iv. This latter manuscript is stated by Hardy to have once belonged to the Abbey of Abingdon. It contains an immense number of miracles, evidently written by some monk who was residing on the spot at the time when they took place. By the observations which he occasionally makes, he appears to have been a man of great shrewdness and penetration, as, for

example, where he says (f. 20 col. 1): "I am going to speak of another case, where the complaint was not so serious. But what do I say? No one thinks any complaint he is suffering from to be a trifling thing."¹ He always takes care to tell us where the relief afforded was only partial. Thus, a blind person was restored to sight but not perfectly.² He also relates only those miracles of which he has received demonstrative proof. For he tells us (f. 27) that he has heard of many more miracles besides those which he describes, but he refrains from quoting them for lack of sufficient evidence, and because he was not altogether convinced of their authenticity;³ and so, he says, "we let them out at one ear with the same facility with which we admitted them at the other, for we do not wish to mix chaff with grain, nor things doubtful with things certain".

The following scraps from this voluminous work present certain points of interest. He begins, of course, with the first miracle wrought by St. Edmund after his interment, the cure of the crippled boy, Thomas de Legny, aged fourteen. He gives a curious account of the sensations of a blind man when he received his sight; he says, when he began to see, a flash of light struck his eyes, as happens in a thunderstorm, just like the forked flash of a thunderbolt glittering with flame.⁴ Another miracle was wrought on the day after Ash Wednesday, in the presence of the Bishops of Exeter, Worcester, and Norwich. After the miracle, the Bishop of Worcester intoned the *Te Deum*, which was taken up by the whole convent.⁵ One of the Christ Church monks, who was suffering from quartan fever, came to Pontigny, but was not cured, and retired with shame. But he richly deserved it, and was justly punished for having at one time doubted the archbishop's sanctity.⁶ Two other clerics, who were also adverse to St. Edmund, met a man who told them that he had

¹ "Nemini parva videtur egritudinis molestia quam tulerat."

² "Cui collata est videndi gratia sed non plena."

³ "Nec ad purum veritas nobis eliquata."

⁴ f. 13 col. 2.

⁵ f. 17 col. 1.

⁶ f. 18 col. 1.

been cured of a quartan fever by St. Edmund. One of them said scornfully : " Why did you not ask the Saint to restore to your horse the sight of his blind eye ? " The man replied : " Do not speak in that way of the Lord's anointed, nor disparage his glory ". Why need I say more ? He who had cast the venom of his derision on the Saint, on that very day was drowned in a certain river along with his horse.¹

This writer says it would require the genius of an Origen and the tongue of a Cicero adequately to sing the praises of St. Edmund's shrine.

We will now mention one or two of the miracles given by Martène, which are also found in the preceding author. It will be observed that some of the cases here mentioned are alluded to by the Pope in his bull of canonisation.

One Adelina had a contracted thigh, and was hunchbacked. She could only crawl along the ground. On the Feast of St. Edmund, after fasting on bread and water, she caused herself to be laid on the stone on which the body of Edmund had been placed. She rose up instantaneously perfectly cured, and walked home. She was seen by the Pope and cardinals, who examined her on the cure. A certain knight, when told that she had been healed, impiously said that he did not believe either God or devil could cure her ; for his own son had once carried her on his back out of her house which was on fire, and so saved her from death, so helpless was she.

Hugo, a boy aged eleven, fell into a pond and was drowned. Lady Petronilla, whose serf the boy was, made a vow that, if he revived, she would emancipate him and offer him at Pontigny to become a monk. The boy's mother ratified the vow. The child came to life again ; and the narrator saw him in the monastery learning his letters, and waiting till he should be old enough to make his monastic profession.

One of the subjects presented to the Pope at Lyons for his personal inspection was Walter of Pocklington, who was dumb from his birth, and received the use of speech on visiting the relics of St. Edmund at Catesby.

¹ f. 41.

Another presented to the Pope was Sarah de Wileby, a leper, who was cured at Catesby by being wrapped in St. Edmund's cloak.

A monk, who seems to have been paralysed, rubbed his limbs with dust from the place where St. Edmund had been buried, saying: "Holy Edmund, my abbot sent me to you to heal me, which you will certainly do by this token, that it was he who placed you in the tomb, and, when he stood at your head, he often kissed your face, and put a pillow under your head". He was cured, and began to skip up and down the altar-steps.

William de Ferrières in Gastinois, an inmate of the hospital for the poor at Pontigny, was delivered from several diseases.

One of Dean Hook's foolish remarks is that "saint worship was in this age carried to the height of extravagance".¹ We have seen in the preceding pages that the Pope who canonised Edmund, and the people who had recourse to his intercession, knew very well what they were doing, and had the best of reasons for taking the course they did. No doubt the sudden outburst of enthusiasm took every one by surprise; and one writer, the author of the little treatise, "*De promissione B. Thomæ*," seeks to account for the fact that Edmund rivalled Thomas himself in the glory which he achieved and the wonders which he wrought. He accounts for it by placing Edmund in the same category of martyrs as Thomas. He says there are three kinds of martyrs: first, those who shed their blood for the faith of the Catholic articles of belief in testimony against pagans; secondly, those who shed their blood for the faith of the sacraments in testimony against heretics; and thirdly, those who suffered and died for the faith of the liberty of the Church in testimony against kings and tyrants. In this last battalion are to be numbered those stout men of war: the Blessed Thomas, Stephen Langton, and St. Edmund, who, by their valiant testimony, made it clear that he is no less a witness (martyr) who defends ecclesiastical liberty than he who defends article by article the faith of Christianity.

¹ *Lives of Abps.*, iii. 221.

The translation of the Saint's relics, which took place after his canonisation, solemn as it was, was not destined to be a final one. On that same day, two years afterwards, that is to say, on June 9, 1249, another translation took place. We must now explain how this came about ; for the circumstances reveal a curious little episode in the usually quiet life of the Cistercian community.

It seems, then, that not long after the first translation a controversy began to arise in the community respecting the treasure which they possessed. The community were divided into two parties ; of which one, including the abbot and prior, thought they should adhere to the severe simplicity of Cistercian observance, and allow the body to rest in a plain stone sarcophagus, with perhaps a little sculpture and painting to decorate it ; whilst another party, consisting of the devoted admirers of the Saint, were not satisfied with this, but wanted to have a truly magnificent shrine of precious material and wrought with elaborate art. This, too, had been the opinion of the Cardinal of Albano, and the partisans of this scheme urged that it was their duty to carry out the wishes of the representative of the Holy See. The others replied that the Cistercian order was founded on humility, and should cultivate humility in all its relations. The agitators replied that it was all very well for saints like St. Bernard and St. Malachy and others to conform to the spirit of the order to which they belonged and to repose in plain tombs, but that a great Archbishop of Canterbury like Edmund ought to emulate St. Thomas in the magnificence of his shrine. The dispute between the two parties grew so acute that they were very near parting company. However, certain bishops were called in, amongst whom was St. Richard, and the matter was referred to them. Unfortunately, the bishops themselves could not agree, and so the dissension grew worse. Richard took no part in the controversy, but bided his time ; nor would he disclose his mind until all angry feelings had calmed down. At length the opinion of the abbot, prior and cellarer, as having more authority, though less reason (says the narrator), prevailed, and the body was placed in a plain stone coffin. The dispute subsided for a time, but the agitators said : " Let it be

so for the present, but we shall soon see what will take place—another translation certainly”. In fact, so it happened by the dispensation of Divine Providence.

Certain abbots of Citeaux, La Ferté and others, came to Pontigny to make a visitation. This burning question of course came up for discussion. The visitors found that the prior had been much too excited about the matter, and deposed him, though for another (legitimate) reason. Soon after, the abbot also resigned, but before doing so appointed Bertrand, St. Edmund's chamberlain, as prior, in order that he might not be separated from his beloved master, to whom he bore the same attachment as Eliseus felt for Elias. His priorate would be a good excuse for never leaving the spot, whether to attend at court or to go on business to England.

Bertrand accepted the office with reluctance; his chief reason for taking it being, first, his desire to carry out the project of constructing a magnificent shrine; secondly, that no prelate might claim his services; and thirdly, because, when he was once in England, he had thoughts of leaving Edmund's service; but the Saint said to him: “You cannot any way depart from me until you are made abbot or prior”. He thought this had been fulfilled long ago, when he was elected Prior of Dover, and afterwards Abbot of Tre Fontane, both of which dignities he declined. His appointment as Prior of Pontigny was, of course, a triumph for the party who were agitating for a shrine, and the work was at once commenced. Subsequently, he went to the papal court, settled all his accounts, and returned to the monastery a free man, with papal letters sanctioning the erection of a sumptuous shrine, notwithstanding the contrary custom of the Cistercian order. This bull is given in Martène, and the original is preserved at Pontigny. In it the Pope confirms the instructions which the cardinal had left respecting a suitable shrine; namely, “that it should be decently adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, any custom or statute of the order notwithstanding”. As this bull is dated December 10, 1250, that is to say, after the second translation, it must refer to the projected sumptuous decoration of the new shrine already existing.

As already observed, the new magnificently-wrought shrine was completed, and the Saint's body transferred to it, on the second anniversary of the first translation, June 9, 1249. The shrine was constructed of gold, silver, and crystal, and set with many precious stones. A fourth part of this costly work, the front gable, was contributed at the expense of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who attributed his recovery from an illness to the Saint's intercession. He subsequently made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and enriched it with valuable gifts, especially one jewel of priceless value, almost unique in the royal treasures of that period.

There were present at this second translation a great number of prelates and nobles, amongst whom were the Bishops of Auxerre and Orleans, of Norwich and Chichester, besides a vast concourse of the common people. When the body was transferred from the old tomb to the new shrine it was found to be still entire, incorrupt, flexible, and supple, and exhaling the same sweet odour as had been perceived on the first translation.

Soon after this,¹ the monks took a step which provoked a great amount of adverse criticism from the Black Monks, especially from Matthew Paris, who ascribes it, in his usual way, to a sinister motive, and attributes to it a disastrous result. The simple fact is this : the monks detached one of the Saint's arms, and reserved it for public veneration, whilst the body itself was kept closed from view. This proceeding Paris attributes to a sordid motive of avarice. Women were not admitted into the Cistercian churches ; hence, in order to make more money out of the sacred relics, they cut off the arm that it might be exposed to veneration in a place accessible to women. He also says that the Saint showed his indignation at this mutilation of his body, by working miracles more sparingly than hitherto, whilst the detached limb became black and discoloured. In this view he is followed by the chronicler of Lanercost and others. But the explanation which is furnished by the Pontigny community

¹ According to Capgrave, in 1250. The same author states that their motive is not known, but that God was so displeased in consequence that miracles ceased. *Nova Leg.*, f. cvi. 1^o col. 1.

is most simple and natural, and will lead any unprejudiced mind to put aside these harsh judgments of the critics. Their explanation is this: so great was the ceaseless flow of pilgrims to the shrine, that two monks were constantly employed to attend to their demands, relieving each other alternately. It was the duty of the monk in attendance to lift up the arm of the Saint, to enable the pilgrim to kiss the hand. The constant movement of the limb up and down had so loosened the joint, that it became a very easy matter to detach it altogether. Moreover, the monks considered that it would conduce greatly to the peace and repose of their community, to the honour of the Saint himself and their own comfort, if a relic were detached from the body and exposed for veneration in a place where the Divine office would not be disturbed by the constant accession of pilgrims. As for the discoloration of the limb, that would be sufficiently accounted for by the promiscuous handling and kissing to which it was subjected. That miracles diminished in number may well have been the case, but for a different reason from that assigned. Miracles would diminish in proportion as the faith and devotion of the people began to wane. Our Divine Lord has laid down the principle in many places of the holy Gospels, that miracles are vouchsafed in proportion to the faith and devotion of the recipients.¹ It is said of Him that He wrought not many miracles amongst the people of His own country, because of their unbelief. Hence, if St. Edmund and the other wonder-workers of old have ceased to work miracles, it is not because they have lost the power to do so, nor the will to come to the succour of their devout clients, but simply because those devout clients have ceased to exist. Restore the faith and devotion of the middle ages and mediæval miracles will revive. We have but to go to the Grotto of Lourdes in order to be convinced of that fact. But, in the absence of that faith and that devotion, to expect a miracle to satisfy our curiosity, whether scientific or vulgar, would be as foolish and unreasonable as the expectation of Herod that our Lord would work a miracle for his amusement.

¹ Matt. xvii. 19, viii. 13; Mark ix. 22; Matt. xiii. 58, etc. etc.

That the devotion of the pilgrims to St. Edmund's shrine was far from diminishing is manifest from the numerous episcopal diplomas which continued to be issued for a considerable period, conferring indulgences on such pilgrims. Many of the originals of these diplomas are preserved in the archives of Pontigny.¹ They are granted by Popes, by English, French, and even Italian bishops. They extend in date from the time of the canonisation down to the year 1267. They chiefly consist of instructions enjoining the faithful to keep the Saint's festival, or granting indulgences to those who visit the Saint's shrine or contribute alms towards its adornment. Henry III. and his queen, Richard, his brother, the Queen and Queen-Dowager of France all sent precious gifts to the new shrine; and bishops from all quarters sent out of their treasures valuable works of art for the same purpose. "Kings shall see, and princes shall rise up and adore" the Lord thy God, O blessed Father Edmund, and the "Holy One of Israel who hath chosen thee".²

We present one or two extracts from these episcopal diplomas which are of special interest. The cardinals John and Hugo wrote to the suffragans of the Province of Lyons, ordering them to keep St. Edmund's Feast, "so that we may for ever have as our constant intercessor in heaven him whom we revered on earth as a pearl of sincerity and the example of a good life".

Innocent IV. gives permission to women to enter the church of Pontigny on the Feast of St. Edmund's Translation. Hugh, Prior of Chartreux, writes to Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, and thanks him for the present of a copy of St. Gregory's "Moralia". He exhorts him to imitate St. Edmund. "May the Spirit of the Father inspire you to imitate him who is constantly put before your eyes by the many miracles he performs, the pious deeds he wrought, and the very chair in which you sit. Imitate also the holy Bishop of Lincoln, St. Hugh. These, as you know, came from us;"³ but even on the lofty

¹ Massé, pp. 413-427.

² Isai. xlix. 7.

³ He seems to claim St. Edmund as a Carthusian: on what grounds we are quite at a loss to imagine.

height of the episcopal dignity, they converted the haughtiness of this world into humility ; luxury into frugality ; riches into poverty ; they constantly retained the observance of their Carthusian profession." This letter is dated from Chartreux, November 6, 1250.

By a bull, dated Naples, April 22, 1255, Alexander IV. confirms the privilege granted to English women to visit the shrine of their holy compatriot, a privilege which seems to have excited considerable jealousy on the part of their French sisters. The permission was originally granted, through a papal faculty, by the Cardinal John. It is now confirmed by Alexander, but with some restrictions ; they are only allowed to enter in groups ; they are not to be seen in the cloister when the monks are present there ; they are not to eat or sleep within the precincts of the monastery ; but they may enter into the chapter-house, in order to claim the suffrages of the monks.

On November 4, 1262, Henry III. by a charter grants twenty marks annually to Pontigny for lighting four candles to burn before the shrine of St. Edmund.

St. Gregory remarks, in his *Life of St. Benedict*, that though the efficacy of a saint's intercession is most conspicuous in those places where his relics are preserved, nevertheless, it makes itself felt also wheresoever the memory of the saint is loved, honoured and invoked. We may be quite sure that in no part of England was the memory of St. Edmund held dearer than in the Benedictine convent of Catesby, where the Saint's two sisters edified the community by their piety and devotion.

Accordingly, we find that it was here that immediately after St. Edmund's departure from this life a series of stupendous miracles began to be wrought through his intercession. We have seen one or two examples in the preceding pages. It will be remembered that the Saint bequeathed to his sister, the prioress, his cloak and cape, together with a carved silver tablet. These were kept and venerated there as most precious relics, and shed a halo of glory around that poor and humble convent, which had been chosen by St. Edmund for his sisters precisely because it was poor and humble. The faith and piety

of those who flocked to the convent church to venerate these relics were rewarded by multiplied miracles which were celebrated not only throughout England but even on the continent. To satisfy their own devotion, and that of the many pilgrims who flocked thither, the nuns erected in their church a chapel, dedicated to St. Edmund, in which the relics were deposited. It was in this chapel, as we have seen, that Henry of Erdington desired his body to be buried.

Soon after the death of our Saint, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, only brother of Henry III., had a son born to him. The child received the name of Edmund out of veneration for the Saint. In after life he showed his devotion to his heavenly patron by erecting a chapel in his honour on the spot where he first saw the light at Abingdon. He was led to do so by a vision which he had during his sleep. The erection of the chapel took place in 1288, and already in the following year the monastic chronicler records the numerous miracles which were wrought there.¹ From a passage in the Lanercost Chronicle it would appear that the house in which the Saint was born was destroyed to make room for this chapel, and that it was actually undergoing construction when the chronicler wrote. For he says: "On the site of the house where (Mabel) gave him birth, a new church is about to be constructed".²

On the same day on which Edmund was canonised, his friend, Richard Crokesly, was made Abbot of Westminster. He showed his devotion to the Saint by erecting a chapel to his honour in Westminster Abbey.

Another friend of St. Edmund, who had known him at Salisbury, was Walter de la Wyle, who subsequently became bishop of that see (1263-1270). He gave a substantial proof of the veneration in which he held his friend by erecting and endowing a collegiate church for secular canons in the city of Salisbury, which was dedicated to St. Edmund. The charter of foundation is dated February 17, 1269,³ and states that the

¹ Ann. Wigorn., p. 499.

² "In area domus ubi felicem hunc peperit in lucem, de novo habetur ecclesia exstructanda." Lan. Chron., p. 38.

³ Sarum Charters (Rolls), p. 346.

college is founded for the increase of Divine worship, and for the honour of St. Edmund. It is to consist of thirteen canons and a provost, who should live in common. In the church they had to wear black copes and surplices; abroad, simple colours such as grey, russet or black. They had all to use a common refectory and dormitory. They were also required to take part in all the solemn processions in the cathedral. They had to assist at matins, hear mass, and attend the theological lectures; after which they had to sing mass and perform the rest of the Divine office in choir. Twenty marks yearly were assigned to this institute out of the living of Winterbourne Whitechurch.¹ The church—or rather a portion of what must have been once a magnificent structure—still exists as a parochial church; and in recent times a collegiate school, under the invocation of St. Edmund, was established on the site of the ancient prebendal foundation by the Rev. Dr. Bourne, a devout client of our Saint.

Bishop Walter de la Wyle chose as his burial-place the chapel dedicated to St. Edmund in Salisbury Cathedral. For one of the earliest chapels erected in the new cathedral was dedicated to St. Edmund. It is the central chapel of the north-eastern aisle of the great transept.²

W. de la Wyle's successor in the See of Sarum was Walter Scammell, who also signalised his devotion to the Saint by endowing a chantry to be celebrated daily at the altar of St. Edmund. The endowment was five marks; and the chantry-priest had to attend the theological lectures, and

¹ It is clear from this charter that Wood is not correct in stating that W. de la Wyle founded a *school* dedicated to St. Edmund at Salisbury. According to this writer (*Hist. and Ant.*, l. i. p. 91) it was one of the institutions established to provide for the education of students at the time of the exodus which took place at Oxford in consequence of certain troubles about this period. A course of studies was provided for by the charter of institution, but it was not its main object. Wood's observation seems rather to refer to the College de Vaux, according to Tanner (*Wilts.*, 31), founded in 1260 for the benefit of scholars who had retired from Oxford in consequence of the interdict. This college was founded by Bishop Giles, Walter's predecessor; and the chancellor of the diocese lived there and gave lectures.

² Unhappily, this chapel is now devoted, not to the *cultus* of St. Edmund, but to the accommodation of the organ-bellows!

to assist at matins, hours and mass on all feasts of nine lections.

Considering how much King Henry was responsible for the causes which led to St. Edmund's exile and death, we are naturally led to inquire what his sentiments were in view of the Saint's canonisation, and the fame of his sanctity as evidenced by the numerous miracles wrought at his tomb and elsewhere. We have seen how actively, and for a time successfully, he opposed his canonisation, and how cruelly he treated Richard de la Wych on his appointment to the See of Chichester, partly on account of his relationship with the late archbishop. Nevertheless, by a revulsion of feeling and change of attitude, not unusual with him, his sentiments did undergo a marked change. For when the news of the canonisation reached him, we are told that he manifested the greatest joy.¹ Perhaps his opposition had been a mere matter of state policy, contrary to his better instincts, which he allowed to resume their sway when he found that the canonisation was an accomplished fact which could not be reversed. At all events, he at once, on receiving the news, ordered his chaplains to light a number of candles, to array themselves in the most precious vestments, and to sing the mass *Gaudeamus* in honour of the new Saint.

Nor was his joy insincere, for we find him subsequently showing evident marks of his appreciation of the Saint, and of his desire to make reparation for the outrages he had committed against him. As early as 1251 he had formed the resolution of making a pilgrimage to Pontigny, in order to effect his reconciliation, but circumstances prevented him from carrying out his project at that time. However, in 1254, he happened to be in France, and as he was then suffering from some complaint, he resolved at length to make what reparation he could for his past conduct. Accordingly, he bent his steps towards Pontigny, and prayed devoutly before the shrine. Edmund revenged himself on the king in the wonted way of the saints, and Henry rose up from his prayer perfectly healed of his infirmity. Another illustrious

¹ "Gavius est vehementer."

pilgrim to the shrine was Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who went there in 1249. We have already stated in the sketch of the life of St. Richard, that the last act of that holy bishop was to dedicate a hospital and cemetery for the poor in the town of Dover, in honour of his beloved archbishop. This was in 1253.

It is interesting to note that the solemnisation of St. Edmund's Feast originated in Oxford, that city which he had for so many years illustrated and adorned by his learning and virtues ; for, in 1247, Henry was holding a parliament at Oxford, in the course of which he ordered that a solemn mass should be sung in honour of St. Edmund, then lately canonised. In the Oxford Calendar, the Feast of St. Edmund was observed as a *non legitur* day ; and mass was celebrated for the soul of Henry III.¹

Matthew Paris states that Walter Marshall obtained his inheritance through the prayers of St. Edmund. Walter succeeded to his brother Gilbert, St. Edmund's friend, who was accidentally killed in a tournament at Ware, the date of which event (1241) is fixed by Robert of Gloucester.²

"At the torment of wareine·sir gilebert the Marshall· Defouled was thorū mesauntre· & debrused al· & deide as twelf hundred zer· & fourti & on."

It is interesting to find that devotion to St. Edmund was so far cultivated in his native country that altars were erected there to his honour, where many miracles were wrought, one of which we will relate from the Waverley Annals.³ In the year 1260, during a great drought, a certain man of Hungerford took a barrel of water into his field to irrigate it, and blasphemously observed that he was going to do what God could not do. He was instantly punished by being stricken with paralysis. He was carried by the neighbours to the church of Aston Tirrold, and laid before the altar of St. Edmund, "where many great miracles had been wrought". Through the merits and intercession of St. Edmund, the man was restored to health and soundness of limb.

¹ Anstey, Mun. Acad. Oxon.

² Ed. Hearne, p. 529.

³ Ann. Monast., ii. p. 351.

The last notice which we borrow from these contemporary records, illustrating the estimation in which St. Edmund was held, is a curious story, mentioned by Matthew Paris, which shows how much the Saint had endeared himself to the hearts of all who loved their country. About the time of Edmund's death Henry was engaged on a costly undertaking: that of enlarging the defences of the Tower of London. In the year 1241 a certain holy priest one night had a vision in which he saw an archbishop approaching the new fortifications with a frowning and threatening aspect. With one blow of his crosier he levelled the whole fabric to the ground, as if it had been destroyed by an earthquake. The priest then asked one of the attendant clerics who the archbishop was. He replied: "St. Thomas the martyr, and if he had not done it St. Edmund would, and that still more thoroughly". The priest shook his head and said: "It is a great waste of material and labour". The cleric replied: "Oh, if it had only been a question of providing poor men with employment and the means of subsistence, the undertaking would not have been amiss; but the constructions were intended to overawe and oppress the harmless citizens of London".

The next morning, April 23, it was found that the whole structure, on which about twelve thousand marks had been expended, had collapsed during the night.¹

Capgrave, in his "Nova Legenda," relates a curious miraculous cure which is also found in the Bodley MS. 240, p. 845, and was attended by unusual circumstances. A certain knight was afflicted with leprosy. After having tried all natural remedies in vain, his wife advised him to have recourse to St. Edmund. A litter was ordered to take him to the shrine on the following day. But during that night he was heard to utter the most appalling shrieks and cries in his sleep, and yet nobody could wake him until the morning. When he did awake he explained to his wife that he had seen in his sleep a bishop attended by a cleric, who asked him whither he was going. He answered: "To St. Edmund to be cured". The bishop then asked him what he was

¹ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, iv. 94.

prepared to suffer if he were cured ; he replied : " Anything ". Whereupon the bishop ordered his cleric to flay the knight, which was done. Hence the shrieks he had been heard to utter. His wife said : " You ought to be glad of it, for it is evident you are cured ". And so he was ; and going the next day to make his thanksgiving at the shrine, he found his own skin already hung up there !

We have now brought our record, compiled from native sources, of the veneration paid to St. Edmund, down to the close of the thirteenth century, at which period these sources desert us. The long and disastrous wars of a hundred years between England and France broke out towards the middle of the following century, thus preventing the access of English pilgrims to the Saint's shrine ; though it is touching to find that the English monarchs, even in the midst of this warfare, were solicitous for the payment of the annual pension to Pontigny in order to maintain the lights which burned before the shrine of St. Edmund. Then came that period of worldly magnificence and spiritual desolation, the reign of commendatory abbots, the furious onslaught of the Calvinists in the sixteenth century, the destructive march of the revolutionists at the close of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, by a singular and special dispensation of Divine Providence, the incorruptible remains of our Saint have passed unscathed through all these vicissitudes, through all the storms of heretical and revolutionary fury which have devastated France, and scattered to the winds the ashes of so many other saints.

For the following details of the homage paid to our Saint during these intervening centuries we are entirely indebted to Père Massé.¹ And here we may be allowed to express a hope that this charming and truly classical work will soon be presented to the public in a new edition enriched with more complete details from the sources which have recently been opened out.

In all the calamities which menaced or afflicted the commonweal or that of the royal family, the Kings of France never forgot the efficacy of the intercession of this

¹ *Vie de S. Edme.*, pp. 380 et seq.

wonder-worker who reposed in their midst. In 1349, the period of the terrible "black death," Philip de Valois came to implore the Saint's aid to avert the awful scourge, and passed several days in this pious work of supplication. In 1479 a similar cause led Louis XI. to enjoin a public procession from the city of Auxerre to the Saint's shrine, a distance of four leagues; whilst the monarch himself paid several visits of devotion to the tomb of St. Edmund, and relieved with royal munificence the poverty to which it was reduced by the troubles of the times.

In 1585 the queen of Henry III. came to implore through the Saint's intercession the consolation of male offspring to secure the succession to the throne of France. In the church of St. Nicholas at Châtillon-sur-Seine there once existed the following inscription: "On July 4, 1639, a procession, consisting of three hundred and forty persons, went from this town to Pontigny to visit the relics of St. Edmund in order to accomplish a vow made during the pestilence". These processions from towns and villages were of constant occurrence down to the period of the revolution. They came to implore succour in their various necessities, spiritual and temporal; and the frequency of these appeals shows that they did not implore in vain.

We have said that the relics of St. Edmund have been secured from profanation by a special dispensation of Divine Providence. This is manifest from what took place in the attack made on the monastery by the Huguenots in 1568. The monks, being warned in time of the impending visit, removed the sacred body from its shrine and carefully concealed it. They consigned the precious ornaments to the care of a public official, and then dispersed themselves, taking refuge in the houses of the surrounding district. The Huguenots arrived in the month of February, 1568. They found the monastery deserted. Disappointed at not finding any human victims, they wreaked their vengeance on everything they could find. They sought everywhere for the body of St. Edmund in order to burn it, but their search was fruitless. They discovered the tomb of Hugh of Maçon, founder of the monastery, whose body they mistook for that

of St. Edmund, especially as it was nearly perfect, and arrayed in pontifical vestments. They burnt it with a savage outburst of joy. They attempted to destroy the church by fire, but its solid massiveness resisted the action of the flames. A second visit was paid by these Vandals under the orders of the Prince de Condé in the following year. The elaborate shrine, with its untold wealth of precious metal and jewels, was never recovered from the faithless hands in which it was deposited. The monks instituted legal proceedings, but failed to obtain redress, and the treasure fell a prey to the Viscountess de St. Florentin. Not only the shrine with its ornaments, but also the bronze tomb which contained it and the copper pillars which supported it, were carried away and never recovered by the monks. However, when peaceful times returned, the sacred body was brought forth from its hiding-place; and in 1687, to the great consolation of the faithful, it was placed in a new shrine supported by four angels, as it is at present. The last translation of the sacred relics took place in 1749. The abbot of that period erected an altar in honour of the Saint at the end of the apse. The shrine was placed over this altar between the two columns which terminate the sanctuary. The ceremony took place on the Feast of the Saint, November 16, and was performed by the Bishop of Auxerre. The devotion of the people on this occasion seemed to bring back the ages of faith, but it was the last expiring effort of Christian faith and piety. Forty years later, in 1789, the revolutionists demolished the monastery, pillaged the church, and were about to hack the shrine to pieces when they were restrained by an invisible power. One ruffian, more hardened than the rest, mounted a ladder to accomplish the work; he lifted his axe to deliver a stroke when he felt his limbs tremble; a cold sweat broke out from him; his arm fell powerless; pale with fright, he descended the ladder, and no one else had the courage to renew the attempt.

St. Edmund, once more, during these dark days of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," relegated to the catacombs, continued to receive the secret vows and homage of the few who remained faithful. An age of supercilious indifference to all religion succeeded to this outburst of satanic fury; but the

sacred remains are still there watching over that distracted country, and, we hope, over his native country, awaiting a glorious resurrection, not only to a reunion with his beatified soul, but a resurrection of faith and piety in the country of his birth, and of his adoption.

One of the many consolations which the writer of this work has enjoyed in the course of his labours has been the discovery that the name of St. Edmund is still loved and venerated by so many who are separated from the visible communion of the Church. May our Saint obtain for them the grace to be reconciled to the Church, for whose inalienable rights he laid down his life!

In 1825 a curate of Pontigny, now reduced to a secular cure, on his own responsibility substituted a modern shrine for that which had existed from the seventeenth century. Before the body was deposited in its new resting-place, it was exposed for six months in a *chapelle ardente*, and there received the veneration of an immense concourse of people. Speaking of this modern shrine, P. Massé says it exhibits a combination of magnificence and poverty, which witness to the long veneration and the long indifference of which it has been the object. The body was, when this author wrote, still clothed in the same pontifical vestments with which it was invested at the first translation in 1247. The head is well preserved and retains several teeth, which are still visible. The left hand is desiccated and is stretched by the side of the body. The right hand, still perfect, is kept in a separate reliquary for veneration. There is also preserved in the treasury a wooden cup used by the Saint, perhaps the one which he bequeathed to his faithful friend, Richard de la Wych. As we have already observed, the heart and viscera, together with some portion of his vestments, were preserved in the Abbey of St. James, at Provins.

In the year 1842 the Abbey of Pontigny was purchased by the Archbishop of Sens, and assigned by him to Père Muard, of holy memory, who was then seeking a sphere for the exercise of his missionary zeal. In the following year, 1843, he installed himself, with three associates, in the abbey ruins, until such time as suitable buildings could be erected

for their accommodation. Subsequently, Père Muard was appointed superior of the little community by the archbishop, and he proceeded to draw up rules for its guidance, thus inaugurating the "Society of Auxiliary Priests, under the patronage of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, and the invocation of St. Edmund and of St. Francis Xavier". In 1848 Père Muard left them to found his new institute, which is now established under the rule of St. Benedict, whilst the rest of the community, soon after, formed themselves into a religious congregation, taking the usual vows, under the title of the "Fathers of St. Edmund," their first superior being the Abbé Boyer, whom Père Muard had selected to supply his place when leaving Pontigny.¹ Thus the church and shrine of St. Edmund remain under the guardianship of this pious congregation of religious men, who have consecrated themselves to the service of God and of His neglected poor, and who strive to imitate their patron and model by leading a contemplative and apostolic life.

Returning now to England: In the year 1793 (we are now quoting from Canon Doyle's *Brief Outline of the History of Old Hall*) a band of fugitives from Douay College, which had been seized by the French Republicans, had taken refuge in London. They were collected together by Dr. Douglass, vicar-apostolic of the London district, and taken by him to Old Hall, a school for Catholic education opened by Dr. Talbot in 1769. They arrived there on November 12, 1793, but waited until the 16th in order to make a formal commencement of an ecclesiastical seminary under the invocation of St. Edmund. The entry in Dr. Douglass' diary is as follows: "On November 16, the Feast of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, we commenced studies, or established the new college there, a substitute for Douay". After mentioning the names of the students (four in number) he proceeds: "These four communicated at my hands. I said mass, and after mass exposed the Blessed Sacrament, and these four, with Mr. Potier, sang the 'O Salutaris,' 'Pange Lingua,' 'Deus misereatur nostri,' and 'Laudate Dominum

¹ Life of Père Muard, pp. 180 and 344.

omnes gentes' *ad finem*. Thus was the new college instituted under the patronage of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, the afore-mentioned students recommencing their studies in Divinity. *Felix faustumque sit.*"

The venerable prelate might well congratulate himself on having commenced the new institution under the auspices of St. Edmund. He was the "angel of the schools" at Oxford when that university was just starting on its illustrious career, and, if not actually the first who read theology there, he is certainly the first whose learning and sanctity have immortalised him in its annals. Nearly six hundred years had elapsed since that time, of which the last two hundred and fifty had been years of proscription and persecution, when the profession of the Catholic Faith and belief in its sacred dogmas were visited with fine, imprisonment and death; and now, at length, when these dreary days are over, and the Catholic religion begins to breathe freely, it is St. Edmund who, from his throne in heaven, visits once more his native land, and by his presence and patronage inaugurates the first school for the study of sacred theology which existed in this country since the unhappy apostasy of the sixteenth century.

It is not our purpose to write a history, however brief, of St. Edmund's College, as that work has been undertaken by the competent hands of the Rev. Bernard Ward, to whose work we refer our readers whose love and veneration for our Saint will naturally lead them to study with interest the history of an institution erected under his invocation and patronage, and dedicated to the carrying out of the great work which the Saint himself had so much at heart.

We only wish here to call attention to this date of November 16, 1793, as marking the revival of devotion to St. Edmund, in England. Not that we suppose for a moment that the name of St. Edmund had ever been forgotten by our Catholic forefathers in the long ages of persecution, obloquy, and contempt through which they had passed; but now, for the first time, a number of aspirants to the ecclesiastical calling were gathered together under his patronage, bound by a sacred obligation to study and imitate his example, to love and honour him themselves, and to promote his veneration

by others. How many pious, learned, zealous, and devoted priests have during this century left those venerable walls to labour among the London poor, and the faithful of the home counties, we leave to others to say ; but we cannot omit to insist on the fact that such an army of witnesses cannot have failed to bear testimony in an appreciable degree, directly or indirectly, to the efficacy of our Saint's patronage and intercession.

In 1845, fifty years after the foundation stone of the new college was laid, the beautiful church was commenced, the foundation stone being laid by Dr. Griffiths, the vicar-apostolic. It was consecrated by Cardinal Wiseman, under the invocation of St. Edmund, during the Pentecost week of 1853. At the solemn opening on the Thursday of that week, pontifical mass was sung by Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark, in the presence of Cardinal Wiseman, who preached on the occasion.

But the climax of enthusiasm was reached when, on November 16, 1860, the noble relic of the Saint, obtained for the college by Cardinal Wiseman, was received in solemn procession and placed in the beautiful reliquary designed for it by the same eminent prelate. The writer of this work, then a student at the college, well remembers the fervour and exultation with which the hymn composed by the cardinal was sung during the procession.¹ The presence of this precious pledge of the Saint's interest in the welfare of the college seemed to impart new life to its inmates, to spur them on to greater efforts and higher aspirations, that they might become worthier disciples of St. Edmund.

This relic consists of the entire left fibula, and is preserved in a beautiful reliquary, which was exhibited as a work of art in the London Exhibition of 1862. Another relic which consists of a phalange of the right great toe was presented to the Church of SS. Thomas and Edmund, at Erdington, where it is venerated amongst the numerous relics with which that church was enriched through the pious zeal of its founder, the Rev. D. Haigh.

In September, 1874, devotion to St. Edmund received a

¹ This hymn will be found in ch. xxx.

great impetus from the enthusiastic pilgrimage of the Saint's countrymen to his shrine at Pontigny. It was attended by about three hundred and fifty pilgrims, the banner of the Saint being borne by Lord Edmund Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk. The object of this pilgrimage is stated in a pastoral letter addressed to the faithful at the time, by the Archbishop of Westminster. It was "to make intercession for our holy father, the Pope, according to his intentions, for the whole Church, especially in countries where its pastors are under persecution,¹ for the peace of the Christian world, now menaced everywhere by anti-Christian revolutions. It is, moreover, an act of loving veneration to St. Edmund, one of the chief patrons of our clergy, and special patron of our oldest college for the training of priests ; and, further, it is a public homage to the laws and liberties of the Catholic Church, in defence of which St. Edmund died in exile."

For further details of this pilgrimage we must refer our readers to the Rev. B. Ward's *History of St. Edmund's College*.

We understand that it is contemplated to organise another pilgrimage on the occasion of the college centenary in 1893. It would be a great consolation to the writer if this little work contributed in any degree to the success of this pilgrimage, and to the honour and veneration of the Saint.

We will conclude this chapter with a reference to a remarkable grace accorded in recent times in answer to the invocation of St. Edmund. The altar which now stands before the shrine of the relic at St. Edmund's College was erected there in 1871, by Monsignor Patterson, in thanksgiving for the marvellous recovery of one of the students, Cecil Heathcote, who had received an internal injury at a game of football. Though he was apparently dying when the relic was carried to him and applied to the injured part, yet after that devout application he speedily and completely recovered from the effects of the injury.

¹ The Culturkampf was then raging in Germany.

CHAPTER XXX.

LITURGY OF ST. EDMUND.

As we have seen in the preceding pages, the Feast of St. Edmund began to be observed immediately after his canonisation. In fact, the observance of the festival was enjoined by the Pope in the bull of canonisation; an injunction which was enforced in their several provinces and dioceses by Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Lyons, and other bishops of England and France. The chapter-general of the Cistercian order decreed, in 1247,¹ that the Feast of St. Edmund should be observed throughout the order as a feast of twelve lessons with two masses. At Pontigny was also kept the Feast of the Translation; whilst the name of the Saint had to be inserted in the litany, after that of St. Nicholas, in Pontigny and in all houses of that line.

All that remains for us to do now is to present our readers with the text of the office recited on this feast. First, then, as to the principal feast of the Saint's nativity, or entrance into eternal glory, kept on November 16, the mass now in use is the first common mass of a bishop and confessor, *Statuit*, with a proper Collect, Secret and Post-Communion. But there was anciently a proper mass, the Introit of which begins, "Gaudeamus". This ancient mass, taken from the Sarum Missal, will be familiar to some of our readers, as it is authorised to be used throughout the Portsmouth diocese, of which our Saint is the patron; Abingdon, his birth-place, being included in that diocese. There are, however, some slight differences between the mass now in use and the original text, which we proceed to give from a Sarum Missal

¹ Ann. Waver., p. 338.

now in the possession of the Bishop of Portsmouth, and which, according to Dr. Husenbeth, once belonged to Archbishop Chichele (†1443).¹

Introitus.

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore Edmundi confessoris de cujus solemnitate gaudent angeli et collaudant filium dei. Ps. (lxiii. 2), Exaudi deus orationem meam cum deprecor; a timore inimici eripe animam meam. Gloria Patri, Gaudeamus.²

The Collect, Secret and Post-Communion are the same as those now in general use throughout England with these slight exceptions that, in the "Oratio," the Sarum Missal omits "propitius"; and, in the Post-Communion, it has "adjuvare" instead of "juvare". In the "Oratio," M. Paris³ has "largissimæ" instead of "largifluæ"; and, in the Secret, he has: "B. Edmundi, Confessoris atque Pontificis interventu, quæsumus, Domine, ut munera," etc.

Lectio libri Sapientiæ. (Eccli. l. 1-11.)

Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua suffulsit domum, et in diebus suis corroboravit templum. Qui curavit gentem suam et liberavit eam a perditione. Qui prævaluit amplificare civitatem; qui adeptus est gloriam in conversatione gentis et ingressum domus et atrii amplificavit. Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulæ et quasi luna plena in diebus suis lucet, et quasi sol refulgens, sic ille effulsit in templo Dei. Quasi arcus refulgens inter nebulas gloriæ et quasi flos rosarum in diebus vernis, et quasi lilia quæ sunt in transitu aquæ, et quasi thus ardens in igne: quasi vas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide pretioso: quasi oliva pullulans et cypressus in altitudinem se extollens. In accipiendo ipsum stolam gloriæ et vestiri eum in consummatione virtutis.

¹ For these extracts we are indebted to the kindness of Monsignor Cahill, V.G.

² The Portsmouth mass inserts "beati" before "Edmundi," and the Ps. is "Exultate justi in Domino, rectos decet collaudatio".

³ Addit., vi. 126.

Graduale. (Ps. xx. 4, 5.)

Domine, prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis ; posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso. *℣.* Vitam petiit a Te et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in sæculum sæculi. Alleluia. Alleluia. *℣.* Hic Edmundus pauper et modicus, cælum dives ingreditur : hymnis cælestibus honoratur. Alleluia.

The Sequence was from the "common" : "Alma cohors". As sequences are now of very rare occurrence, we transcribe this particular one from the Sarum Missal :—¹

In natali unius confessoris. *Sequentia.* Alma chorus (*sic*) una laudum sonora, nunc prome preconia. Quibus en insignis rutilat (Edmundus) ut luna solque et sydera. Meritorum est mirifica, radians idem sacra prerogativa. Hunc nam sophie mystica ornaverunt mire dogmata, qua fulsit nitida, luculenter per ampla, orbis climata. Verbi necnon fructifera sevit divina semina mentium per arva, pellendo quoque cuncta noctis nebula. Hinc famina fundens diva, utpote celestia, ferens in se (f. ccvii. rº col. 1) numina. Sublimavit catholica vehementer culmina, sancta per eloquia. Is nempe celse compos glorie, nunc exultat inter letabunda celicularum ovans contubernia. Sublimis extat sede supera, fruens vita semper inexhausta, stat per saluberrima Christi pascua. O dignum cuncta laude precelsa Presulem tanta nactum gaudia, virtutum propter merita, quibus viguit ardens velut lampada. Hinc voce clara hinc et jocunda, dantes, oremus, preces et vota. Qui nobis ferat commoda, impetret et eterna poscens premia. Quod petit presens caterva, presulum gemma, devota rependens munia mente sincera. Favendo sibi precum instantia, scilicet ut polorum intrent lumina. Quo jam intra palatia, stantes suprema, leti gratulemur, adepti polorum regna. Qui tua, presul, sistentes hac aula, jubilemus ingenti cum leticia. Recinentes dulcia, nunc celsaque Alleluia.

The Gospel was also from the "common" : "Homo quidam peregre".

¹ Lond. 1557, f. ccvi. vº col. 2.

Offertorium. (Ps. lxxxviii. 25.)

Veritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso ; et in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu ejus.

Communio. (Luke xii. 37, 44.)

Beatus servus quem, cum venerit Dominus, invenerit vigilantem : amen dico vobis, super omnia bona sua constituet eum.

Mass for the Feast of the Translation of St. Edmund, June 9.

Mass, "Gaudeamus," as on the principal feast, except the prayers which are special, and in the Introit "translationem" is substituted for "solemnitate".

Oratio.

Deus, Qui nos beati Edmundi confessoris tui atque pontificis translationis diem celebrare concedis : concede propicius ; ut ejus meritis et precibus a viciis ad virtutes, et a carcere transferamur ad regnum. Per.

Follows a commemoration of SS. Prime and Felician, MM.

Secreta.

Deus, qui panem et vinum in corpus tuum et sanguinem celesti benedictione convertis : concede nobis per merita beati Edmundi confessoris tui atque pontificis, ut ad tuam misericordiam convertentes, tuo beneplacito conformemur.

Post-Communio.

Deus qui beatum Edmundum confessorem tuum atque pontificem a suppliciis ad gaudia transtulisti : tribue quesumus ; ut qui ejus translationem veneramur in terris, per ejus patrocinium ad celestia transferamur. Per.

In the Portsmouth diocese, where the Feast of the Translation is kept, the three prayers are different from the foregoing. They are as follows :—

Oratio.

Deus, Qui nos concedis beati Edmundi, Confessoris Tui atque Pontificis Translationem colere; da nobis ejus meritis et precibus, ut a peccati servitute soluti, ad regni celestis gaudia transire valeamus. Per Dominum.

Secreta.

Haec munera, Domine, in benedictione sanctifica, et præsta; ut beati Edmundi Confessoris Tui atque Pontificis intercessionem nobis salutaria reddantur. Per Dominum.

Post-Communio.

Refecti, Domine, Corporis et Sanguinis Tui mysteriis, te supplices exoramus ut sicut beatum Edmundum, Confessorem Tuum atque Pontificem de hoc seculo ad celestem gloriam transtulisti, ita nos ejus translationem recolentes, ejusdem gloriæ participes esse mereamur. Qui vivis.

FROM ANOTHER OFFICE OF THE TRANSLATION.¹

Oratio.

Augeat in nobis, quesumus, Domine, beati confessoris tui, item pontificis, Edmundi, translatio gloriosa sancte devocionis affectum, ut quod devote petimus, de tua pietate confisi, celerius impetremus. Per Dom.

Secreta.

Oblata, Domine, sanctus pontifex tuus, Edmundus, hec tue pietati commendet libamina: et translationis ejus insignia recolentes, tue conciliet majestati. Per Dom.

Post-Communio.

Divina, domine deus, que ob translationem beati pontificis tui, Edmundi, supplicando libavimus, et vivis prosint ad veniam, et defunctis fidelibus ad levamen. Per Dom.

¹ Apud M. Paris, Hist. Angl., p. 27 (Rolls), where it is stated in a note that it is given in the edition "Wats" from the "Liber Additamentorum" (Cotton MS. Nero D. I., f. 91) with the following reference in the margin: "Composita sunt hec ad Missam dicenda in beati Edmundi Confessoris translacione".

The Divine Office which is daily recited by the clergy, secular and regular, is unhappily less familiar to the laity now-a-days, than it used to be in the time of St. Edmund.¹ They have some slight knowledge of Vespers, and perhaps of Compline; but of the rest of the Divine Office we should be loath to hazard a conjecture as to the extent of their information. How this has come about, it is not our purpose now to inquire; but we think every one will agree that it is a fact much to be regretted.

The office of St. Edmund, as recited by the English clergy at the present day, is entirely *de communi* of a bishop and confessor, except only the prayer and the three lessons of the Second Nocturn, which are proper for nearly all the saints. We need not, therefore, reproduce this office, as it is easily accessible to any of the laity who wish to peruse it.

But before the rearrangement of the office, which took place in the sixteenth century, a somewhat different arrangement prevailed. How far it differed from the modern will be seen from the following specimen of the ancient office of St. Edmund. The Sarum Breviary has been recently (1886) edited by Procter and Wordsworth. In this work, vol. iii., under the date November 16, will be found the office of St. Edmund, bishop and confessor, which we now transfer to these pages.

It begins with a rubric, stating that it is a feast of nine lessons, that the Invitatorium is triplex,² together with this prayer:—

¹ See the Saint's instructions to the faithful on the observance of Sunday, in the "Speculum".

² From a passage in the "Duties of the Treasurer," contained in St. Osmund's Reg. (see our appendix ii.)—"quandocunque Invitatorium a tribus dicitur"—it would appear that the Invitatorium was said to be triplex when it was sung by three cantors. In the general rubrics of the Sarum Breviary (Fasc. ii. col. 462), there is given a "Tabula de Festorum Divisione". According to this, "Festum dividitur in Festum duplex et Festum simplex. Festum duplex dividitur in principale duplex, majus duplex, minus duplex, inferius duplex. Festum simplex dividitur in invitatorium triplex, invitatorium duplex et invitatorium simplex." A feast with the Invitatorium triplex is either "de Sanctis" or "de Octava". It occurs according to these rubrics on fifteen feasts of saints during the year, amongst which are both the Feasts of St. Edmund.

*Oratio.*¹

Deus, Qui largifluæ bonitatis consilio Ecclesiam Tuam beati Edmundi, Confessoris Tui atque Pontificis, præclaræ vitæ meritis decorasti et gloriosis lætificasti miraculis; concede propitius nobis famulis Tuis; ut et ipsius in melius reformemur exemplis, et ab omnibus ejus patrocínio protegamur adversis. Per Dom.

Then follow commemorations of St. Machutus and St. Martin (which was then kept with an octave). After this takes place the procession to the altar of St. Edmund, if there is one, singing this responsory:—

Responsorium (vi.).²

Sancte Edmunde, Christi Confessor, audi rogantes servulos. Et impetratam cælitus tu defer indulgentiam. V. O Sancte Edmunde, sidus aureum, Domini gratia, servorum gemitus solita suscipe clementia. Et. Gloria. Tu defer.

V. Ora pro nobis, O beate Edmunde.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Oratio.

Plenam in nobis, æternæ, Salvator, Tuæ virtutis operare inedelam; ut qui præclara beati Edmundi, Confessoris Tui atque Pontificis, merita veneramur, ipsius adjuti suffragiis, a cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur. Per.

In returning they sing the Antiphon of our Lady.

Then the Nocturns begin, which, like all the rest of the office, except the nine lessons, are *de communi* of a bishop and confessor. The nine lessons, unlike the modern office, are wholly taken up with the legend of the Saint. They are taken verbatim from Pope Innocent's bull of canonisation. As that bull will be found in the appendix,³ we need not here repeat the Latin text. The distinction of the nine lessons will be found noted in the text.

At the end of the sixth lesson the Gospel was read.

Evangelium secundum Matthæum (xxv. 14-23).

¹ This prayer is still in use.

² Sar. Brev., vol. ii. col. 416.

³ App. xxvii.

In illo tempore : dixit Jesus discipulis Suis parabolam hanc ; Homo quidam peregre proficiscens vocavit servos suos ; et tradidit illis bona sua. Et reliqua.

No more is read from the "commune," but it should be read from the "proper" of the Saint.

After this rubric, the office continues with the seventh lesson.

At the end of the ninth lesson occurs the rubric :—

All the rest is said "de communi" of one confessor and bishop, and a commemoration of St. Martin only is made at these matins.

We now proceed to give a translation of these nine lessons, taken from the bull of canonisation, as they will help to elucidate and complete our Life of the Saint :—

Lesson 1. We gladly announce a new joy of our mother the Church in the joyful celebrity of a new Saint, and with exulting soul we announce that a new festival is now kept by the heavenly company. The Church rejoices that she has produced such and so great a son who guides others by the example of his holy conversation, and, having now received the reward of blessedness, gives them a firm hope of salvation. She rejoices that she is dignified with such illustrious offspring, worthy to be extolled by all and worshipped with devout veneration ; for he makes it evident that all those will be admitted to the participation of the eternal inheritance, who by faith and works are true members of our mother the Church ; and that no one will be admitted to eternal glory except through her as keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

Lesson 2. The heavenly country rejoices in the arrival of its new inhabitant ; it rejoices that a new cultivator of the Lord's vineyard is just added to its citizens. The chaste company of the just rejoices that a new fellow-citizen is aggregated to their society ; the saints hymn the praise of their worthy associate, lately incorporated with them. Arise, therefore, you who have a zeal for the faith, and, along with the Church your mother, rejoice in the magnificence and exaltation of so great a son. Overflow with joy, and conceive a sure hope in seeing one who was a denizen of earth with

you become a fellow-countryman of the saints. Rejoice, I say, with unspeakable joy, because we have obtained a new patron before God ; because we have a new pleader on our behalf in His presence.

Lesson 3. The blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, rightly thinking that the creature should tend with a natural impulse to its Creator, and that fallen nature should recognise its Restorer, sought with all affection and earnestness his own Creator and Redeemer. For, bearing in his hand the lamp of a right intention, he made continual advance in the way of perfection, pointing out to others by the lustre of his life and the clearness of his teaching the way of salvation. Hence, by the sweet concord of these three strings—a pure intention, a perfect work, and candour of speech—he chanted as it were a song of triumph over the triple enemy, the flesh, the world, and the devil, whom he overcame by the virtue of perseverance. Endowed by the skill of the Sovereign Trinity with the triple gift of the true faith, firm hope, and fervent charity, he merited to be crowned with the wreath of victory in the triple order of the elect, namely, of the virgin, the continent and the wedded state.

Lesson 4. To come now to some of his acts : The more his life is dwelt upon, the more attractive does it become. What charms the soul most is the fact that from his tender years he began to love the Son of God ; nor did he afterwards dismiss that love from his breast, for on the tender tablet of his heart he had imprinted it with the pen of serious reflection. Indeed, as he grew older, knowing God better, his love became more fervent. And that the fervour of the spirit might not be extinguished by carnal fires, but, on the contrary, might be inflamed by mortification, he tamed his flesh with the roughness of hair-cloth which he always wore ; he bound its appetite in the chains of strict abstinence ; that it might not be led to do its own will, but that of the Spirit ; that he might pursue what was lawful, and decline from what was unlawful. He chastised his body with severe fasts, adding to the observance of the ancients new austerities of his own. He scorned the pleasure of delicate viands ; he was content with common and plain food. In times of fasting he denied himself even things

permitted, and continued his abstinence on the other days of the week.

Lesson 5. He disliked prolonged slumbers ; he was given to long vigils, and persevered in earnest prayer. Scorning the softness of a bed, lest he should be enervated by comfortable repose, the only rest he allowed his limbs was taken on the floor, so that after the refreshment of a short sleep he might rise at once and betake himself to continual genuflections and prayers. From the beginning of his ways he so strove to walk in purity to the end of his life that, without ever lapsing into the mire of sin, he banished all uncleanness by the splendour of purity. What more need we say ? He chastised the frail vessel of his body that he might more safely guard therein the treasure of the soul entrusted to him. An eminent doctor and preacher, he poured the light of knowledge into the minds of his hearers ; and, plucking from the hearts of the faithful the weeds of vices, he sowed therein the seeds of virtues. Exalted in humility, gentle in meekness, strong in patience, affable in kindness, compassionate in tenderness, forgiving to his enemies, he poured out the perennial stream of his alms for the succour of the afflicted.

Lesson 6. To sum up all the merits of his actions in a brief compass : Jesus he knew by a firm faith, and whom he knew he loved with an undivided heart ; and that Object of his love he desired with all his soul. Utterly despising the world and all that it contains, he longed for heavenly things with the utmost earnestness, striving to make his life conformable to his name, that as he was called Edmund, so he might show in his acts that he was pure (*mundus*) from sin ; or again, that he was a stranger to the world (*mundus*), and far removed from its embraces. Consequently, like a spiritual athlete, Edmund, when he was about to be emancipated from the bondage of the flesh, and the Body of Christ was brought to him, reverently adored It, and with extraordinary feeling, broke out into the following exclamation, worthy of every one's attention : " Thou art He in whom I have believed, whom I have preached, whom I have taught, and Thou art my Witness that I have never sought anything but Thee in this world : as Thou

knowest that I wish for nothing but what Thou dost wish : let Thy will be done”.

Lesson 7. But as, when living, he had illustrated the Church of God by his distinguished merits, so, when dead, he did not withdraw from it the rays of his splendour. In fact, since he began more truly to live after he had departed this life, he then illustrated the Church with still greater effulgence. For God did not wish the sanctity of this great man to be overlooked, but caused it to be widely spread by miracles both numerous and Divine in character, so that he who had worshipped God with all his heart's devotion on earth might be venerated as a partaker of God's kingdom. For he restored sight to the blind, and what is still more remarkable, he banished darkness from the eyes of one born blind, and gave him the blessing of sight. To another who was for a long space tongue-tied he gave the faculty of speech. A leper was healed by him, so that all traces of the disease were wiped away. The powerless limbs of a paralytic were restored by him to their pristine vigour. He healed one suffering from dropsy. Another aged person, so deformed that her head was always bowed to the ground, he restored to health and soundness of body so that she was able to walk upright.

Lesson 8. By these and many other patent miracles, which we do not deem it necessary to rehearse, he made himself glorious. The Catholic faith was thereby strengthened, the obstinacy of the Jews was put to shame, the wiles of heretics were confounded, and the ignorant pagans were astonished. Let the church of Canterbury therefore sing a song of praise to God, because, above all other churches in these modern times, she has been honoured with two venerable patrons, of whom one adorns her with the rosy tints of his martyrdom, the other with the fair white robe of his confessorship. Let fruitful Canterbury exult with unbounded joy, because from the threshing-floor of its sanctuary it has sent to the garner of the Most High so precious and pure a grain. Let the monastery of Pontigny rejoice because it has merited to be honoured by the presence of such great and distinguished fathers; inasmuch as one, by tarrying there a long time, ennobled it by the sanctity of his life; the other, when he

came there, gave up his soul to heaven, but enriched it with the treasure of his body. In this way a saying of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, was fulfilled, of whom it is reported that, after having spent the long period of his exile in that monastery, regretting that he was not able to make the monks such a return as he would wish for the great consideration and charity which they had exhibited to him, he said to them that one should come after him who would amply repay them for what they had done for him.

Lesson 9. Moreover, as it is only fitting that those whom the Almighty distinguishes with an eternal crown of glory in heaven, should be venerated with all fervour of devotion by men on earth, and since the more solemnly the memory of the saints is kept by the faithful, the more worthily do they merit their intercession : (whence, by way of proclaiming the feast of that glorious Saint, the Pope continues in the following strain :¹) we, having made a careful inquiry, according to the usual forms, into the sanctity of life and the truth of the miracles of the same St. Edmund, and having submitted the same report to a rigorous discussion, having arrived at full conviction, by the general advice and consent of our brethren and of all the prelates there present at the Apostolic See, did, on the Sunday of Advent, when the Church sings " Rejoice in the Lord always," declare him worthy of being inscribed in the catalogue of the saints, or, rather, we proclaimed that he had been so inscribed. Wherefore, we admonish and exhort you, all and singular, and by these apostolical writings, we prescribe and enjoin that you devoutly celebrate the feast of the same on November 16 ; since on that day his happy soul, freed from its fleshly prison, ascending to the stars, entered the court of heaven, there to enjoy the delights of paradise. And do you, brethren, archbishops and bishops, take care that the feast is observed by the faithful in a fitting manner throughout your cities and dioceses, so that by his intercession you may be both rescued here from the dangers which threaten you, and, in the next world, that you may obtain the reward of eternal salvation.

¹ This parenthesis is inserted in the Sarum Breviary.

In the Portsmouth diocese the only portions of the Divine office (besides the mass, lessons and prayer) which are proper are the following :—

Ad Vesp. et Laudes.

℣. Nobis in hoc exilio sancte pater, Edmunde, ℞. Cælestis patriæ amo- rem, quæsumus, impende.	O holy father, Edmund, we beseech thee to infuse the love of our heavenly country into those who tarry in this place of exile.
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Ad Magnif. et ad Bened.

Antiphon.

Añā. Dilexit justitiam et odivit iniquitatem, propterea moritur in exsilio.	He hath loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore he dies in exile.
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This antiphon, versicle and response are of modern composition.

In the next place, we give from the same Sarum Breviary the office for the Feast of the Translation of St. Edmund on June 9.¹

Oratio.

Deus, Qui nos beati Edmundi Confessoris Tui atque Pontificis Translationem celebrare concedis: Te suppliciter exoramus ut ejus meritis et precibus a viciis ad virtutes et a carcere transferamur ad regnum. Per.

At matins the three first lessons are of the "common" of one confessor and bishop. The responsories in the first and third Nocturns are also from the "common" of one confessor and bishop.

The fourth, fifth and sixth lessons (of the second Nocturn) are of SS. Prime and Felician, martyrs. The three lessons (of the third Nocturn) are from the exposition of the Gospel, "Homo quidam peregre" of the "common". And all the rest at both vespers and at matins and at the other "hours" shall be of the "common" of one confessor and bishop, according to the season, together with the prayer of this day.

In the Portsmouth diocese, where the Feast of the Transla-

¹ Sar. Brev., vol. iii. col. 313.

tion is kept, all the office is from the "common" of a confessor and bishop, except the mass "Gaudeamus" and the prayers given above (p. 437).

In the York Breviary¹ there is no mention of the Feast of the Translation. But the principal feast of November 16 will be found in vol. ii. col. 695. As in the Sarum Breviary, there is nothing "proper" about the office except the prayer and the lessons. The prayer is the same in both, but the lessons are quite different. Instead of being taken from the bull of canonisation, the legend is compiled from the life of the Saint. We furnish in parallel columns a translation of the nine lessons for the reason assigned above (p. 440). The lessons are taken from the Life by Robert Rich:—

Lectio 1.

Gloriosus igitur eadmundus cantuariensis archiepiscopus a christianissimis parentibus abindone extitit progenitus. Cujus mater usque ad diem mortis sue lorica ferream pro Christo carni proximam deferebat. Que filio suo nomen indidit salvatoris; amorem impressit; et incussit timorem. Omne quippe peccatum execrans et maliciam, bone indolis puer eadmundus: deum solum dilexit mundi redemptorem. Ipse vero cum adhuc esset puerulus egregie matris monitis jejuniis et orationibus insistens cilicium carni proximum deferebat.

Lesson 1.

And so the glorious Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Abingdon of most Christian parents. His mother up to the day of her death wore for Christ's sake an iron breast-plate next her skin. She taught her son our Saviour's name; filled him with love for Him; inspired him with His fear. No wonder then that Edmund, a boy of good disposition, detesting sin and wickedness, loved only God, the world's Redeemer. Whilst he was still a child he nobly yielded to his mother's advice, and gave himself to fasting and prayer, and wore a hair-shirt next his skin.

¹ Published by the Surtees Society, vol. lxxv. (1883).

Lectio 2.

Adolescens equidem factus liberalibus traditur studiis imbuendus. Viam veritatis a matre doctam studiosius amplexus est, neque ab ea ad dexteram extollendo de meritis, neque ad sinistram succumbendo vitiis declinavit. Factus postea magister artium, in cibo habuit abstinentiam: in siti tolerantiam: in somno vigiliam: non in lecto, sed juxta sedens vel recumbens, vestitus in camera parumper quiesceret: vi naturæ compulsus: per triginta sex annos creditur observasse. Habebat itaque cilicium; non ut mos est filiis subtilibus intextum; sed ad instar rhetis densissimi intricatum: quod nodos tam innumerabiles quam intollerabiles continebat.

Lesson 2.

When he became a young man, he was sent to be instructed in the liberal arts. He carefully followed the way of truth which he had learned from his mother, not swerving from it either to the right hand by priding himself on his accomplishments, nor to the left hand by indulging in vice. When he was made master of arts, he kept abstinence in his food, was patient of thirst, watchful in sleep, which he took not in a bed, but sitting or reclining by the side of it, he would take a short repose in his chamber, when nature compelled him to do so, but without taking off his clothes; this practice he is believed to have kept up for thirty-six years. He wore then a hair-shirt, not woven of fine filaments as is usual, but plaited like a very coarse net, which had in it countless unbearable knots.

Lectio 3.

Igitur dum beatus eadmundus in hac cruce multifaria fixus adhuc philosophiam doceret apparuit ei pia mater ejus paulo ante defuncta: et ait, Fili quid legis? Que sunt

Lesson 3.

Whilst the blessed Edmund then, being fastened on this cross of divers torments, was still teaching philosophy, his pious mother, who had died a little before this, appeared to

figure quibus tam sedule vacas? Qui protractionibus arismetris ostensis dixit. Talia sunt que lego. Mox illa per manum dexteram illum arripiens: protractis in ea tribus circulis: hec tria nomina per ordinem scripsit, pater, filius, spiritus sanctus. Et ait; Fili de cetero aliis omissis, istis intende.

him and said: "My son, what are you reading? What are those diagrams over which you are so earnestly intent?" He showed her some mathematical calculations, and said: "This is what I am lecturing upon". At once she seized him by the right hand and drew upon it three circles, and wrote therein these three names, one after the other: Father, Son, Holy Spirit. Then she said: "My son, for the future, let other things alone and attend to these subjects".

Lectio 4

His ergo ita gestis: juxta quod sibi fuerat revelatum, studium sacre theologie ex templo amplexus est. In qua decursis paucorum annorum circulis: doctor effectus est nobilissimus. Cum igitur felix eadmundus tantis choruscaret virtutibus, altissimoque placuisset sanctus innocens impollutus a peccatoribus segregatus: sede cantuariensi vacante in pastorem canonicè eligitur; atque diu fugiendo renitens solaque ei necessitate fugiendi suffragante: capitur trahitur atque in archiepiscopum consecratur. Ille vero in cura animarum sibi commissa pervigil semper fuit.

Lesson 4

After this incident, according to the revelation made to him, he at once betook himself to the study of sacred theology. In which faculty, after the lapse of a few years, he proceeded doctor with the highest distinction. Since, therefore, the happy Edmund shone with such brilliant virtues, and since one so holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners, found favour in the sight of the Most High, the See of Canterbury being vacant, he was canonically elected as its pastor. He took to flight and declined the offer, but as he had no other excuse except a desire to shun the office, he was seized, dragged

along and consecrated archbishop. He meanwhile was ever vigilant in the care of the souls committed to him.

Lectio 5.

Demum autem inter regem et sanctum eadmundum exorta est gravis contentio super jure et libertatibus ecclesie cantuariensis fratribus sibi lites inferentibus innumerabiles: qui professione sibi erant obnoxii. Et qui panem suum edebant; calcaneum contra eum levantes; ipsum extirpare conabantur. Sed in his omnibus non est resolutus vir dei constantissimus: sed supplicans attente deo, ut jus ecclesie sue conservaret: et ejus defensor existeret. Verum archiepiscopus cum quibusdam suffraganeis suis regem rogavit humiliter; et monuit frequenter; ut jura ecclesie dei contra sanctorum patrum privilegia inusurpata sibi restitueret.

Lesson 5.

At length, however, a serious dispute arose between the king and St. Edmund respecting the rights and franchises of the church of Canterbury, whilst the brethren brought countless law-suits against him; although by their profession they were bound to him. They who ate of his bread, lifting up their heel against him, strove to get rid of him. But in all these trials the most valiant man of God never flagged, but earnestly besought God that He would guard the rights of His Church and be its defender. However, the archbishop, along with a few of his suffragans, humbly entreated the king, and frequently warned him to restore to him the rights of the Church of God, which he had usurped contrarily to the privileges of the holy fathers.

Lectio 6.

Sed quanto archiepiscopus erat humilior: tanto rex et sathane satellites extiterant rebelliores. Unde et per

Lesson 6.

But the more humble the archbishop was, the more rebellious did the king and the satellites of Satan become.

beatum eadmundum suosque
 coepiscopos in occupatores
 perturbatoresque injuste juris
 et libertatis ecclesie dei
 excommunicationis sententia
 promulgata mari transito venit
 pontiniacum : qui ut fieret
 fortior infirmabatur. Et cum
 aliquantis per cum fratribus
 inibi commorasset : in domini
 confessione requievit in pace :
 et in ecclesia pontiniacensi est
 sepultus. Ad cumulum igitur
 glorie et honorem sui presulis
 eadmundi : muti ab utero
 matris recte loquuntur : para-
 lytici convalescunt : ceci vi-
 dent : claudi ambulant : obsessi
 a demonibus liberantur : car-
 ceres aperiuntur : vincula
 solvuntur : omniumque genera
 morborum curantur.

Wherefore, blessed Edmund
 and his fellow-bishops
 launched sentence of excom-
 munication on those who
 usurped and unjustly violated
 the rights and franchises of
 the Church of God ; then,
 crossing the sea, he came to
 Pontigny : and that he might
 become stronger he grew sick.
 After he had been a very
 short time with the brethren
 there, he rested in peace in the
 confession of our Lord ; and
 was buried in the church of
 Pontigny. To add, then, to
 the glory and honour of His
 Prelate Edmund : those who
 are dumb from their mother's
 womb speak aright ; the para-
 lysed grow strong ; the blind
 see ; the lame walk ; those
 possessed by devils are libera-
 ted ; prisons are thrown open ;
 bonds loosened ; and all sorts
 of diseases cured.

*Exposition on the Gospel, " Homo quidam peregre ". Homily
 as in the " Commune ".*

This takes the place of the seventh lesson.

Lectio 8.

O magni meriti presulem ;
 O magna presulis merita. Quis
 unquam excogitaret hanc pre-
 sulis dignitatem : ut divina
 providente clementia abortivis
 infantulis oppressis : demersis :
 et corporibus aliis quampluri-

Lesson 8.

O Prelate of great merit !
 O great merit in a prelate !
 Who would ever have imagined
 such excellence in a prelate,
 that through the dispensation
 of Divine mercy he should
 restore to temporal life infants

bus vero mortuis vitam reddidit temporalem. Quia igitur nullum miraculum gloriosius quam de dispendio funeris reddere compendia sanitatis : non ab re esse videtur tante admirationis signum breviter tetigisse. Nam ut preteritis sequens miraculum fidem faciat : hujus rei testis et verus propheta beatus thomas martyr creditur extitisse.

still-born or overlaid, people who have been drowned, and many other corpses really deprived of life! Since then no miracle is more renowned than when one is restored to health when he is being carried to the grave, it does not seem to be amiss briefly to touch upon a point worthy of so much admiration. Let the following miracle give credit to the former ones ; a miracle for which blessed Thomas the martyr is believed to have vouched as a true prophet.

Lectio 9.

Qui vero beatus thomas postquam diutinam moram tempore exilii sui : et de mandato felicitis memorie alexandri pape in monasterio pontinaciensi traxisset : et ostenso sibi celitus indicio : quod ad ecclesiam suam rediret : per martyrii palmam migraturus ad dominum : nec pro exhibitione quam monachi ejusdem monasterii sibi devote fecerant haberet unde satisfaceret ad sua vota : pollicitus est eis : quod post eum venturus esset ejus successor in sua ecclesia satisfactorius pro eo : quod jam indubitanter creditur impletum. Et ut memoria beati thome martyris inde habeatur :

Lesson 9.

This blessed Thomas, after he had spent a long time in exile at the monastery of Pontigny by order of Pope Alexander of happy memory ; when it was revealed to him by a sign from heaven that he should return to his church, that he might go to our Lord with the martyr's palm ; and whereas he had not the means of making to the monks of the same monastery such recompense as he should like for the entertainment which they had devotedly furnished to him, he promised them that after him there should come a successor in his church who would make compensation for

primus homo in illa ecclesia
per sanctum eadmundum cura-
tus : thomas vocabatur. Hujus
igitur sancti eadmundi meritis
et precibus ad gaudia pervenire
perhennia concedat nos deus
qui vivit et regnat in secula
seculorum. Amen.

him. This is now beyond all
doubt believed to have been
fulfilled. And that the memory
of blessed Thomas the martyr
might be linked with the fact :
the first man who was healed
in that church by St. Edmund
was called Thomas. Through
the merits then and prayers
of this holy Edmund may it
be granted to us to arrive at
eternal joys by Him who
liveth and reigneth God for
ever and ever. Amen.

*The rest is of the "Common" of a confessor and bishop, with
a commemoration of St. Anian.¹*

One would naturally suppose that a Saint so popular and
so highly venerated as St. Edmund would have been honoured
with an office entirely "proper". And so indeed it was, at
all events, in the period immediately following his canonisation.
For, in the course of our researches, we discovered fragments
of such a "proper" office in a manuscript at the British Museum.
But unhappily it is in a very mutilated condition. It is to be
found at the end of the MS. codex, Bib. Reg. 8, F. XIV.,² and
consists of portions of three folios (ff. 196-198), the other parts
of the pages having been wholly destroyed ; whilst that which
remains is in great part undecipherable. Sufficient, however,
was discovered to indicate that nearly the *whole* office was
originally "proper," that is to say, the Invitatorium, the
Antiphons to all the Psalms, the Responsories to the Lessons,
and the Antiphons at vespers, matins and lauds. Inquiry
was then made whether a perfect copy could be found in any
other collection, but we have hitherto failed to discover one.
Perhaps those who are experienced in such matters may be
induced to give their attention to this subject, and help in the

¹ Or, according to other texts, of St. Martin.

² According to Hardy, it is of the fourteenth century.

NOTATION

OF THE « DAILY COMMEMORATION » OF SAINT EDMUND,

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF M. PARIS.

COTT. MS. NERO D. I, F. 89.

Cu-sto-di nos in no-bi-bus Edmundi pre-cum mune-
re Qui tra-di-tus es hosti- bus pro mundo mun- di
ves- pe-re. e u o u a e.
Ma- ne no-bis-cum ma-ne-as mundis regnans in menti-
bus Rex & no-bis pro-vi-de-as mundis Edmundi pre-
ci- bus. e u o u a e.
O Edmunde singu- la- ris signa fe-rens gra- ti-æ
Disciplinæ sa-lu- ta- ris ma-gister egre-gi- e vi- ta

sa-cer po-tens si- gnis me-ri-tis ex-i- mi- e No-bis re-

is & indignis lo-cum po- sce ve-ni- æ.

e u o u a e.

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investigation. The only other source in which we have found an indication of this "proper" office is in the works of Matthew Paris; where in the *Additamenta* (vol. vi. p. 126), under the year 1247,¹ a very small portion of our mutilated text is given complete in the form of a daily commemoration in honour of St. Edmund. We give it as it is found in that work:—

Commemoratio Cotidiana Scti. Edmundi.

Ad Vesp. Anā.

Custodi nos in noctibus, Edmundi precum munere,
Qui traditus es hostibus pro mundo mundi vespere.

Ad Laud. Anā.

Mane nobiscum, maneas, mundis regnans in mentibus,
Rex, et nobis provideas, mundis Edmundi precibus.

In Commemoratione Trium Lectionum.

O Edmunde, singularis signa ferens gracie,
Discipline salutaris magister egregie,
Vita sacer, potens signis, meritis eximie;
Nobis reis et indignis locum posce venie.

In the Cotton MS. Nero D. I., f. 89, from which the foregoing commemoration is taken, the musical notation is also given, which we reproduce, somewhat castigated by a musical critic,² as the notes have been carelessly written on the margin of the folio. The manuscript is a most interesting one, having been written in the Abbey of St. Alban's, under the personal direction of Matthew Paris himself. It is full of remarkable sketches for illuminations, though the colours have not been filled in.³

We now give such portions as we have been able to decipher of our mutilated manuscript. The words and letters enclosed in brackets are not in the text, but are supplied by way of elucidation.

¹ This date tends to show that the office was composed immediately after the canonisation, and, as we shall proceed to indicate, probably by the Saint's brother, Robert Rich.

² Mr. W. J. Birkbeck.

³ The notation will be found at the end of the appendix.

f. 196 r^o col. 1. (At first Vespers.)

Justum deduxit.¹ Ecce Sacerdos.

Christi gregis. Iste Confessor. Amavit eum Dominus.

Next follows what appears to be the Antiphon for the "Magnificat," a part of which has been given from Matthew Paris in the passage quoted above.

Ave speculum anglorum, presul regis angelorum ;

O eadmundede, norma morum, supplantator viciorum ;

Funde preces ad dominum pro excessibus fidelium. Euouae

O eadmundede singularis signa (col. 2) ferens gratie,

Discipline salutaris signifer ² egregie

Vita sacer, potens signis, virtutis ³ eximie :

Nobis reis et indignis locum . . . ⁴ venie. Euouae, pa

(Pax) vigen in gregis medio pacem decet oris eloquio.

Letus regnat in cœli solio, cœli fruens eterno gaudio.

Gaudens gaudet mater in filio, quia carnis caret supplicio.

Magnificat.

Deus, Qui largiflue, etc.

At Matins.

(Invitatorium) Sunt eadmundi presulis solempnia :

Virgo mater jubilet ecclesia.

Venite. Iste Confessor.

(Anā) Ad honorem ipsius cantemus devoti,

Cujus sanctis precibus sanantur egroti.

Beatus vir.

Agro sudans . . . spinas extirpavit :

extirpatis tribulis, lilia plantavit.

Quare fremuerunt.

¹ In the Sarum Breviary, the vespers seem to have consisted of the ferial psalms under one Antiphon, in this case "Justum deduxit". "Ecce Sacerdos" is the Capitulum, and "Christi gregis" is probably the Responsory which used to be said after the little chapter, as it still is in the Benedictine office. It seems to be the same as the Responsory to the third Lesson of the first Nocturn. "Iste Confessor" is the well-known hymn, and "Amavit eum," etc., the Versicle and Response.

² M. Paris "magister".

³ M. Paris "meritis".

⁴ M. Paris "posce".

Factus gregis speculum Christi zelat (f. 196 v^o col. 1)
templum;

Mores, actus corrigens vite dat exemplum.

Domine, quid.

Responsories to the Three Lessons of the First Nocturn.

(1) (G)audet mundus; gaudet ecclesia; gaude (t cunc)
ta celestis curia . . . eadmundum gloria. a. Ignis, aer tellus
et maria Christum laudant regentem omnia. eadmundum.

(2) Hujus vite florent insignia; hujus carnem domant
jejunia: carnis prorsus vincit convicia: hunc non sternit
mundana gloria: justa cedunt carnis obprobria. Carnis
(prorsus).

(3) Christi gregis pastor di(ri)gitur: Custos gregis celsus
erigitur: Oves Christi pascit dum pascitur:¹ vices patrum
vivendo sequutus; mors et vita in vultu legitur. Oves. Gloria
patri et filio et spiritui sancto.

Second Nocturn.

(Anã) Dum est despecta mentibus presulis eadmundi
forma . . . gloria fraudulenta mundi. Cum
invocarem.

Plenus est (col. 2) deliciis; expers sed illarum;
Vivit in divitiis largitor earum.

Verba mea.

Nescit cordis lacrimas forma faciei:
fugat noctis tenebras clara lux diei.

Domine, Dominus Noster.

Responsories to the Lessons of the Second Nocturn.

(1) Arte potens et verbo strenuus: bonis bonus superbis
arduus: legem docet custos precipuus. Piis pius, gravis fit
gravibus elatos domat subest supplicibus. Legem.

(2) Christo regi eadmundus militat, mundum vincens,
carnem suppeditat,² hostem sternens, triumphum triplicat.

¹ The same idea is found in the Life by Robert Rich, "quando vero alios docebat, seipsum pascebat". f. 181 v^o col. 1. This passage makes it probable that Robert Rich composed the office.

² Apparently used in the sense of "trampling under one's feet".

Oves lesas benigne visitat, sanat, pascit, contritas palpitat.
Hostem.

(3) Hic pastor laudabilis motu movens sed mente stabilis :
nox . . . occurrit ; dormit vir nobilis. Volo datur teste vas
(f. 197 r^o col. 1) fragilis Christo vasis . . . fictilis. Nox.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.

Third Nocturn.

(Anā) Tellus habens spolia presulis eadmundi
Gaude tui gaudeant cives letabundi.

Domine, quis.

. . . felix ceteris sanctior haberis que sancti reliquiis
hospita censis.

Domine, in virtute.

Clare micat radius solis his diebus :

Novum solem lucidus jam stupescit Phebus.

Domini est terra.

Responsories to Lessons of Third Nocturn.

(1) Ornant nova sanctum miracula : cecis visum ;
Mutis oracula ; claudis pedum donat vehicula :
Morbos sanat : dissolvit vincula :
Ejus prece fugatur macula : cedunt sordes ;
Cessant pericula. Claudis.

(2) Pastor bone, succurrens miseris, lava nostri fetorem
sceleris : Auge, pater bo (col. 2) num quod posceris : pete
nobis pacem qua frueris : ne nos tradant torquendos inferis
hostis, mundus, reatus operis. Au(ge).

(3) Jesu, Tu bone rex regens om
nostri munda reatus vi
mundati gratia
mur gloria. Dele culp
Carnis suspende gaudia
et filio et spiritui sancto
. . . eadmundi preces mundi
gaudio. Qui electus est prove
. . . Cujus vita est invit
sanctorum collegio. forma greg

doctor legis . . . celo
 gaudet bravio
 (f. 197 vº col. 1) Vis virtutis ejus mutis frui dat eloquio.
 Visum cecis donat ; necis servat in periculo.
 Exultantes et laudantes concinat hec concio.
 Et post cursum . . . regnemus in gaudio.

At Lauds.

. . . Micat clare mundus vespere
 . . . eadmundus. Dominus r(egnavit)

 . . . forma speciosus. Jubi (late Deo)
 . . . sermo datur mutis
 . . . membris restitutis de
 . . . tent merita presulis eadmundi
 . . . precibus tristes secuti, D(eus, Deus)
 Christe, sanctis precibus tui confessoris fir . . .
 nostris cordibus . . .

Laudate. Gaude.

(Anã ad Benedictus.)

(col. 2) Pastor digne memoria gaude miles . . .
 victoria : Gaude carnis deleta scoria : celi regnans victor in
 gloria. Benedictus.

At Second Vespers.

(Anã ad Magnificat.)

O eadmunde decus mundicie, gregis forma, doctor justicie ;
 O anglorum gentis delicie ; O francorum mire divitie ; O
 celestis consors milicie : fac nos tue consortes glorie.

Magnificat.

The following may perhaps have formed part of a
 sequence at mass.

Alleluia.

Gaude militans ecclesia : psallens letetur et Anglia :
 eadmund(i) celebrant solempnia, de quo gaudet celestis curia.
 . . . trinitas, genitor, filius, pneuma.

A festo presulis anglorum jubilet caterva (f. 198 rº col. 1),
 qui natus ab eisdem gratia . . . imitatus auge . . . (s)colarum
 traditur imbuendus puer mundus . . . tectus ciliciis eloquen-

cia facundus adolescens carnem domat jejunando . . . moribus exornat predicando et orando electus in archipresulem vix consensit caute victus supplicatu electorum : consecratus in pontificem in . . . et errorem deprehendat sub(di)torum : hinc est orta per hostem discordia . . . sancto viduatur anglia per eum tota f(ul) get gallia quo corpus quiescit . . . nam vivit ejus vitam merita qualis hic decuit ; ceci vident et incedunt claudi ; muti . . . an . . . apali . . . curantur ; leprosi mundantur : presul (col. 2) Sancte pater, Edmunde, anglorum memento ; et pium des conspectum pro anglorum populo ; ut consequatur gratiam. Amen.

We fervently re-echo the petition with which this fragment concludes, and trust that a perfect copy may some day be discovered of this interesting office.

In the third report of the Historical MSS. Commission (app., p. 242, col. 2) it is stated that Sir W. (now Sir Anthony) Cope, Bart., of Bramshill, Hants, has in his possession, amongst other literary treasures, a vellum folio of the twelfth century, which once belonged to Waverley Abbey. It contains a hymn in honour of St. Edmund of Canterbury, with the musical notation marked throughout. We applied to the owner for his permission to copy the manuscript, not doubting that we should meet with the same courtesy as we have invariably experienced elsewhere. But to our great regret the permission was refused. We must therefore leave the publication of this interesting contemporary tribute to St. Edmund's glory to some more fortunate investigator. Through the kindness of a friend, who has seen the manuscript,¹ we are able to produce the text, without the notes, of the first two strophes. We are informed that there are upwards of twenty such strophes :—

Gaude, Syon, ornata tympano :
Decor tuus, conjunctus galbano,
Laudet illum, cordis et organo,
Cujus Sponsus venit a libano. euouae.

¹ The V. Rev. Can. O'Halloran.

Christi jugum portavit eadmundus ;
 Teneris adolescens humeris virtutibus ;
 Se jungens superis ; minorat se
 Tamen pre ceteris. euouae.

The following hymn was composed by Cardinal Wiseman in honour of St. Edmund on the occasion of the translation of the great relic of the Saint from Pontigny to St. Edmund's College on November 16, 1860.

Hymnus in honorem S. P. N. Edmundi Archiepiscopi Cantuar. et Confessoris.

Auctore Nicolao Card. Wiseman primo Archiep. Westmonast.

Decas 1 (The Saint's Youth).

O Beate mi Edmunde,
 Sic pro me, ad Filium Dei,
 Cum Maria, preces funde,
 Ut per vos sim placens Ei.

1.
 Si Edmundi dulcis amor
 Te percellat, procul clamor
 Esto ac mæstitia ;
 Silens, pronus ad altare,
 Ejus dotes contemplare,
 Sancta in pueritia.

2.
 In ætate juvenili,
 Pollens animo virili,
 Jam insulsa despicit ;
 Quidquid agat, corde fixo
 In Te, Jesu ! crucifixo,
 Deum finem respicit.

3.
 Audit inde Te loquentem,
 Non ex cathedra docentem,
 Scholæ in triclinio ;

Scribæ tractus non miratur,
 Tuas plagas veneratur
 In librorum minio.

4.
 Quid, quotidie visens aram,
 Jesu incolatu caram ?
 Vultu quam angelico,
 Caput flectit, inflammatum
 Cor dum levat, se cibatum
 Pane sentiens cælico !

5.
 O quam nitens, pura, casta
 Erat, his deliciis pasta,
 Anima pueruli ;
 Longe matris ab amplexu,
 Patriæque rupto nexu,
 Nec de exilio queruli.¹

¹ "Parisiis, ubi studiis operam dabat."

6.

Ast amore mater pulsa,
Nec a nato corde avulsa,
Parat ei munusculum.
Ecquid erit? pulcra vestis?
An bellaria? vel qui estis
Grati, nummi? plusculum?

7.

"Arculam cum recepisti,
Quid, Edmunde, invenisti?"
"Librum cum cilicio!"
Gaudet puer, mox ut videt,
Cultus mentis cui arridet,
Carnis cum supplicio.

8.

Tunc ad pedes non absentis
Matris, ponit innocentis
Donum mentis flosculum;
O beate, etc.

Manui benedicenti,
Jesu manulam tendenti,
Frequens figit osculum.

9.

Vitam Nazareth sic degit,
Flet, jejumat, audit, legit;
Orat sed perpetuo.
At quam sæve in se ruat,
Culpas non commissas luat.
Cogitare metuo.

10.

Essem saltem mansuetus,
Simplex, humilis, quietus,
Docilis, amabilis!
Vim, Cor! funde lacrymarum,
Nostra quam juvenus parum
Huic comparabilis!
Ave Maria.

Decas 2 (His Priesthood).

O beate, etc.

1.

Altiora forsàn quæris
Quæ exempla imiteris?
Sancto fruens otio,
Nostri gratias admirare
Quibus splendet, ad altare
Fungens sacerdotio.

2.

Cum ad patriam revertit
Fama illum antevertit,
Sacrae sapientiæ:
Munus ei docendi datur;
O in me sic uniatur
Pietas scientiæ!

3.

Graias affert disciplinas¹
Ut ancillas, ad doctrinas
Fidei inflexibilis;
Cito tuum, Isis!² flumen
Simile revisat lumen
Solis invisibilis!

4.

Sed non sufficit ardenti
Munus hoc Edmundi menti,
Urbis spernit mœnia;
Per castella, vicos, rura,
Sparsum pecus quærens, dura
Æque fert ac lenia.

¹ "Aristotelis sc."

² "Oxonias perfluens, ubi S. Edmundus docebat."

5.

Flagrum urens ejus, vobis
 Impii ! vox ; solamen probis
 Vita, lux innumeris :
 Tundit pectus, edit planctus
 Turba ; gaudet Pastor sanctus,
 Oves tollens humeris.

6.

En peccator stat ad latus,
 Vilis, rudis, induratus ;
 Gratiam Dei rejicit ;
 Collum curvat ei invito
 Pater, quem in terram cito
 Sacer dolor dejicit.

7.

Ut exemplar suum, Christum,
 Peccatoribus immistum
 Est insontem cernere
 Heu ! criminibus fædatus,
 Culpis mille maculatus,
 Audeo tales spernere !
 O beate, etc.

8.

Mæres ? plorat ; gaudes ? gestit,
 Ægros foveat, nudos vestit ;
 Reficit famelicos.
 Sed pusilli sunt ei flores
 Suaveolentes, queis cultores
 Deus dat angelicos.

9.

Jesum casta tenens dextra,
 Ardet intus, candet extra ;
 Amor flammat oculum !
 Quam cælestis, corde et ore,
 Fit, divino dum cruore
 Spumans haurit poculum.

10.

Mensæ tunc si adstissem,
 Micas gratiæ collegissem,
 Catulus sub pedibus !
 Nunc majora posco dona,
 Sacerdotii ut corona
 Orner cœli in sedibus !
 Ave Maria.

Decas 3 (His Saintly Glory).

O beate, etc.

1.

Si qui se humiliavit,
 Sed quem Deus exaltavit,
 Cœlitem vis colere ;
 Huc ad ossa humiliata ¹
 Sursum regna ad beata,
 Veni aciem tollere.

2.

Thomæ mitra coronatus
 Ac virtutibus ornatus
 Ei et sorte nequitur ;
 Fremunt gentes, furunt reges,
 Sanctum Patrem plorant
 greges,
 Cum exilio plectitur.

¹ Ad reliquias, in Collegii Ecclesia servatas.

3.

O sis domus benedicta,
Frænans (bene a Ponte dicta),¹
Præsulum exitium !
Præbuisti asylum Thomæ,
Nunc Edmundo paras come
Et perenne hospitium.

4.

Præmium sed quam reddit
pulcrum !
Venerandum dat sepulcrum
Populis gaudentibus ;
Dulce simul linquens nomen,
Ut amissæ fidei omen
Instaurandæ mentibus.²

5.

O quam suavis tui memoria
Summa circumfusi gloria,
Dei cernentis Faciem !
Hinc flammantium radiorum,
Miti tuo reflexorum
Vultu, lenis aciem.

6.

Plagas tangis lætabundus,
Quas lavabas moribundus,
Mero mixto laticæ ;
Illas lacrymis rigare,
Ore casto delibare,
Fac me quoque ecstatice !
O beate, etc.

7.

Salve Angliæ flos et decor !
Sana patriam ; labor, precor,
Hæresis sit irritus !
Tuus, in nos hic clientes,
Et quot seminant jam flentes,
Large fluat spiritus !

8.

Peccatores diligebas,
Cordi pueros premebas ;
Binis manum porrige !
His ab agnis omne fædum
Arce ; unicum me hœdum,
Patienter corrige !

9.

Prava vitem, culpas plangam ;
Custus corde corpus frangam,
Spinis cingens lilium :
Sim devotus, zelans, mundus ;
Ut dicatur, "hunc Edmundus
Quantum amat filium " !

10.

Deus sancte, Deus fortis,
Auctor vitæ, Victor mortis,
Noli preces spernere !
Hunc viventem, hunc morien-
tem,
Sequar : sic in Te manentem
Oro, fac me cernere !
Ave Maria.

In the British Museum there is an old French Life of St. Edmund, by Père Charlet,³ without date, but evidently com-

¹ Pontiniacum, nunc Pontigny, sedes Oblatorum S. Edmundi ubi sacrum ejus corpus, magna cum populi devotione, servatur.

² Sancti nostri corpus per omnes temporum, etiam teterrimorum, vicissitudines, integrum est mirabiliter asservatum.

³ The Rev. Dr. Bourne of Salisbury has also a copy of this very rare work.

posed at the end of the seventeenth century, and apparently for the use of pilgrims. The Life is a short one; the rest of the work being filled up with prayers addressed to St. Edmund, in Latin and French. The limits of our space will not allow us to reproduce these prayers; but we content ourselves with giving the titles of some of them. Amongst the Latin prayers there is a "Prosa de S. Edmundo pro infirmis in agone jactantibus". This concludes with the prayer, "Plenam in nobis," which will be found on p. 439. Next follows a Latin Litany of St. Edmund, in which, amongst many other invocations, the Saint is hailed as "Hiberniæ decus," and in the title-page of this work he is described as Primate of England and of Ireland.

Then follows a Latin hymn, beginning:—

Jam Christus, Dator munerum,
Munus Edmundo gloriæ
Dedit, in locum siderum
Mutans locum miseræ.

This is followed by an antiphon and prayer, to which succeeds, also in Latin, a "Prose de S. Edme pour le tems de Pâques". It begins:—

"Letabundus Edmundo decantet mundus," and at the end of every three verses has the refrain of a triple Alleluia.

Then follows the prayer which St. Edmund made use of in saluting the members of our Lord Jesus Christ, one after the other. It is thus given in this work: "Adoramus Te Christe, et benedicimus Tibi: (Quia) per sanctam crucem Tuam redemisti mundum".

℣. Qui pasus es pro nobis.

℟. Domine, miserere nobis.

Oremus. Domine, Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, pone passionem, crucem et mortem Tuam inter judicium Tuum et animas nostras nunc et in hora mortis nostræ: et largiri digneris vivis misericordiam et gratiam: defunctis veniam et requiem: ecclesiæ Tuæ pacem et concordiam et nobis peccatoribus vitam et letitiam sempiternam. Qui vivis.

Then follow some French prayers, of which the first is entitled, "Oraison que les pelerins doivent dire a S. Edme".

It begins: "O illustre confesseur, S. Edme, en qui Dieu Tout-puissant se rend merveilleux". Another prayer begins: "Dieu Tout-puissant, Qui par un effet de votre bonté libérale, avez enrichi votre Eglise des vertus de S. Edme".

The next prayer is one to be said by those who bear the Saint's name. It runs as follows: "Grand S. Edme, qui par un trait de la disposition divine, avez pris soin de ma conduite, et avez permis que j'aye pour nom le même que vous, je ne puis me dispenser de vous en remercier, me réjouissant de mon bonheur et de celui que vous avez. Vous êtes tout brillant de rayons dans le ciel, et vous y regnerez à jamais avec Dieu. Ah! que je suis aise de vous voir jouissant de cette gloire, de savoir que vous l'avez méritée par vos bonnes actions. Appuyé sur les mérites de Jesu Christ, j'espère que vous m'obtiendrez par vos prières quelque part à votre gloire, et, par avance, quelque imitation de vos vertus. De grace, mon cher et aimable Patron, rendez-moi votre semblable. Considérez mon ame, et si vous la voyez souillée de quelque impureté, nettoyez-la, et la rendez innocente comme la votre. Donnez-moi, je vous prie, quelque part à votre humilité, à votre modestie, à votre obéissance, et à toutes vos vertus, afin que je remplisse votre nom que je porte, et que vous ayant été semblable, je sois glorieux avec vous dans l'éternité. Ainsi soit-il.

In the little work called the "Tria Lilia,"¹ published at Munich in 1623 (p. 66), there is a Latin hymn entitled "De anulo S. Edmundi," written in the inflated style of the renaissance, and abounding in recondite mythological allusions. We give the first strophe of this effusion as a specimen of the rest:—

Eudemi petat anulum
Cui mens anxia fascino,
Et larvis mala somnia,
Sudantique latratibus
Sunt infesta trifaucibus.

¹ "Tria Lilia de Viridaria Deiparæ." The Three Lilies are SS. Casimir, Edmund and Elzear.

We have now brought our labours to a conclusion ; and, in taking leave of our task, we thankfully acknowledge the manifest assistance of the sweet Saint whose life we have been tracing, in its accomplishment—manifest, we repeat, in the unexpected indications of material helps vouchsafed to the writer in the seclusion of his monastic cell, far away from all literary resources—and in the sympathetic encouragement and valuable aid received from so many kind friends and even from strangers, which can only be attributed to the inspiration of the Saint whose name has ever been dear to all, but of whose life so little has hitherto been known. We trust that that life has now been laid bare in all its details, so far as they have been preserved to us in existing records. We can conscientiously affirm that we have suppressed nothing that occurred to us bearing on the subject. We have used no economy, reserve or concealment in treating of the persons or things that enter into this complex life ; and we have, as far as possible, allowed the ancient records to tell their own tale in their own way. As “candour of speech” was recognised as one of the salient features of our Saint’s character, so we have endeavoured to imitate this characteristic in our narrative ; and we feel confident, with Pope Innocent IV., that the better his life is known, the more will he be loved and admired.

May, then, this great father of the Church in England obtain for the writer and for all his readers an increase of love and devotion towards him ; of loyalty to the Church and its supreme pontiff, on whose behalf he suffered persecution, exile and death. May he obtain for the seminary, which is about to celebrate the centenary of its dedication to him, another cycle of added fruitfulness and energy ; for all his countrymen the grace of returning to that peace and unity of religious faith and communion which he laboured all his life to promote. May he, in fine, obtain for the country, where his incorrupt body reposes, the grace of emancipation from the powers of darkness, that it may be free to work out its high destiny in the family of the Christian Commonwealth.

Laus Deo Semper.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

I.—ST. EDMUND'S PRAYER TO ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

FOR the Latin text see MS. Life, E., f. 156 v°. Translation: "O holy and blessed John, apostle and evangelist of God, who wast chosen as a virgin by our Lord, and loved by Him above all the rest, obtain for me from our Lord the gift which was granted to thee, that I may have a happy and prosperous end; that I may finish my life in the right faith, in a firm hope, in perfect charity, with a clear understanding, with senses unimpaired, and after a sincere confession; that I may be fortified with the Viaticum of salvation and anointed with the last unction; that I may die with the ardent desire of seeing the much-desired Face of my Lord Jesus Christ".

PRAYER TO OUR LADY AND ST. JOHN.

O happy and spotless and blessed for ever; O matchless and incomparable virgin, Mother of God, Mary, most acceptable temple of God, sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, gate of the kingdom of Heaven, through whom, after God, the whole world lives; incline the eyes of thy compassion to my unworthy prayers, and be to me, a sinner, compassionate and helpful in all things. O most blessed John, familiar friend of Christ, who by the same our Lord Jesus Christ wast chosen as a virgin and loved by Him above all the rest, who wast made partaker, beyond all others, of heavenly secrets, who didst become His glorious apostle and evangelist; I call upon thee also along with Mary, mother of the same Saviour, that thou wouldst deign along with her to bestow thine aid on me. O ye two heavenly jewels, Mary and John together! O ye two luminaries glittering with Divine splendour in God's presence! by your beams dissipate the mists of my vices. Ye are the twain in whom God the Father, by His only Son, built up a house for Himself; in whom also the only-begotten Son of God the Father, out of regard for undefiled virginity, confirmed the special privilege of His love. Whilst hanging on the Cross, He said to the one: "Woman, behold thy son!"

Then He said to the other: "Behold thy mother!" In the tenderness of that most holy love whereby, at that time, ye were united together as mother and son, according to the Divine pronouncement, I, a sinner, on this day, commend to you both my body and my soul; that, every hour and every moment, you would deign to be my steadfast protectors within and without, and to be my kind mediators with God. For I firmly believe and undoubtingly confess that your will is God's will; and what you will not, that God does not will. Hence, whatever you ask of God, that you obtain without delay. Through that most powerful efficacy which belongs to you of right ask for me health of body and soul. Be it your care, I entreat, to obtain for me by your invincible prayers that the sweet Spirit may visit my heart and deign to dwell there; that He may cleanse it from all defilement of sin; that He may adorn it with all virtues; that He would cause me to stand perfect and to persevere in the love of God and my neighbour; and that, after this life's course is run, He would bring me to the joys of His elect. This I ask of the generous Paraclete, the best Bestower of graces, who, consubstantial and co-eternal with Father and Son, with Them and in Them, liveth and reigneth, Almighty God, in the midst of His saints. Amen.

Matthew Paris justly observes that Edmund's devotion to St. John seems to have produced a striking similarity between them. Thus Edmund resembled John in perfect virginity of soul and body; in his profound researches in theological science; in his apostolic preaching, and in the fact that he was dear to both God and man.

PRAYERS USED BY ST. EDMUND IN THE ADORATION OF OUR
LORD'S MEMBERS. (From MS. 57 in the Bodleian, f. 6 v^o.)

De Sancto Eadmundo Archiepiscopo.

Domine Jesu Christe, rex glorie, qui et verus dominus pro nobis in ara crucis immolatus, te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico: ne tradi permittas animam meam eterno supplicio quam redemisti precioso sanguine tuo. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui pedes tuos in cruce perforari passus es; per illas sanctas plagas sana plagas peccatorum meorum quæ incessu pedum contraxi, et dirige gressus meos in vias bonas ut pedes qui me portaverunt ad opera mala portent amodo ad opera bona et salutaria. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui te lancea vulnerari contra cor tuum in latere tuo permisisti, per illud beatum vulnus, sana vulnera cordis mei; remitte mihi peccata que commisi in corde et cogitatione vana, delectacione feda, consensu pravo. Cor tam mundum crea in me, Deus, ut tota cordis mei delectacio sit in cogitatione munda, in meditacione sancta, in contemplacione superna, in tui amore, laude et honore semper et ubique. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui brachia tua in cruce extendisti et manus tuas configi passus es, per illas sanctas plagas et duras penas, da mihi remissionem peccatorum que tactu et opere manuum commisi; et manus meas ita castiga et conserva ut eas non ostendam amodo ad opera mala sed ad opera sancta et salutaria. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui fel ori tuo oblatum gustasti, sed de eodem bibere noluisti, remitte mihi peccata que gustu cibi aut potus contraxi; et fac me amodo sobrietatem sequi et abinentiam.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui in cruce labia tua aperuisti ad predicandum et orandum, ignosce peccatis meis que loquendo commisi; prohibe linguam meam a malo et labia mea ne loquantur dolum; sed ea que mihi et aliis utilia sunt et tibi, dulcis Jesu, accepta. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, cujus odoratus semper fuit purus et ordinatus, indulge mihi quod odoratu peccavi. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, cujus aures contumelias et obprobria patienter audierunt, emunda me a peccatis que auditu commisi, ut amodo non delectentur aures meae audire verba vana aut noxia sed bona et utilia. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui videns civitatem Jerusalem pro peccatis civium lacrimatus es, per illam sanctam pietatem que de serenissimis oculis tuis illas beatas lacrimas eduxit, fac me defflere excessus meos: remitte mihi peccata que visu oculorum commisi et oculos meos castiga et conserva: ut non delectentur videre vana sed utilia; ut non deducant me amodo ad opera mala, sed ad opera bona sancta et salutaria. Amen.

Quod inimici tui, Domine, foderunt manus tuas et pedes tuos; et non solum per nominata membra sed etiam totum corpus tuum et omnia membra tua tanto cruciatu constrinxerunt ut ossa tua dinumerari possent, credo et confiteor, obsecrans te per illam sanctam patientiam qua hæc omnia pertulisti, ut liberares me ab omni immundicia, usque ad finem vitæ meæ custodias, ut merear evadere gehennale supplicium, et pervenire ad celestem patriam ad illud sublime solium, ad illam beatam sedem, ad illam jocundam

mansionem, ad illam veram vitam, ad illam suavem requiem, ad illas suaves delicias, ad illud securum gaudium, ad illam multiplicem gloriam, que numquam poterit amitti, numquam minui: sed permanebit semper sine termino, sine tedio, sine omni detrimento: per gratiam tuam, Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator mundi, qui cum, etc.

PRAYER ON AWAKING OR RETIRING TO REST. (From the same MS., see "Speculum," appendix xxiii.)

De Sancta Maria.

Sancta Maria mater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in manus filii tui et in tuas commendo in hac die et in hac nocte et in omni tempore animam meam et oculos meos et totum corpus meum. Custodi me Domine a viciis et peccatis et a temptationibus diaboli, libera me Domine Jesu Christe, et sana me; dona mihi sanitatem in corpore; dona mihi bene vivere, et in hoc seculo bene agere et bene perseverare: dona mihi spacium penitencie et remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum: salva me, domine, vigilantem; custodi me, Domine, dormientem ut dormiam in pace et vigilem in te Domine Deus meus. Amen.

PRAYER OF ST. EDMUND TO OUR LADY. (From a manuscript F. 31, 13, in St. John's Coll., Camb.)

Oratio sancti Edmundi ad beatam Mariam. O clementissima ac sanctissima virgo, semper virgo Maria, mater domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum carnem ex semine Abrahe: virga Jesse; de tribu Juda: filia Jesses: stella maris: regina gencium: domina regum: sponsa dei: conditoris templum: spiritus sancti sacrarium: speciosa velut columba: pulcra ut luna: electa ut sol: speculum sine macula dei majestatis: karissima in deliciis, tota desiderabilis; obstaculum improperii eve: reparacio vite: janua celi: decus mulierum: caput virginum: congratulatio sanctorum: refugium miserorum: reparacio lapsorum: dulcis spes gemencium: felix nostrum subsidium: ortus conclusus; fons signatus: puteus aquarum vivencium: multiplicans ut cedrus libani: florens ut palma: quasi oliva fructifera in domo dei: virgo sancta, virgo prudens, virgo intacta: ex filio leta: verbo concipiens: gaudium pariens: altitudo firmamenti: pulcritudo tua quasi balsamum non mixtum: odor turis. In amicitia tua delectacio bona, recti diligunt te. O dignissima, O dulcissima mulierum, tu scis quod luto adhesit anima mea, et ecce clementissima manus tua tetigit me gratis et erexit me. Serenissima, integerrima mulierum,

perface in me quod cepisti : trahe me post te : Ostende mihi faciem tuam eo quod facies tua plena sit graciaram. Cum enim una sis omnia potes. Hinc est quod ad te, immo ad illos dignissimos pedes tuos confugio quos adhuc a me digneris, vernaculo tuo, artissimis stringi complexibus. Vere excellentissimam te misericordissimam tam abjectus tam miser exoro, ac tua venerandissima ac sanctissima prece me emendatum feliciter suscipiat qui pro me misero atque abortivo misericorditer in ligno figi dignatus dominus noster Jesus Christus filius tuus qui, etc.

In the same manuscript occurs the following quaint but touching prayer in old French. We have not been able to decipher all the abbreviations, but we present enough to enable our readers to appreciate the tender piety which inspires it:—

Orac̃ Sc̃i eadmundi aep̃i cantuar
 Duz sire Jsu Christ, avez merci de mei,
 Ke del cel en tere venistes pur mei,
 E de la vergine marie nasquistes pur mei,
 E en la croix mort suffristes pur mei
 Merci, vous cri mun jhu, mun sauveur,
 Mun solaz, mun confort, ma joie, ma ducur ;
 Ostez de mun quer orguil e rancur ;
 Ke io vous puisse . . . servir e amer cum seigneur,
 Mut vous dei ben amer, kar vous me amastes avant ;
 Quant votre deite humilier en tant voliez,
 Ke si cum vous futes e estes deu tut puissant,
 Hume devenistes char humaine portant ;
 En qui vous suffristes travail e . . . des plusurs
 Ffreit e faim e seif e anquisses e dolurs,
 E sanc suastes e lessates e lermes e plurs
 E audereinz deignastes mourir pur tuz pecchurs :
 Duz fu votre mort e pleine de pite
 Quant votre santissime cors ke unc ne fit pecche,
 E de mains as juifs si malement fu traite :
 Entre laruns en la croix pendu e pene :
 De espines poignantes la teste vous coronerent ;
 E les mains e les pes de clous vous percerent :
 E de la lance al coste plaie vous dunerent,
 Dont issirent les torrentes ke de peche nous laverent :
 Vos avez le chef enclin pour nous apeler :

Vus avez les bras estendus pour nous embracer ;
 Vus avez les costes overts pour nous votre ame mustrer
 Vus estes en haut monte la croix pour tut le monde sauver.
 E pour co vous prie ke de mei avez pite ;
 Ke jo ne seie pour mes peches en peines denfer . . .
 Metez en mun quer verrai humilite ;
 Ke jo aie vers vous e ver mun proche parfite charite :
 Sovent vous ai offendu sire jhu e coruce
 En dit, en fait, en parole e en pense ;
 En dormant e en veillant en june e sazie,
 Per autru enticement et per mun cor de gre,
 En orgoil e en ire, en haunge e envie,
 En acedie, en avarice e en ardur de le cher :
 En covetise e en vaine glorie e surfet de glotonie.
 E altre pecches ke jo ai fet temps souvent en ceste vie :
 Vous, pur co sire jhu Christ oiez ma confession,
 E de maus ke jo ai fet done mei plene pardon,
 . . . ke jo en face digne satisfaciun,
 En ceste vie devant la mort, duz Jhu vtre . . .
 Pur meimemes vous requiere e pur tuz mes amis
 . . . e pur les autres mors e viff ;
 Mustrez nous al jugement la clarte de votre vis,
 E mettez nous . . . en semble en la joie de paradis.

Amen.

The following prayer of St. Edmund, to be said night and morning, is taken from the Harleian MS. 211, f. 146a :—

Oratio Sancti Edmundi qualibet nocte et summo mane dicenda.

Gracias ago tibi, domine, Jesu Christe qui me miserum peccatorem in hac die (nocte) custodisti, protexisti : visitasti : sanum et incolumem ad hanc horam pervenire fecisti : et pro universis beneficiis tuis quæ mihi, non meis meritis, sed maxima tua bonitate contulisti ; concede mihi misericorditer ut et residuum peregrinationis meæ in tua voluntate dirigatur ; (b) et vita mea temporalis in te finiatur, et anima mea teipso qui vita es eterna perfrui mereatur. Qui vivis et regnas, etc.

In another Harleian MS., No. 206, f. 14b, is found the following couplet :—

Fluit stilla de mamilla gloriose virginis ;
 Que calorem et ardorem exstinguit libidinis,

after which follows a note to the effect that St. Edmund was in the habit of reciting these verses ; and that they are an efficacious remedy against lustful temptations.

II.—DUTIES OF THE TREASURER IN SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

(Extracted from St. Osmund's Register, pp. 8-12.)

Thesaurarii officium est ornamenta et thesauros ecclesiæ conservare, luminaria subministrare ; scilicet, in Dominica prima in Adventu, quatuor cereos ad utrasque vespervas et ad matutinas et ad missam : scilicet, duos insuper altare et alios duos in gradu coram altari : simile observetur in Dominica Palmarum. In aliis autem Dominicis omnibus per annum et quandocunque chorus regitur,¹ et Invitatorium a duobus dicitur, tantum duos debet administrare ; in Dominicis tamen omnibus ad missam, quatuor. In die Natalis Domini ad utrasque vespervas, et ad missam, octo cereos debet administrare, unumquemque unius libræ ad minus circa altare, et duos coram imagine Beatæ Mariæ ; ad matutinas totidem ; et præterea sex in eminentia coram reliquiis et crucifixo et imaginibus ibi constitutis ; et in corona ante gradum, quinque, unumquemque dimidiæ libræ ad minus ; et quinque super murum post pulpitem lectionum. Simile observatur in omnibus festis duplicibus quæ habent processionem. A Pentecoste tamen usque ad Nativitatem Beatæ Mariæ, et in ipso festo Nativitatis septem cerei candelabro æneo imponuntur. In aliis vero duplicibus festis minoribus, quatuor circa altare, et duos coram imagine Beatæ Virginis ad utrasque vespervas, et ad missam : ad matutinas præterea, tres in corona, et tres post pulpitem. Quandocunque Invitatorium a tribus dicitur, et quinta et sexta feria et sabbato ebdomadæ Paschæ et Pentecostes, idem exigitur servitium in luminibus quod in prima die Dominica Adventus. In Cæna Domini sicut in diebus Dominicis ad missam. In die Parasceves ad missam duos cereos dabit : omni feria per annum, unum tantum ad matutinas ; scilicet, ad gradum chori ; ad missam vero, duos cereos. In vigilia Paschæ et Pentecostes ad missam (idem), quod in festis majoribus duplicibus. Præterea, in die Parasceves post repositum corpus Dominicum, in sepulcro duo cerei dimidiæ libræ ad minus de thesauraria tota die ante sepulcrum ardebunt. In nocte sequenti et exinde usque ad processionem quæ fit in die Paschæ, ante matutinas, unus illorum. Magnum etiam cereum paschalem ; præterea unum mortarium² tenetur thesaurarius

¹ When the cantors in copes pre-intone the antiphons.

² A wax night-light in a bowl.

administrare singulis noctibus per annum coram altare S. Martini, et aliud ante januas ostii chori occidentalis, dum matutarum expletur officium. Sacristas quoque suis expensis tenetur exhibere thesaurarius: campanas vero ecclesie congrue suspensas in statu congruo conservare, et earum usibus necessaria providere: ornamenta etiam ecclesie suis expensis reficere: panem, vinum, aquam et candelas singulis altaribus ecclesie, excepto parochiali, administrare: incensum, carbonem, stramen, juncum et nattas per totum annum comparare: juncum vero in his festis: in Ascensione Domini, et Pentecoste: in festo S. Joannis Baptistae: in Assumptione et Nativitatis Beatae Mariae. Stramen in his festis: in festo omnium Sanctorum, in Natali Domini: in Purificatione Beatae Mariae: in Pascha: Nattas in festo omnium Sanctorum (*sic*).

EXTRACT FROM BISHOP POOR'S DEED RESPECTING THE ENDOWMENT OF SALISBURY TREASURY.¹ (Dated 1226.)

"Præbenda de Calne dignitati Thesaurariae amodo sit inseparabiliter adnexa ad relevandum ejusdem dignitatis tenuitatem et inopiam, a qua varii sumptus requiruntur in ecclesia nostra. Quicunque vero deinceps Thesaurarium cum prædicta præbenda tenuerit, augmentum luminarium quod in eadem ecclesia per dilectum filium nostrum Magistrum Edmundum, liberaliter noscitur institutum, integre et absque diminutione conservabit."

III.—LETTER OF PHILIP DE ARDEN TO RALPH NEVILLE ON THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.²

(The date is about December, 1228.)

He informs his employer that he has had an audience with the Pope about the election at Canterbury. The Pope first asked the agent what the king thought of the appointment at Durham (the Pope had just transferred Richard Poor from Salisbury to that see). The agent replied that "he liked it well enough, but was much annoyed that his advice had not been asked: and he would have been just as much annoyed if his own brother had been appointed. Then the Pope asked whom the king would like for archbishop, if the monks' election were quashed. I mentioned your name; but first mentioned some one else with regard to whom an observation was made which I do not care to commit to writing. The Pope

¹ St. Osmund's Reg., ii. p. 25.

² R. Lett. Hy. III., cclxxx. p. 339.

said he did not know you. I then reminded the Pope that he had seen you on one occasion. The Pope replied : ' I do not recollect him '." The agent then said all he could in favour of R. Neville. Subsequently, the monk, who was archbishop-elect, introduced himself to the Pope with some others of the fraternity. " I went in along with them to keep an eye on their movements ; when the Pope saw me he asked me jokingly if I wanted a cowl. I said no : but I should not mind a prebend in Canterbury Church which these monks monopolise. When the monks retired, I explained to the Pope what a benefit it would be to the whole Church, if the monks were got rid of and secular canons put in their place, as Innocent III. proposed to do. The Pope asked how it was to be done. I answered there were plenty of monasteries where the monks could be draughted out with competent pensions from the Canterbury funds. There they could serve God better than in their cathedral. I took good care, whenever the monks had audience, to go in with them, as my presence prevented them from urging their suit."

IV.—CAUTIONARY LETTER PROVIDING THAT SUFFRAGANS MAY NOT BE CONSECRATED ELSEWHERE THAN IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL WITHOUT THE PERMISSION OF THE CHAPTER. (1235.)

Ne suffraganei alibi consecrentur quam in Cantuariensi Ecclesia, nisi de licentia nostra.

Universis, etc. Edmundus, permissione divina, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, etc. Salutem in Domino. Cum per libertates Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ suffraganei ejusdem, sine consensu Capituli Cantuariensis alibi quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi, nullatenus debeant consecrari ; ne consecratio Ven. Fr. Rob. Grosseteste Lincolniensis Episcopi in ecclesia de Radinge a nobis celebranda, dictæ ecclesiæ possit aut debeat præjudicare, quam in jure suo et quieta possessione illæsam volumus conservare, consecrationem ipsam in eodem loco post contradictionem Capituli Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, postmodum tamen de assensu ipsius a nobis requisito, pariter et obtento, celebratam fuisse protestamur, nolentes aliquo modo quod hujusmodi consecrationes de cetero alibi quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi, nisi de communi consensu totius capituli monachorum Cantuariensium ut predictum est celebrentur. In cujus rei testimonium præsentī scripto sigillum nostrum una cum sigillis ven. ff. nostrorum nobiscum in consecratione præsentē existentium : viz. Jocelinus

Bathon : Robertus Sarisbur : Rogerus Londin : Hugo Eliensis : et Radulphus Hereford : apponi fecimus.

This cautionary letter was the usual formula of all similar letters of "alibi" in use down to the Reformation.

"Cautio" of Hugh of St. Asaph de consecratione sua.¹ Universis, etc. H. dei gr. Ep. de Scto Asaph sal. etern. in dom. Quia carta gloriosi martiris Thome auctoritate domini pape Gregorii noni confirmata manifestius apparet (et) specialiter hoc perspeximus contineri quod suffraganei Cantuar. ecclesie alibi quam in ecclesia Cantuar. cui tenentur et professione et debita subjectione, nullatenus consecrentur nisi de communi consensu totius capituli monachorum Cantuar. nos nonnisi predictorum monachorum assensu requisito, et per ven. patrem nostrum Edmundum dei gr. Cant. Aepisc. obtento, munus consecrationis ab eodem et a ven. fratribus nostris, viz. : Joc. Bathon., Rob. Sar., Roger Lond., H. Elyen, R. Heref., apud Radyng obtinuimus in cujus rei, etc.

V.—ABSTRACT OF THE PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS OF ST. EDMUND. (1236.)

The first four constitutions provide for the observance by the clergy of the sacred obligations of their calling. The fifth is a feeling exhortation to mutual peace and charity. The archbishop says : "Magna nobis, filii carissimi, injuncta est necessitas pacis observandæ, cum Deus Ipse pacis sit auctor et amator, qui non solum coelestia sed etiam terrestria venit ad invicem pacificare : et cum nonnisi per pacem temporis et pacem pectoris ad pacem perveniatur æternitatis, monemus vos et districte præcipimus quatenus pacem, quantum in vobis est, cum omnibus habentes, parochianos vestros moneatis, ut in unitate fidei et pacis vinculo unum corpus sint in Christo. Inimicitias, si exortæ fuerint in parochia vestra diligenter sedantes ; amicitias copulantes ; discordantes a discordia revocantes : quantum in vobis est, non permittentes quod sol occidat super iracundiam parochianorum vestrorum."

6. Clerics are forbidden to be present at or to encourage scot-ales (drinking-bouts).

7. All pious and laudable customs are to be observed, although some persons, under the pretext of guarding the Catholic faith from corruption, carp at them.

¹ Registr. Cantuar., A. p. 82.

8. All simoniacal compacts in masses are prohibited under pain of suspension.

9. The font and holy oils are to be kept locked up.

10. The font must be of stone or other suitable material.

11. In case of lay baptism, the priest must make strict inquiry whether the correct form has been used, either in Latin, French, or English.

12. Deacons are not to impose penances nor to baptise except in cases of necessity.

13. Church apparatus which has been blessed by a bishop must not be converted to profane uses.

14. *Si mulier mortua fuerit in partu, et de hoc bene constiterit, scindatur, si infans vivere credatur, ore tamen mulieris aperto.*

15. Women must be admonished to take great care of their children, and must not place tender babes at their side during the night, lest they be overlaid. They must not leave them alone without protection in houses where there is fire or near any water. Let this decree be read every Sunday.

16. The clergy must constantly inculcate that all sexual intercourse out of wedlock is a mortal sin.

17. The confessions of women are to be made where they can be seen but not heard by the bystanders. The confessor is not to enjoin masses by way of penance, though he may counsel it. People are to be exhorted to go to confession at the beginning of Lent, and, indeed, after falling into sin, lest one sin lead to another.

18. Confession and communion to be administered thrice a year: at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. Those who do not communicate at Easter to be cast out of the Church when living, and to be deprived of Christian burial when dead.

19. People of ill fame should be admonished to confess their sin, or else let canonical inquisition be made.

20. Contains practical directions for confessors; amongst others, he must bear a humble demeanour, keep his eyes downcast, and not look at the penitent; must bear with penitents in a spirit of gentleness, and encourage them in every possible way to make an entire confession so as to render it valid.

21. In every deanery there shall be appointed two or three God-fearing men, whose duty it shall be to denounce all public faults of prelates or other clerics.

22. No one to retain a pledge after he has recouped himself from it for the sum advanced, as that would be usury.

23. The sinners who are to be publicly excommunicated thrice a year (at the three great solemnities) are : fortune-tellers, dealers with the devil, abusers of the sacraments, incendiaries, freebooters, those who maliciously hinder the execution of wills.

24. Those who communicate with the excommunicated to be excluded from the Church.

25. Prescribes the rubric for carrying the holy Viaticum to the sick.

26. After the decease of the rector of a church, so much must be deducted from his ecclesiastical assets as shall be required to repair any defect of vestments, books, or any dilapidation of the fabric from which the church may suffer at the time of his decease.

27. No rector to sell tithes before March 25, as after that the funds ought to be impounded for the payment of debts and legacies.

Thus it stands in Wilkins ; but in an early printed edition of the *Constitutiones Provinciales*¹ there is another reading which makes much better sense. Instead of "extunc" it has "ad tunc," so that the constitution runs : No rector to sell his tithes before March 25, as *up to* that time the fruits, etc.

28. No one presented to a benefice can assign a pension out of it to any one ; and an oath is prescribed to be taken both by patron and presentee that no such compact exists.

29. Rectors are not to dismiss their yearly chaplains except for a reasonable cause.

30. Ecclesiastical superiors to be punished who do not denounce incontinent clerks.

31. People are to be often reminded that a married person cannot enter religion without the archbishop's sanction.

32. Married women must not make vows without their husbands' consent.

33. Parishioners are not to make wills except in the parish priest's presence.

34. Physicians must not prescribe any remedy which would be injurious to the soul ; and must warn the patient to call in the spiritual physician.

35. Whereas the excessive variety of religious communities causes great confusion in the Church, we ordain that those who wish to found a new hospital or asylum for the destitute must first obtain from us a rule and constitution, so that the inmates may live according to rule and in a religious manner.

¹ B. Museum (1504), fol. cxliv. vº.

36. Contains instructions for priests in administering holy communion.

37. Women should take care to confess before childbirth.

38. Prescribes the penalties to be imposed on those who kill or cause to be killed any cleric.

In the edition of 1504, between the thirty-eighth and following constitutions, is inserted this rubric: "These (*i.e.*, the following) constitutions are placed amongst the provincial constitutions of the Council of Oxford. Therefore, you may add them to the foregoing."

39. Parents must take care to have their children confirmed betimes. They must not wait till the bishop comes, but take them to him whenever he may be in the neighbourhood; taking care to bring with them the requisite bands to bind round the child's head, which, on the third day, are to be removed, and the child's head to be washed in the baptismery.

40. Tithes are to be paid out of everything that yields an annual crop. Defaulters are to be excommunicated after admonition.

41. Public officials are forbidden to invade the property of clerics or religious, or to infringe ecclesiastical liberties, under pain of excommunication.

VI.—LETTER OF GREGORY IX. TO HENRY III. ON HIS
CORONATION OATH.

(Dated January 10, 1233.¹)

"Etsi cunctorum jura regnorum quæ Christianæ religioni censentur, manutenere teneamur et favorabiliter confovere, regni tamen Angliæ honores, rationes et jura eo studiosius illæsa debemus et cupimus conservare, quo regnum ipsum specialis quadam dilectionis prerogativa complectimur; et de salutaribus ejus, utpote ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinentis, profectibus gratulamur. Nostris siquidem nuper est auribus intimatum, quod cum coronationis tuæ tempore de regni Angliæ juribus et honoribus conservandis ac revocandis alienatis illicito vel distractis, præstiteris corporaliter juramentum, tu postea metu ductus, qui merito cadere poterat in constantem, quasdam libertates, possessiones, ballias et res alias, quibusdam constitutis tam intra regnum prædictum quam in grave coronæ regiæ præjudicium et jacturam, fide ac juramentis a te præstitis de non revocandis eisdem, sub literarum tuarum testimonio, concessisti. Nos itaque, tam tibi

¹ Royal Letters, Hy. III., i. 551.

quam regno paterna volentes sollicitudine providere, maxime cum juramentum primum licitum fuerit et servandum, ac juramenta præstita contra illud illicita censeantur, et quæ vi metusve causa fuerunt nullum habere debeant firmamentum, sinceritati regiæ auctoritate præsentium indulgemus ut tibi liceat supradicta ad jus et proprietatem coronæ regni quæ præfati, non obstantibus juramentis illicitis, revocare: salvis concessionibus factis ecclesiis, personis religiosis et locis, quas robur habere volumus perpetuæ firmitatis." Datum Anagninæ, iv. id. Jan. anno 6^{to}.

LETTER OF GREGORY IX. TO HENRY III. ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

(Dated June, 1235.¹)

Gregorius, etc. Charissimo in Christo filio illustri Regi Angliæ, etc. Quanto majori vinculo tibi dilectionis astringimur, tanto amplius de tuo et regni tui statu solliciti esse debemus, et celsitudini regiæ diligentius, cum expedit, providere: unde occasiones quibus regalis honos minuitur et regnum tuum grave patitur detrimentum ex officii nostri debito providemus amputandas.

Cum igitur in coronatione tua juraveris, ut moris est, jura, libertates, et dignitates, conservare regales; ac quorundam postmodum circumventus consilio, et juvenili facilitate seductus, quamplura quæ ad jus et statum coronæ spectabant, in præjudicium regni, et contra honorem tuum improvide alienans, te contra id non facturum juramento firmans (quia sacramentum peccati vinculum esse non debet, et disrumpendæ sunt obligationes noxiæ, ac solvendi fasciculi deprimentes); nos ad observantiam posterioris juramenti, quod priori repugnat, te decernimus non teneri. Nam, cum tenearis, et in coronatione, sicut dictum est, premissa te juraveris servaturum, illicitum profecto exstitit jusjurandum, quod postea de non revocandis hujusmodi alienationibus, præstitisti. Nulli ergo, etc. Si quis autem, etc.

Datum Perusii . . . Kal. Jul. p. n. a. nono.

LETTER OF GREGORY IX. TO HENRY III. ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

(Dated February 20, 1238.²)

"Gregorius, Ep. S. S. Dei, charissimo in Christo filio illustri Regi Angliæ sal. et ap. bened. Gravi sumus turbatione commoti,

¹ From Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 234.

² *Ibid.*

quod sicut audivimus, quorundam minus discreto ductus consilio, libertates, possessiones, dignitates et alia quamplurima quæ ad jus et statum coronæ spectabant, in grave præjudicium ecclesiæ Romanæ ad quam regnum Angliæ pertinere dignoscitur, et enormem læsionem ejusdem regni in plures prelatos, ecclesias et alios magnates Angliæ liberalitate improvida dispersisti; et de non veniendo contra alienationem hujusmodi te juramentis, necnon instrumentis publicis obligasti.

“Attendentes igitur quod ex alienatione predicta, sedes apostolica, cui præjudicare minime potuisti, non modicum læditur, et regnum ipsum vix subsistere poterit, cujus honor particularibus diminutionibus enervatur, serenitati tuæ, presentium autoritate, mandamus, quatenus, juramentis et instrumentis predictis nequaquam obstantibus, alienata predicta revocare procures.” Datum Later. x. Kal. Mart. p. n. a. 11^{mo}.

VII.—ABSTRACT OF THE DECREES OF THE LEGATINE COUNCIL OF LONDON. (1237.)

1. Many churches and even some cathedrals yet remain unconsecrated. It is provided that all cathedral, collegiate, and parochial churches, which are in a state of completion, shall be consecrated within two years, otherwise they shall be placed under interdict. Abbots and others are not to destroy ancient fabrics under the pretext of restoration, without leave of the diocesan.

2. The sacraments are to be freely administered without exacting any remuneration.

3. People are to be instructed how foolish is the notion which prevails that it is unlucky for children to be baptised on Easter or Pentecost Eve; those being, in fact, the proper days for the solemn administration of baptism.

4. A priest who exacts fees for hearing confessions, or administering other sacraments, is to be deprived of his benefice and to be suspended.

5. In every deanery confessors for the clergy are to be appointed, also general confessors are to be attached to cathedral churches.

6. Before any one is ordained he must be examined to ascertain whether he is unworthy or incompetent, illegitimate or of servile birth, irregular, illiterate, of foreign origin, or destitute of a legitimate title. Registers of all ordinations are to be kept by the bishop.

7. Much as we should wish to prohibit altogether the letting of churches to farm, yet, as that could not, under present circumstances,

prudently be done, we restrict ourselves to prohibiting anything of a simoniacal character. Hence no dignities, nor offices, nor revenues arising from the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction may be let to farm.

8. No church to be let to farm to any lay person, nor to a cleric for more than five years.

9. Some persons wishing to hold a benefice, without renouncing that which they already possess, evade the decree against pluralism by holding it to farm, leaving there a nominal parson. This covert pluralism is declared null and void.

10. No one to be instituted vicar unless he is a priest, or, at least, a deacon intending to be ordained at the next Ember-days; nor unless he renounces all other benefices to which the cure of souls is attached; nor unless he swears to reside there constantly; otherwise, the institution to be void. Present vicars, who are not priests, are to be ordained within a year; otherwise, to forfeit their benefice.

11. No one may claim another's benefice on the mere report of his death or resignation: but the prelate must await certain information, or else be responsible for the consequences. Suspension from office and benefice is denounced against those who violently usurp another's benefice.

12. In each church there must be only one (parish) priest, perfect in order, in dress, in life, in discretion, and in learning. A church must not be left without a parson, or at least a perpetual vicar; it must not be left to a simple priest without legal standing. All simoniacal compacts in institution to benefices are prohibited. The diocesan must take care that some one is always residing at every church to administer the sacraments.

13. As regards residence to be observed by rectors, and as regards pluralists, the council refers the clergy to the decrees already issued by pontifical councils.

14. The clergy must wear a clerical dress under pain of deprivation of benefice. Bishops must set an example by providing that the clergy of their household are suitably attired.

15. Married clerics are to be deprived of their benefices: their sons are incapable of receiving any ecclesiastical order or benefice.

16. *Nisi clerici et maxime in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui in domibus suis vel alienis detinent publice concubinas, eas a se prorsus removeant infra mensem, ipsas vel alias de cetero nullatenus detenturi, ab officio et beneficio sint suspensi.*

17. Sons who have succeeded their fathers in a benefice are to

be deprived thereof; and prelates are ordered not to permit such persons to be instituted.

18. Whereas England is overrun with robbers, which would not be the case unless they had countenance from somebody, any one so aiding or abetting them is to be excommunicated after the third admonition.

19. We have heard, and are delighted to hear it, that the Abbots of the Order of St. Benedict have lately met and decreed that henceforth the strict rule is to be observed of abstinence from flesh meat, except in the case of the sick and weakly, who are to be treated in the infirmary. We approve of this, and order it to be observed. Novices, after their year of probation, must make their profession. No one not professed is to be elected abbot or prior. The same regulation applies to canons regular and to nuns. We intend to make further regulations for religious houses later on.

20. On the duties of an archdeacon. He should visit churches, inquire into the state of the sacred vessels and vestments, how the nocturnal and diurnal offices are performed, and generally correct what he finds amiss. His visits are not to be made a pretext for oppression or extortion: he ought to frequent the capitular meetings in each deanery, and see that the local clergy are properly instructed in their duties.

21. All who exercise contentious jurisdiction are forbidden to put obstacles in the way of a composition being effected between the litigant parties; but, where it is permissible to make a compromise, they are to stay proceedings in order to promote it.

22. On the duties of archbishops and bishops. They are to reside at their cathedrals; to celebrate mass there on the principal feasts, on all Sundays, and during Lent and Advent. They should visit their dioceses at suitable times for correction and reformation, and for the consecration of churches. Let them be constantly sowing the word of Life in the Lord's field; and let them have the profession they made at their consecration read to them twice a year, in Advent and Lent.

23. Special care should be taken to appoint only competent and experienced judges in matrimonial suits. Deans, archdeacons and abbots who claim the privilege of hearing such cases must, before proceeding to a definitive sentence, first consult the diocesan.

24. On the oath of calumny. With regard to the oath of calumny, in all ecclesiastical and civil causes, to the end that the truth may more easily be detected, and causes brought to a speedier

termination, we ordain that the oath shall henceforth be tendered in the kingdom of England according to canonical and legal prescriptions, notwithstanding any custom that is alleged to the contrary. To this decree we deem it advisable to add a provision that arrest of judgment may be granted at the discretion of the judge according to lawful and canonical prescriptions.

25. The useful institution of proctors is sometimes abused by giving them powers for a day only; and then protracting the proceedings by frivolous artifices, so that valuable time is lost: to obviate which inconvenience proctors should be appointed absolutely without limit of time or for some reasonable period.

26. When a party sues out a summons against another, it is customary to send it by three lads¹ to the place where the summoned person resides. Two of the lads place the summons on the altar of the church, and the third straightway picks it up. The two then swear that they served the summons, and the unhappy party gets excommunicated for his supposed contumacy. To prevent this trick, it is ordered that such writs should no longer be sent: but the judge should send his own trusty messenger at the petitioner's expense, who shall diligently find out the party wanted: if he cannot find him, then, on Sunday, in the church of the place, at the sung Mass, he shall cause the letters to be publicly read: or it will suffice to inform the dean of the place where the person lives, who shall use his diligence to find him and certify the judge of the result.

27. It is the more important to have documents certified by an authentic seal in England, because there are no public notaries in that country. Such authentications, however, ought not to be abused to testify a falsehood, as is frequently done not only by simple clerics but even by prelates. All such persons are to be punished as falsifiers.

28. As official registration is not in use in England, whence the use of authentic seals becomes more necessary, all bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, rural deans, chapters, collegiate bodies, convents and their several officials must have seals bearing the style of the dignity, college or office, together with the name of the holder of the seal, if he hold it for life: the inscription must be in plain legible characters. If the seal-bearer only hold it for a time, then it will only have the name of the office, and the bearer must give it up when he resigns his office. Every one must keep his own

¹ Garciones.

seal or entrust it to one single person on whom he can rely, who shall swear to keep it faithfully, and not make an unlawful use of it. Every document must bear a date of the day, the year and the place when and where it was issued.

29. In consequence of legal chicanery the ends of justice are often defeated. Hence we decree that any one who wishes to practise as advocate must swear before his diocesan that he will plead his case honestly, defending his client without injuring his opponent.

Advocates must not suborn false witnesses ; nor get up their case by suggesting what is false or by suppressing the truth. Otherwise, let them be suspended from their office and benefice.

Judges not sufficiently versed in the law, in difficult cases, must obtain competent advice at the expense of both parties. Records of all proceedings to be kept, and copies given to the parties. When any one is put in possession in consequence of the non-appearance of the other claimant, he must give a bond to deliver up possession if the other party should appear within the year prescribed by the Church.

VIII.—DEED CONFIRMING A RENT OF EIGHT POUNDS TO THE CHAPTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP'S MANOR OF RECULVER.

(Ex Registr. Cantuar., A. 147. Dated January, 1235.)

Carta Edmundi Archiepi de octo libris redditus in manerio suo de Raculure.

Omnibus S. matris eccles. fil. ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Edm. mis. div. Cant. aepisc. tot. angl. prim. sal. in dom. Ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire, quod sicut per bonos et fide dignos viros, facta diligenti inquisicione, cognovimus, redditus octo librarum quem dilecti in Christo filii, prior et conventus eccles. Christi Cant. de manerio nostro de Rakulf percipere consueverunt, ad ipsos de jure antique consuetudinis dinoscitur pertinere ; unde volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predictus redditus de predicto manerio predictis priori et conventui annuatim in festo pasche solvatur. Ne igitur predictorum prioris et conventus memorati redditus possessio et per nos facta inquisicio nostros lateat successores, eam sicut prescriptum et presencium auctoritate confirmamus, in cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum mense Jan. pontif. nostri anno primo.

IX.—JUDGES' REPORT OF THE PROCESS BETWEEN THE ARCH-BISHOP AND THE CHAPTER OF CHRIST CHURCH.

(From the *Cartæ Antiq. Cantuar.*, A. 168. A.D. 1237.)

Sanctissimo patri et domino Gregorio Dei gratia summo pontifici filii sui devoti de Boxele ord. Cisterc.,¹ S. Radegundis et de Lesnes Abbates cum devota et debita reverentia pedum oscula beatorum. Mandatum sanctitatis vestre recepimus in hac forma: "Gregorius Ep. serv. servor. dei dil. filiis de Boxleia Cist. ord., S. Radegundis et de Lesnes Abbatibus Cantuar. et Roffens. diæcesium sal. et ap. bened. Dilecti filii, prior et conventus Cantuar. sua nobis petitione monstraverunt quod ven. frater noster Archiep. Cantuar. super ecclesia de Jecham et quibusdam aliis ecclesiis in eorum maneriis et possessionibus constitutis ad eos de jure spectantibus; exenniis et serviciis ab eorum hominibus sibi debitis, mariscis et rebus aliis, injuriatur eisdem. Ideoque discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quod partibus convocatis audiatis causam et eam, si de parcium voluntate processerit, jure debito terminetis, facientes quod statueritis auctoritate nostra firmiter observari: alioquin ipsam remittatis ad nos sufficienter instructam, prefigentes partibus terminum competentem quo per se vel per procuratores idoneos nostro se conspectui representent justam, auctore domino, sententiam recepturi. Testes autem, etc. Quod si omnes, etc. Dat. Viterbii xi. kal. Jan. pontific. nostri anno nono." (Dec. 22, 1235.) Hujus igitur auctoritate mandati ven. patrem E. Cant. Archiep. vocari fecimus quod compareat coram nobis in ecclesia Roffensi conventuali die Sabbati proxima post ascensionem domini (May 10, 1236) predictis priori et conventui responsurus et juri pariturus. Quo die dictis priore et conventu in judicio per procuratorem comparentibus, predictus Archiep. minime comparuit, quem edicto peremptorio propter tempus diffusum vocari fecimus ad crastinum SS. Gervasii et

¹ In the "Life" it is stated (p. 228, note 1), on the authority of the Waverley Annals, that this abbot became Abbot of Cîteaux. But this appears to be an error, for, from information supplied by the learned Cistercian, Fr. Janauschek, author of "*Origines Cistercienses*," it was James (not John), Abbot of Boxley, who became Abbot of Cîteaux in 1223. He resigned his office in 1227, and returned to England. Ex-abbot James assisted at the general chapter of the order held in France in 1237, hence perhaps the mistake has arisen. From a passage in Pope Gregory's second letter to the judges, it is evident that Abbot John had really ceased to be Abbot of Boxley in 1237, but whether by death, resignation, or translation elsewhere, we have not been able to ascertain. Boxley had one "daughter," the Abbey of Robertsbridge, in Sussex.

Prothasii (June 20), ut loco quo prius compareret ad faciendum quod jus dictaret, inserta literis citatorii Archiepiscopo directis dictorum monachorum editione sub hac forma: "ut autem sciatis super quibus predicti prior et conventus vos velint convenire, sciatis quod petunt quod liceat eis de cetero, utpote veris patronis, presentare clericos ad omnes ecclesias villarum et possessionum suarum cum vacaverint quarum collationem sine presentacione et eorundum assensu vos et quidam predecessores vestri viz. Stephanus et Ricardus ultimus, ut dicunt injuste usurpastis. Ab hac petitione excipiunt duas ecclesias sc. de Sesautre et de Broke in quibus hucusque sine cujuscunque contradictione jus advocacionis sive patronatus habuit et habuerunt. Item dicunt quod injuste percipitis quedam exennia annua de prediis suis ipsis debita super quibus petunt vobis et predecessoribus (? successoribus) vestris imponi silentium perpetuum, et ea sibi judicialiter adjudicari, de quibus movetur questio. Sunt autem hec exennia. De manerio suo de Hollingbourne ad Natale tres porci, lxxv. galline; et ad pascha vi. agni et vi. casei et tria buraria et dccl. ova. De Monketon (Thanet) ad Natale v. porci, cxxv. galline; ad pascha ix. agni, x. casei et v. buraria, mccl. ova. De Farlege [East Farleigh] et Pecham [East Peckham] ad Natale duo porci, l. galline; ad pascha iv. agni et iv. casei et d ova. De Edisham [Adisham]¹ ad Natale iv. porci et c. galline; ad pascha viii. agni et viii. casei, iv. buraria, m. ova. De Eastria [Eastry] tantum per omnia sicut de Edisham. De Clive² [Cliff-at-Hoo, near Rochester] et de Culinge [Cowling], per omnia sicut de Edisham. De Mepeham [Meopham] per omnia sicut de Farlege et de Pecham. De Selling et de Middleton [Milton-next-Sittingbourne] per omnia sicut de Holyngburne. De Welles [Westwell] ad Natale iii. porci et lx. galline: ad pascha viii. casei et viii. agni et quatuor buraria et dccl. ova. De Littechert [Little Chart] unus porcus, xxv. galline, duo agni et duo casei, unum burarium, ccl. ova. De Merseham [Mersham] sicut de Littlechert.

"Item dicunt quod cum liberam habere debeant potestatem ponendi et amovendi officiales et, servientes suos tam intus quam

¹ It is interesting to note, as showing the antiquity of this donation, that some Anglo-Saxon charters of donation express total exemption from tribute, save the inevitable "trinoda necessitas" (repairs of castles and bridges and repelling invasion), by the compendious formula, L. S. A., that is "libere sicut Adisham," as free as Adisham. Black's Guide to Kent, *in loco*.

² Cliff-at-Hoo, supposed by some to be the celebrated Cloveshoe, where so many important Anglo-Saxon Councils were held.

extra, vos et predicti predecessores vestri injuste impedivistis eos in eorum grave prejudicium quominus predicta potestate uti possent, sc. ponendi pro voluntate sua tres officiales et eosdem amovendi : viz. sacristam, cellerarium et camerarium : Item tres servientes ; viz. duos janitores, sc. unum ecclesie et alterum curie et senescallum in aula : et sic veniendo contra cartas et concessionem predecessorum vestrorum et precipue contra cartam Sancti Thome Martiris. Dicunt autem predicta contra vos, salvo sibi jure addendi, mutandi et minuendi. Super vero potestate predicta dictos servientes et officiales instituendi et amovendi vobis silentium perpetuum imponi petunt, et eis eandem potestatem sententialiter adjudicari."

Adveniente predicto crastino SS. Gervasii et Prothasii, comparentibus in judicio monachis per procuratorem, dictus Archiepiscopus minime comparuit : et cepit causa dilationem sub spe pacis de qua pluribus habitis tractatibus, non est ad aliquem effectum perventum. Processu vero temporis ad instantiam predictorum prioris et conventus Archiepiscopo scripsimus sub hac forma : "Rev^o. in Christo patri et domino E. Dei gratia, Cantuar. Archiep. totius Anglie primati, fratres de Boxele, S. Radegundis et de Lesnes Abbates sal. in domino. Dedimus vobis in mandatis auctoritate qua fungimur apostolica et peremptorie quod compareretis coram nobis apud Roffam (Rochester) in ecclesia conventuali in crastino SS. Gervasii et Prothasii proximo preterito, Priori et conventui ecclesie Christi Cantuar. responsuri et juri parituri. Et ut sciretis super quibus, inserte fuerunt editiones eorum literis citatoriis ; et quum ea die nec venistis nec pro vobis responsalem destinastis, et negotium sub spe pacis magnam cepit dilacionem, auctoritate predicta vobis mandamus iterato peremptorie quod compareatis coram nobis in predicta ecclesia Roffensi in crastino S. Gregorii (Mar. 13, 1237) in causis motis coram nobis inter vos ex una parte et predictos priorem et conventum ex altera quod jus dictaverit facturi."

Quo die monachis in judicio per procuratorem comparentibus dominus Archiep. vocatus tercio edicto et secundo peremptorio minime comparuit, unde decretum fuit ipsum vocandum esse quarto edicto et tercio peremptorio ad crastinum S. Johannis ante portam latinam (May 7) ad proponendum exceptiones dilatorias. Ante cujus diei adventum literas domini regis prohibitorias ad nos singulatim directas recepimus sub hac forma :

"H. dei gratia, Rex Anglie dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie Abbati N. salutem. Audivimus

quod prior et monachi sancte trinitatis¹ Cantuar. coram te et conjudicibus tuis trahunt E. Cantuar. Archiep. in placitum in curia Christianitatis auctoritate literarum domini pape super advocacionibus ecclesiarum maneriorum suorum et super exenniis que idem Archiep. percipit de maneriis ipsorum prioris et monachorum et super obedientiis domus S. Trinitatis Cantuar."

Quia vero manifeste est contra coronam et dignitatem nostram quod predicta loquela teneatur in curia Christianitatis, cum placitum de advocacionibus ecclesiarum alibi teneri non debeat nec consueverit in regno nostro quam in curia nostra; et preterea cum vacante archiepiscopatu Cantuar. ad nos et heredes nostros pertineat dictorum exenniorum perceptio et predictarum obedientiarum dispositio: Prohibemus tibi ne de cetero placitum illud teneas in curia Christianitatis. Teste meipso apud Roffam xiiii. die Marci anno regni nostri xxi^{mo} (Mar. 14, 1237). Nunciis domini regis solemnibus nichilominus ad nos in consistorio directis, idem ex parte domini regis nobis viva voce inhibentibus.

Adveniente die sc. crastino S. Joannis ante portam latinam, comparentibus partibus per procuratores, cum dies ille datus esset domino archiepiscopo ad proponendum exceptiones dilatorias, procurator archiepiscopi nullam proposuit, petens interlocutionem a nobis utrum regie deferre vellemus prohibitioni post alium diem litis nobis facte. Nos vero super hoc plenius deliberare volentes diem partibus prefiximus sc. diem veneris proximam ante pentecosten (June 5, 1237) ad interloquendum utrum in dicta causa procedere aut regie deferre vellemus prohibitioni. Quo die adveniente, partibus in iudicio per procuratores comparentibus, adhuc cepit causa dilationem usque ad crastinum SS. Joannis et Pauli (June 27). Quo die partibus in iudicio comparentibus, interlocuti fuimus nos auctoritate literarum domini pape quibus monachi predicti usi fuerant, pretextu prohibitionis regie ulterius in causa procedere non audere.

Superveniente novo sanctitatis vestre mandato sub hac forma: "Gregorius, Ep. serv. servor. dei, dil. filiis de Boxleia, S. Radegundis et de Lesnes Abbatibus Cantuar., et Roffen. diæcesium sal. et ap. bened. Significantibus dilectis filiis priore et conventu ecclesie Christi Cant. nobis innotuit quod licet ipsi ven. fratrem nostrum Cantuar. Archiep. super ecclesia de Jecham et quibusdam aliis ecclesiis in eorum maneriis et possessionibus constitutis ad eos de jure spectantibus, exenniis et serviciis ab ipsorum hominibus sibi

¹ The monastery was designated indifferently as the Church of our Saviour, of the Trinity and of Christ.

debitis, mariscis et rebus aliis coram vobis et predecessore tuo, fili Abbas de Boxleia,¹ auctoritate apostolica convenissent, processus tamen negotii propter prohibitionem regiam (est?) hactenus impeditus, quamvis temporibus aliorum regum, nullo ipsorum prohibente, in foro ecclesiastico causa tractata fuisset; super quo apostolice Sedis auxilium implorarunt. Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta, mandamus quatenus juxta formam in prioribus literis vobis traditam, hoc non obstante, in negotio procedatis. Quod si ex eadem causa vestrum adhuc contingat impediri processum, cum ipsi desiderent ut justitia in judicium convertatur,² prefigatis ipsi Archiepiscopo terminum competentem quo per se vel per procuratorem idoneum nostro se conspectui representet, facturus et recepturus super hoc quod dictaverit ordo juris. Quod si non omnes etc. Dat. I(n)t(er) amnii iii. Kal. Marcii pontific. nostri anno decimo" (Feb. 27, 1237).

Hujus igitur auctoritate mandati dominum Archiep. citari fecimus peremptorie ad diem Jovis proximam ante festum S. Margarete (July 16) ut compareret loco quo prius recepturus quod jus dictaret secundum formam mandati apostolici. Quo die partibus in judicio per procuratores comparentibus et probato ex parte prioris et conventus ipsos sepius fuisse impeditos per prohibitionem regiam quominus prosequerentur causam suam coram nobis inter ipsos et dominum Archiep. auctoritate litterarum sedis apostolice motam, et quod ad quemlibet nostrum regia prohibicio pervenisset ne in dicta causa auctoritate litterarum primarum procederemus; tandem, nobis pro tribunali residentibus porrecte fuerunt littere regie sub hac forma: "H. dei gratia, rex anglie, etc. Abbatibus de Boxleia et S. Radegundis et de Lesnes salutem. Memorialiter tenemus nos alias inhibuisse ne teneretis placitum in curia Christianitatis inter ven. patrem E. Cant. Archiep. ex una parte et priorem et monachos S. Trinitatis Cantuar. ex altera super advocacionibus ecclesiarum, mariscis, exenniis et serviciis hominum; et quia non obstante prohibitione nostra predicta, iterum summoniri fecistis eundem Archiep. ut certo die coram vobis compareat ad respondendum super premissis, vel diem recipiendum quo per se vel per procuratorem coram domino papa compareat inde responsurus; et littere apostolice quarum auctoritate hec facitis per falsi suggestionem sunt impetratæ; cum contineant eandem causam in foro ecclesiastico alias fuisse tractatam nullo predecessorum nostrorum regum anglie prohibente, quod manifeste falsum esse dinoscitur; cum hujusmodi causa nullo tempore

¹ See p. 488, note 1.

² Ps. xciii. 15.

alibi quam in curia nostra et predecessorum nostrorum tractari consueverit. Vobis districte prohibemus super omnia tenementa vestra que tenetis in regno nostro, ne in dicta causa procedatis, ipsi Archiepiscopo prefigentes diem extra regnum nostrum vel alio modo ante adventum domini Legati in Angliam qui in januis est; cui volumus predicta communicare et in eisdem ejus uti consilio. Teste meipso apud W(oo)destoke, xmo die Julii."

Quibus coram nobis recitatis institit allegando procurator Archiepiscopi quatenus deferremus prohibitioni regie in predictis litteris contenta et aliis prohibitionibus factis ex parte domini regis: parte monachorum instanter petente quod Archiepiscopo prefigeretur dies et terminus competens, quo per se vel per procuratorem idoneum apostolico conspectui se representaret, facturus et recepturus in predicta causa inter ipsum et predictos monachos mota quod dictaret ordo juris, maxime cum processum nostrum adhuc contingeret per prohibitionem regiam, ut aperte liquebat per predictam prohibitionem et alias consimiles prohibiciones impediri; et cum dominus Legatus quasi in januis esset, ut suo uteremur colloquio et consilio: in negotio supersedimus; ita quod suo communicato consilio, partibus significarem quid in dicto negotio tam super mandato vestro quam prohibitionem regia statuere vellemus. Nobis postmodum, habito domini Legati consilio, apud Boxele, die Lune proxima post decollationem S. Johannis Baptiste (Aug. 31, 1237), convenientibus, et predictis per procuratorem monachis comparentibus; cum hec verba in eorum editione prius Archiepiscopo facta posita fuissent: "vos et quidam predecessores vestri injuste usurpastis vobis predictam potestatem in eorum grave prejudicium, ponendo pro voluntate vestra et pro tempore tres officiales et eosdem amovendo," sic mutaverunt: "vos et predicti predecessores vestri injuste impedivistis eos in eorum grave prejudicium quominus predicta potestate uti possent sc. ponendi pro voluntate sua tres officiales et eosdem amovendi, sc. Sacristam, etc.," addentes editioni sue Archiepiscopo prius facte sic: "petunt predicti monachi quod predictus Archiep. ad observationem arbitrii super moris et mariscis et piscariis olim in arbitrium deductis coram Episcopo Eliensi et Abbati S. Edmundi et Decano Lincolniensi in causis inter ipsos ex una parte et bone memorie H(ubertum) quondam Archiep. Cantuar. ex altera motis, compellatur. In quo a partibus recepto et a domino papa inclite recordationis Innocentio tercio confirmato sic continetur: 'De mariscis, piscariis et moris sic erit; eligentur de communi assensu viri boni et fide digni duodecim aut plures qui veritatem super his

melius noverunt et fidelius voluerunt testimonium perhibere veritati, et jurati dicant ad quam potius partem predicta de jure pertineant; et stetur dicto omnium aut majoris partis. Dominus Archiep. precipiet illis sub interminacione anathematis ut verum dicant bona fide et sine acceptacione persone.' Mariscus autem quem petunt est in mora que dicitur Serle, jacens inter fluvium qui dicitur Limene¹ a parte australi, et moram abbatis S. Augustini Cantuar. ex parte aquilonari, et moram de Blakebourne ex parte orientali, et moram de Reding ex parte occidentali. Piscaria vero cujus medietatem petunt est juxta pontem de Oxenel in terra sua de Stapele sita."

Nos autem mandatum vestrum exequi volentes sub hac forma predicto scripsimus Aepō. "Reverendo in Christo patri et domino E. dei gratia, Cantuar. Archiepō, totius Anglie primati, de Boxeleia, S. Radegundis et de Lesnes Abbates salutem cum debita reverentia. Mandatum domini pape recepimus iterato de procedendo in causa inter vos ex una parte et priorem et conventum ecclesie Christi Cantuar. ex altera mota, non obstante prohibicione regia prout vobis alias significavimus; auctoritate cujus mandati vobis et priore et conventu, per procuratores, in ecclesia Roffensi die Jovis proxima ante festum S. Margarete coram nobis comparentibus, superveniente prohibicione regia ne procederemus in causa eadem, nec vobis diem etiam extra regnum Anglie prefigeremus, consilio domini Legati jam in januis existentis uti volentes, eo die supersedimus sub hac forma, quod, ejus communicato consilio, partibus significaremus quid in dicto negotio tam super mandato apostolico quam regia prohibicione statuere vellemus.

Nos ergo ipsius usi consilio, et domini pape volentes obtemperare mandato, cum propter regiam prohibicionem processum nostrum in ipsa causa contigerit impediri; secundum formam mandati apostolici vobis diem prefigimus quo per vos vel per procuratorem idoneum apostolico vos conspectui representetis faaturi et recepturi in predicta causa quod juris ordo dictaverit, sc. diem crastinum conversionis S. Pauli (Jan. 26, 1238).

Significamus etiam vobis quod predicti monachi per procuratorem coram nobis comparentes quedam verba in eorum editione vobis prius facta sic (mutaverunt): "Vos et quidam," etc. Here follows a repetition of the amended claim made by the monks and given on a former page.

Nos igitur superius notata prout acta sunt sanctitati vestre

¹ Now called the Rother.

fideliter significamus. Valeat sanctitas vestra per multa tempora duratura.

Sigill.	Sigill.	Sigill.
Abb.	Abb.	Abb.
de	S.	de
Boxley.	Radegund.	Lesnes.

Endorsed :—

Processus habitus inter nos et sanctum E. Archiepiscopum,
missus ad papam per delegatos iudices in causas.

(In another hand): "De Scerlemer apud Apuldre".

X.—FINAL COMPOSITION BETWEEN THE ARCHBISHOP AND
THE CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY.

(Dated Dec. 18, 1237.)

(From the original bipartite indenture in the archives of Canterbury,
c. 34: bearing the private seal of St. Edmund.)

Noverint omnes ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit quod cum Joannes prior et conventus ecclesie Christi Cantuar. movissent litem ven. patri eadmundo archiepo Cant. tocius anglie primati, super advocacionibus ecclesiarum de maneriis eorundem monachorum quos ipsi monachi petebant, exenniisque que dictus archiep. et predecessores sui participare consueverunt de maneriis eorundem: item de moris et mariscis de Serle et quibusdam piscariis: obedienciaris et quibusdam ministeriis in ecclesia Christi Cant. que archiepi qui pro tempore fuerint dare solebant: item et de quadam summa pecunie, sc. de 22,000 marcarum quam pecuniam dicti prior et conventus sibi deberi dicebant ex persona bone memorie Stephani quondam Cant. archiep. de restitutione ablatorum quam fecit rex Joannes quando relaxatum fuit generale anglie interdictum: item de modo creationis prioris dovorie quem dicebant debere creari in eorum capitulo et de eorundem assensu: item cum vindicarent sibi returnium brevium domini regis habendum immediate a domino rege et non per manum domini archiepiscopi.

Tandem, domino inspirante, post multas altercationes inter partes ita convenitur, viz. quod pro bono pacis inter dictum archiepiscopum et successores suos ex una parte, et priorem et conventum qui pro tempore fuerint ex altera, confirmande, renunciaverunt prefati prior et conventus pro se et successoribus suis omnibus litibus motis et movendis quantum ad predictos articulos tam in foro civili quam

ecclesiastico : sc. controversie super advocacionibus ecclesiarum quas petebant, salvo sibi jure advocacionis quam habent in ecclesiis de broke¹ et de sesautre² et ecclesiis in Lond. et in Cant. et in Lewes quarum advocaciones ad eos pertinere dinoscuntur: exceptis ecclesiis de farningeham et de depeham et de halegestow [Halstow] et ecclesiis S. dunstani et aldermarie church in London, que in proprios usus eorum sunt commisse: salvis etiam sibi porcionibus quas in ecclesiis de muneke³ de eastrey et de mepeham percipiunt. Item de exenniis, salvis sibi et ministris eorum de iisdem exenniis porcionibus consuetis. Item de moris et mariscis et piscariis, obedienciariis et ministeriis et de modo creacionis prioris dovorie quem archiep. creabit de gremio capituli Cant. ut voluerit. Et de summa pecunie petita et superius expressa, ita quod nec super hoc, nec super aliquo predictorum liceat eis aliquo tempore questionem movere.

Dictus autem archiepiscopus pro se et successoribus suis dictis priori et conventui pro bono pacis predictae liberaliter concessit returnium brevium domini regis per manus domini archiepi et successorum suorum ita libere percipiendum de hominibus et tenementis eorum sicut ipse a domino rege idem returnium est consecutum. Concessit etiam eis pro se et successoribus suis omne emolumentum proveniens ex dicto returnio de hominibus eorum sive de tenementis eorum et catalla fugitivorum et attachiamenta omnia et omnia imprisonamenta et judicia de hominibus suis et non suis in terris eorum tam ex dicto returnio quam sine returnio proveniencia nisi per eorum steterit defectum: et amerciamenta omnia de hominibus suis ubique; nisi secundum quod infra sequitur: sc. quod si homines prioris et conventus de aliis hominibus eorundem conquirantur et contingat quod amerciati fuerint in curia domini archiepi prioris et conventus erit amerciamentum. Si autem homines archiepi vel alii quicunque qui non fuerint homines prioris de hominibus prioris conquirantur et amerciati fuerint in curia archiepi, dicti homines prioris de quibus facta est ibidem conquestio pro defectu currentis prioris, amerciamentum erit archiepi. Si autem ex parte prioris et conventus petatur curia eorum in hundredo archiepi in tali casu in quo secundum legem terre eis debeat concedi, tunc eis concedetur, et eorum erit amerciamentum, nisi per defectum eorum revertatur querela ad hundredum archiepi; et tunc erit amerciamentum ipsius archiepi. Item convenit inter eos quod si questio fiat de falsis judiciis vel aliquibus aliis injuriis factis in curia eorum, illud emendabitur per curiam dicti archiepi et amerciamentum erit

¹ Brook.² Seasalter.³ Monkton in Thanet.

archiepi vel prioris sicut predistinctum est. Item si contingat aliquem conquiri de persona prioris qui pro tempore fuerit de defectu justicie vel injuria facta, idem prior per archiepiscopum, si presens fuerit¹ in Kantio, vel si absens fuerit, per senescallum suum capitalem monebitur ut secundum quod justum fuerit satisfaciat de commissis. Qui si hoc facere noluerit, coram eodem archiepo in Kantio existente; vel si ibidem non fuerit, et querela fuerit secularis, coram officiali ejusdem archiepi et capitali senescallo, in capitali curia Cantuar. juri parebit; et si ecclesiastica fuerit, coram officiali tantum. Qui si amerciatus fuerit, amerciamentum suum rationabiliter taxatum omnino priori relaxabitur.

In possessiones vero et feodum dictorum prioris et conventus nullus de ministerio archiepi potestatem exercebit nisi per eorum defectum: sed in omni defectu sive in curiis sive in terris monachorum emendacio erit ipsius archiepi; et amerciamentum erit ipsius archiepi, vel prioris, sicut predistinctum est.

De moris autem et mariscis et piscaria; sc. dimidio corde continente spacium viginti pedum in longitudine vel circiter viginti, in stapele, ita convenitur quod eligantur ex utraque parte duodecim vel viginti quatuor fideles homines jurati et sub pena anathematis adjurati coram domino Willo. de Ralegh, vel si superstes non fuerit, coram domino Willo. de eboraco, superiore eorum,² et secundum eorum fideles deposiciones de predictis mariscis, moris et piscaria, per ipsum dominum Willm. de Ralegh vel dominum Willm. de eboraco irrefragabiliter ordinetur.

Quia vero pretextu dictarum controversiarum dictus archiepiscopus per predictos priorem et conventum gravibus et non modicis sumptibus et laboribus extitit pregravatus, quantum ad refusionem expensarum dictarum, postquam pax oblata fuit priori et conventui ab archiepo faciendam vel non faciendam, sive in aliquo sive in nullo, magno vel modico, a prenominationis priore et conventu, ad instanciam eorundem et aliorum communium amicorum ad hoc laborantium, ordinacioni et consilio dominorum Willi. de Ralegh, vel si superstes non fuerit, Willi. de Eboraco: et bertramni de . . . vice-comitis Cantuar. et Johannis de Watthon clerici, qui eidem Willo. de Ralegh vel dicto Willo. de eboraco, si alius superstes non fuerit, ad instanciam dictorum prioris et conventus de voluntate dicti archiepi, ad hoc sunt adjuncti; (quibus) tam idem archiepiscopus quam dicti

¹ The following passage down to "non fuerit" is inserted in a note at the foot of the page.

² *i.e.*, who shall preside over the jury.

prior et conventus se sponte supposuerunt et bona fide obligaverunt.

Hec autem pax, sicut supradictum est, perpetua et omni tempore inviolabiliter permanebit, non obstante aliquo dicto, facto aut scripto quod ab alterutra parcium habeatur vel haberi possit, quantum ad predictos articulos; ita tamen si domini pape et domini regis intervenerit consensus.

Ut autem que acta sunt futuris temporibus roborata optineant, factum est hoc scriptum cyrographatum, cujus una pars signata sigillo nostri archiepi remanet penes predictos priorem et conventum:¹ altera vero pars signata sigillo predictorum prioris et conventus remanet penes predictum archiepiscopum. Actum apud Cantuariam xv. Kal. Januarii, anno domini mcccxxvii.

XI.—COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION IN THE ROCHESTER CONTROVERSY.

“Gregorius Ep. S.S. Dei, dil. fil. Priori de Dunstaple, Archidiacono de Berks. et Decano de Flemstede; Lincoln. et Sarum. Dioces. Sal. et ap. bened. Ven. fr. noster Cantuar. aepisc. sua nobis insinuatione monstravit quod cum ordinatio episcopatus Roffensis ad eum immediate pertineat, ita quod eccles. Roffensi vacante, non licet ejus capitulo eligere sibi vel postulare pastorem; bonæ mem. Stephanus prædecessor suus prædictum Capit. semel et iterum eligere sibi permisit Episcopum in enorme ipsius præjudicium et grave sui dispendium dignitatis, se ignorasse jus suum; et propter hoc permisisse illos eligere asseverans. Quare dictus aepisc. postulavit a nobis ut cum talis ignorantia prædicti prædecessoris sui in ejus præjudicium redundare non debeat, sibi super hoc providere misericorditer dignaremur. Quia vero nobis non constitit de præmissis, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vocatis qui fuerint evocandi, inquiratis super his, appellatione remota, sollicitè veritatem, et quod inveneritis, per vestras nobis literas, intimetis: ut ex vestra relatione sufficienter instructi, procedamus exinde prout secundum Deum viderimus procedendum. Dat. Anagninæ iv. id. Sept.”

¹ This part of the indenture is preserved in the archives.

BULL OF ALEXANDER III. ON THE SUBJECTION OF THE SEE OF ROCHESTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP. (Addressed to Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury.)¹

... Præterea ecclesiam Roffensem tibi et Catholicis successoribus tuis subjacere decernimus veluti cujus episcopatus et ejusdem redditus de mensa Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi constituti fuerunt : ita quod, decedente ejusdem loci episcopo in tua sit dispositione et successorum tuorum episcopum tanquam proprium capellanum ibidem instituere secundum antiquam ecclesiæ tuæ consuetudinem et secundum quod predecessores tui hactenus fecisse noscuntur.

XII.—PAPAL DISPENSATION FROM THE CONSEQUENCES OF MUTILATING A CHARTER OF ST. THOMAS.

Dispensacio quod per avulsionem sigilli a carta beati Thome nullam paciamur molestiam. (Ex Registr. Cantuar., A. 68*b*. Dated Feb. 27, 1241.)

Gregorius, Ep. serv. serv. dei dil. fil. conventui Cantuar. sal. et apost. bened. Lecta coram nobis vestra peticio continebat quod cum bone memorie Edmundus Cantuar. Archiep. vos in quibusdam privilegiis pie recordationis Alexandri pape tercii predecessoris nostri et beati Thome mart. assereret falsitatis vicium commisisse ; ac dil. fil. noster Otho S. Nic. in Carc. Tull. Diac. Card. Apostolice sedis legatus, vobis solempniter convocatis, super hoc a singulis vestrum fecisset inquiri, sub juramento prestito, veritatem : tres dumtaxat ex vobis culpabiles reperit qui privilegium dicti martiris a quo sigillum avulsum fuerat, in spiritu simplicitatis, erronee rescribere ac idem sigillum ei apponere presumserunt. Verum quum ipsi propter hoc, ut asseritis, condignam acturi penitentiam, sint ad alia loca translati ; et vos in hac parte reperti fueritis innocentes, nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati, volumus ut, cum pro reverencia dicti martiris honore digni jugiter existatis, nullam exinde incurrat fama vestra dispendium vel innocencie detrimentum. Dat. Lateran. iiii. non. marc. pont. nostri anno xiv.

XIII.—POPE GREGORY'S BRIEF ON THE PUNISHMENT OF MONKS.

(Dated Nov. 2, 1238. Ex Reg. Cant., A. 39*a*.)

“De non incarcerandis vel puniendis monachis tractantibus secreto de regulari disciplina cum Archiepiscopo.

¹ Reg. Cantuar., A. 48*a*.

"Gregorius Ep. s. s. dei ven fr. Cant. Aepo sal. et ap. bened. Te circa subditorum salutem debitam sollicitudinem laudabiliter exercente, contingit aliquando, sicut miranter accepimus, quod, si aliquis regularis ordinis inquirenti, aliquorum ex eisdem monachis culpam revelaverit vel excessum, prior seu conventus ejusdem ecclesie illi et consimilibus penam propter hoc infligere non verentur, faciendo ipsos mancipari carceri, vel artari vinculis, aut aliis affligi nocumentis. Ut igitur obtuitu Divini Nominis in eadem ecclesia vacantibus studio caritatis, que in hoc potenter exponitur quod a latenti seu patenti morbo curari volentibus opportunum remedium prebeat, de cetero gravamen inferre pro gratia non contingat. Quod hujusmodi monachi a priore et conventu predictis, occasione prefata, in aliquo non graventur, auctoritate presentium, districtius inhibemus. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostre inhibitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis dei et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Later. ii. 9 bris pont. n. a. 12^{mo}."

XIV.—THE ARCHBISHOP'S SECOND MONITION TO THE CHAPTER OF CHRIST CHURCH.

(Dated Nov. 20, 1238.¹)

"Edmundus, Dei gratia, etc., dilectis filiis, etc. Meminimus nos vos monuisse quatenus de inobedientia, irreverentia, contumacia et contumelia nobis et nostris a vobis impudenter illata et etiam de eo quod suspensi in loco a nobis suspenso temere celebrare præsumpsistis divina et divinis interesse et campanas pulsare in vestrarum dispendio animarum et nostri contemptum, satisfacere curaretis. Iterato vos monemus quatenus de præmissis secundum formam ecclesiæ satisfaciatis. Alioquin omittere non possumus, sicut nec debemus, quin manus debitæ correctionis ulterius extendamus." Datum apud Cantuar. xii. Kal. Dec. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

THIRD MONITION. (Dated Nov. 21, 1238.)

"Edmundus, Dei gr., etc. Cum vos semel et secundo literatorie monuerimus, et ex abundanti per venerabiles fratres Lincolniensem et Eliensem Episcopos interpellaverimus (he then recites their

¹ This and the following documents are taken from the Chronicle of Gervase (ed. Stubbs,) vol. ii.

misdeeds as before, and continues): adhuc vos tertio monemus quatenus," etc., as before. Datum ap. Cant. xi. Kal. Dec. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

CREDENTIALS OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S AGENTS.

(Dated Dec. 11, 1238.)

"Edmundus Dei gr. etc. dilectis filiis, conventui Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum ad preces et supplicationes vestras ad ecclesiam vestram accesserimus, priorem vobis more solito et debito creaturi, et quædam sint præambula ad consuetam creationem prioris, (præcipimus), ut in capitulo vestro congregemini et ibidem congregati, Ven. fr. J. Episc. et Mag. R. Cancell. nostrum et H. de Bishopston ex parte nostra super memoratis præambulis audiatis: tantum inde facientes ne quid moræ vel difficultatis per vos rectis dispositionibus afferatur." Valete. Dat. Cant. iii. id. Dec. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

TRIPLE MONITION TO THE MONKS TO RECTIFY THEIR STATUS.

(Dated Dec. 13, 14, and 15, 1238.)

(a) "Edmundus, Dei gr., etc., dilectis in Christo filiis Conventui Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. salutem in Domino. Cum vos inhabiles reddideritis ad præficiendum de vobis priorem, eo quod, a nobis legitime suspensi, a divinis non abstinuistis, devotionem vestram monendam duximus et exhortandam in Domino, bona fide consulentes, et in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes quatenus, ut de vobis priorem præficere possimus, habiles vos reddatis." Dat. ap. Cant. id. Dec. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

(b) "Edmundus, Dei gr., etc., salutem, gratiam et benedictionem: Meminimus nos alias vos monuisse, etc. . . . Verum quia mandato nostro nondum paruistis, devotionem vestram iterato," etc. Dat. Cant. xix. Kal. Jan.

(c) "Edmundus, Dei gr., etc., salutem in Domino. Meminimus nos jam vos primo et secundo monuisse, etc. Verum, quia mandato nostro nondum paruistis, devotionem vestram tertio monendam duximus, etc., injungentes quatenus infra diem B. Thomæ Apostoli secundum primi mandati tenorem, vos habiles in hac parte reddatis: alioquin quod nostrum est in hac parte, secundum quod Deus nobis dederit, faciemus." Dat. ap. Cant. xviii. Kal. Jan. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

LETTER OF CITATION. (Dated Jan. 4, 1239.)

(a) "Edmundus, Dei gr., etc., dilectis in Christo filiis, etc. Cum ob manifestam contumaciam et inobedientiam vos a celebratione divinorum et pulsatione campanarum suspenderimus et vos frequenter monuerimus ut ad cor rediretis, de excessibus vestris satisfacturi; et quia nihilominus contumaciam contumaciæ addidistis in celebratione et pulsatione claves ecclesiæ contemnendo et mandatis nostris postmodum pertinaciter restitistis, licet de jure gravius in vos animadvertere possemus, vobis tamen ad præsens, quantum secundum Deum possumus, parcere cupientes, vos, universos et singulos ab ingressu ecclesiæ suspendimus, districtius inhibentes ne usquam locorum celebrationi divinorum interesse presumatis; ad hæc paterno monentes affectu, ut vel sic ab inceptis erroribus desistatis: alioquin dissimulare non poterimus, sicut nec debemus, quin manus nostras contra vos ulterius aggravemus. Cæterum, quia vos, dilecti filii, Stephanus de Cranbrook, Willelmus de Sotindune, Ricardus de Suwelle, Willelmus Turris, Alanus Ruffus, Rogerus de la Lee, Ricardus de Malling, Wido, Walterus de Essex, Petrus de Dodintune, Joannes de Hertford, Robertus Blundel, Willelmus de Hoo, Dunstanus, Hugo de Girunde, Jordanus de Rofa, Andreas de Biham, Willelmus de Audinges, Joannes de Sotindune, præ cæteris contumaces invenimus et rebelles, certisque rationibus et indiciis habemus suspectos quod ope, inductione ac consilio vestro, prædictæ transgressionis sunt attemptatæ, et adhuc irreverenter et contumaciter defenduntur, firmiter injungendo et districtè præcipiendo, vobis mandamus quatenus infra diem Dominicam (Jan. 9) proximam post instantem Epiphaniam Domini coram nobis compareatis, et vos super præmissis canonice purgetis, vel sufficienter excusetis. Alioquin officium nostrum circa præmissa secundum quod Deus nobis inspiraverit, exequemur. Infirmis autem nostris, si a vobis fuerimus requisiti, præmissis non obstantibus, pie et salubriter curabimus providere." Dat. ap. Cant. prid. non. Jan. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

PARTIAL RELAXATION OF THE SAME. (Dated Jan. 5, 1239.)

(b) "Edmundus, Dei gr., etc. Suspensionem de personis a nobis ultimo factam sic intelleximus et intelligimus, ut nihilominus, quatuor certæ personæ de simplicioribus monachis deputentur ad receptionem peregrinorum et custodiam corporum sanctorum et thesauri." Dat. ap. Cant. non. Jan., etc.

REPLY OF THE CHAPTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP'S CITATION.

"Reverendo, etc. . . . Capitulum Cantuar., etc. . . . Mandatum . . . (here follows a recital of the archbishop's charges) quod nec ope nec inductione nec consilio eorum (that is, the nineteen) suspensiones vestras contempsimus, quas admittere non debuimus nec potuimus post appellationem ad Dominum Papam ex causis legitimis interpositam, de facto in nos promulgatas; cui appellationi adhuc universi et singuli inhærentes, prædictas suspensiones non admisimus. Verumtamen admirari non sufficimus quod tot et tales de capitulo nostro ex septa ecclesiæ nostræ ad loca remotiora vocare voluistis eis purgationem indicentes; quia nihil præcesserit quod deberet indicare purgationem, etiam si tales existerent quibus esset purgatio indicenda: unde appellationes prius interpositas innovantes adhuc appellamus ne quid in præjudicium cognitionum inter vos et nos coram Domino Papa motarum contra nos vel aliquem de nostris de facto, cum de jure non possitis, statuatis."

SENTENCE OF EXCOMMUNICATION ON THE ELECTORS.

(Jan. 15, 1239.)

"Edmundus, Dei gratia, etc. . . . Conventui spiritum consilii sanioris. Cum contra consuetudinem Cantuar. Ecclesiæ ab antiquis temporibus approbatam, in grave præjudicium dignitatis nostræ et omnium successorum nostrorum, auctoritate propria, Rogerum de la Lee vobis de facto elegeritis in priorem, sicut in literis vestris patentibus nobis directis plenius continetur, quia ex parte nostra (through the archbishop's official) ter admoniti nec vestrum revocare curastis errorem, nec nobis satisfacere de offensa, vos universos et singulos prædicti Rogeri electores sententia excommunicationis innodavimus. Tibi autem, Rogere de la Lee, in virtute obedientiæ districtæ præcipiendo mandamus quatenus infra Festum Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani (Jan. 20) per te vel per alium nos sufficienter certifies utrum electioni consenseris et consentias antedictæ." Datum apud Hadlow, xviii. kal. Feb. P. n. a. 5^{to}.

SECOND CITATION OF THE NINETEEN. (Dated Feb. 1, 1239.)

"Edmundus, Dei gratia, etc. . . . Conventui Cantuar. spiritum consilii sanioris. Cum vobis monachis (here follow the nineteen names) . . . quos præ cæteris (as before) . . . vobis mandamus iterato . . . quatenus citra diem Cinerum (Feb. 9) coram nobis . . .

Alioquin ex tunc, crescente vestra contumacia, manus nostras, meritis vestris exigentibus, contra vos curabimus aggravare. Præterea, tibi, Rogere, sub simili districtione, mandamus ut infra dictum diem Cinerum nos per te vel per alium sufficienter certifies, etc. (as before) . . . alioquin contra te specialiter, sicut de jure poterimus, procedemus. Et hæc vobis, scilicet conventui universo, duximus intimanda ut vos latere non possit si qui vestrum in præmissis fuerint contumaces."

THE CONVENT'S ANSWER TO THE ABOVE. (Dated Feb. 5, 1239.)

" Reverendo, etc. . . . Nos, viz. Steph. de Cranbrook, Willelmus præcentor et alii . . . humiles monachi ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. quos præ cæteris contumaces, prout in vestris literis continetur invenistis et rebelles, etc. . . . ad præsentiam vestram vocati super hoc, etc. . . . paternitati vestræ cum humilitate supplicamus et devotione quatenus quibus rationibus et indiciis nos suspectos habeat vestra paternitas, et quarum transgressionum inductores et consiliarios nos reputetis, si placet, nobis exprimi faciatis ut reddamur certiores et vobis congruum super expressis, tanquam patri et domino super purgatione vel excusatione facienda dare valeamus responsum ; cum nihil sit, ut credimus, quod nobis possit vel debeat imputari, nisi quod ab unitate non recedimus, nec unquam, dante domino, recedemus. Semper enim parati loco (sumus) secundum antiquæ ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem et prout nostra exigit conditio, si in aliquo deliquimus, salvis privilegiis nostris et appellationibus ad Dominum Papam interpositis, satisfacere competenter. Ego autem, Roger de la Lee, a vobis requisitus utrum electioni de me factæ consenserim et consentiam, sic respondeo : quod cum a fratribus, urgente necessitate, ad prioratus sollicitudinem vocatus essem, interposita statim ad Dominum Papam appellatione solemnī, tam pro statu eligentium quam electi, quam ipsa electione quam vobis humiliter præsentatam ut paternum assensum præberetis, non tantum admittere renuistis, sed condemnastis aliter quam deceret. Propter quod iterum ad Dominum Papam extitit appellatum. Pro loco et tempore in electionis examine quam a vobis penitus abdicastis, secundum quod mihi Dominus dederit, requisitus, verum et non simulatum dabo responsum. Et quoniam, pendente appellatione, nihil debet innovari, et pro statu meo sit solempniter appellatum, ne quid circa me durius statuatis, sedem apostolicam appello, appellationes prius interpositas innovando.

“Nos autem, Capitulum Cantuariense, et singuli de Capitulo, ne quid in nos vel aliquem de Capitulo pendentibus appellationibus et quæstionibus inter vos et nos coram domino Papa motis, attemptetis, appellamus sedem apostolicam, appellationes prius interpositas innovantes. Unde fr. Simonem, ecclesiæ nostræ monachum, latorem præsentium, ad appellandum et appellationes prius interpositas innovandum procuratorem nostrum constituimus. Et quia quatuor de fratribus a vobis vocatis (that is, four of the nineteen) pro ecclesiæ nostræ negociis sunt absentes, nomina eorum in literis præsentibus minime continentur. Valeat paternitas vestra semper in Domino. Actum A.D. 1238, non. Feb.” (Feb. 5, 1239.)

THE ARCHBISHOP'S REPLY TO THE CONVENT'S DEFENCE.

(Dated Feb. 22, 1239.)

“Edmundus, dei gratia, etc. . . . Conventui Cantuar. spiritum consilii sanioris. Cum vobis monachis, Steph. de Cranbrook, tertio priori; W. de Sotindune et aliis, etc. (as before) . . . semel, secundo mandavimus et in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injunximus ut coram nobis, etc. (as before) . . . et vos hucusque non feceritis, immo nobis supplicaveritis ut vobis exprimeremus quibus nominibus et indiciis vos habeamus suspectos et quarum transgressionum vos inductores et consiliarios reputemus, licet hoc facere non haberemus necesse, tamen ex abundante, ut tollatur omnis cavillationis materia, quare vos suspectos habemus hæc indicia et has vobis exprimimus rationes; viz. quia omnia conventum contingentia tam in capitulo quam extra, tam in negociis quam in causis, per vos tanquam principales, quibus ab aliis non resistitur, sive bene sive male reguntur et geruntur. Quod non solum vulgo manifestum est, immo nobis per facti evidentiam innotuit manifeste; tum antequam inter nos et capitulum nostrum aliqua discordia oriretur, nobis indubitanter constabat quod ope, inductione et consilio vestro præmissa omnia regebantur: tum cum postmodum inter nos contentio exorta fuerit (quæ utinam salubriter sopiretur) vos principaliter, tanquam seniores, pro toto capitulo sine mandato, ut credimus, vos nobis opposuistis, et inconsultis reliquis de capitulo et quasi spretis, nostris quæstionibus respondistis, licet forte postea alios ad vestram traxeritis sententiam, in hoc etiam gravius delinquendo. Ad hæc inter alias transgressionem in Ecclesia Christi Cantuar. attemptatas, quæ nos non latent nec latere possunt, has specialiter vobis duximus exprimendas, viz., quod ope, inductione et consilio vestro, non

solum a suspensis sed ab excommunicatis in dicta ecclesia, tam a vobis quam ab aliis in grave dispendium animarum et scandalum unitatis ecclesiæ, divina temere celebrantur. Vobis igitur mandamus tertio in virtute obedientiæ et sub pœna suspensionis, firmiter injungentes quatenus in crastino Dominicæ qua cantatur 'Lætare Jerusalem' (Mar. 7) coram nobis compareatis per vos vel procuratores idoneos vos super præmissis purgaturi vel sufficienter excusaturi. Tibi autem, Rogere de la Lee, sub pœna consimili firmiter injungimus quatenus electioni erroneæ de te factæ renunciâs, coram nobis per te vel procuratorem idoneum, dicta die compareas, nobis plenius satisfactorius super eo quod eidem electioni, prout ex verbis tuis insertis in quibusdam literis Cantuar. capituli nobis directis, perpenditur, in grave dignitatis nostræ præjudicium commiseris."

REPLY OF THE CHAPTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER OF
FEB. 22, 1239. (Dated March, 1239.)

"Reverendo, etc. . . . humile capitulum Ecclesiæ Christi. Literas paternitatis vestræ recepimus ex quarum tenore nos humiles monachi, capitulum ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. scilicet, Steph. de Cranbrook, etc. . . . perpendimus quod nos, etc. (here follows a recital of the archbishop's charges) . . . unde nobis mandastis, etc. . . . indicia vero, etc. (recital of motives) . . . verum, cum post appellationes ex parte nostra ad Dominum Papam sæpius interpositas ob multiplicatas injurias a vobis illatas, in Ecclesia Cant. divina canonice per capitulum ecclesiæ celebrentur, tam a nobis quam ab aliis; prout coram iudice appellationis, favente Domino, docebitur, non credimus pro facto canonico iudicium excusationis vel purgationis subire debere, vel indiciis et causis contra nos suspicionem inducentibus, ut dicitis, respondere ad præsens, maxime extra domum nostram, cum de jure scripto monachi in locis quibus degunt iudicio stare debeant; et prout vobis sæpius scripsimus, super hoc causa pendeat coram Domino Papa an extra capitulum vel intra iudicium debeamus subire. Præterea, cum vestris semper parati simus canonicis obtemperare mandatis, qua fronte sine confusione ad vestram accederemus præsentiam, cum procuratores capituli nostri ad vos nuper transmissos, ad nullum colloquium admittere voluistis vel saltem respicere? Et quia de suspensione nobis facta est comminatio, nondum suspensi vel excommunicati ut per contumaciam arguitur, manifeste sedem apostolicam pro statu nostro et capituli nostri, sicut pluries fecimus, appellamus. Et

(quod) nos (the nineteen) vobis pro toto capitulo sine mandato, ut creditis, opposuerimus, et inconsultis et spretis aliis de capitulo, non fuit, salva gratia vestra, ad puniendum totum capitulum procedendum, cum scriptum sit: 'Pæna suos teneat auctores, et non ultra perquiratur pæna quam delictum'. Ego autem, fr. Roger de la Lee, neque super consensu neque super dissensu electionis de me factæ coram vobis ad præsens teneor respondere cum per appellationem interpositam totum negocium prædictæ electionis ad superiorem sit devolutum. Unde pro statu meo sicut prius et pluries appellavi, apostolicam sedem appello. Nos autem, capitulum, vobis significamus quod ea quæ acta sunt et responsa per prædictos fratres, quantum ad articulum transgressionis quam eis imponitis, de communi consensu nostro et voluntate emanarunt. Ad appellationes vero a nobis prius factas innovandas, et adhuc pro nobis universaliter faciendas ad præsentiam vestram dilectum fr. Stephanum, latorem præsentium, procuratorem nostrum transmittimus. Valet. Act. A.D. 1238 (1239) mense Martio."

XV.—PAPAL BULL THAT MONKS ARE NOT TO ANSWER FOR THEIR FAULTS OUT OF CHAPTER.

(Ex Reg. Cantuar., A. 25*b*, granted by Pope Celestine.)

"Indulgemus ne quis fratrum vestrorum, si quando delinquat, ab Archiepiscopo vestro cogi possit ut extra capitulum vestrum iudicio sistat: super his maxime que contingunt Beati Benedicti regulam et vestri ordinis disciplinam. Sed vos omnes ab eodem Archiepiscopo regulariter et honeste tractari statuimus prout antiqua et rationabilis ecclesie vestre consuetudo requirit."

XVI.—PROLONGATION OF POWERS OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S PROCTORS.

(Dated April 12, 1239.¹)

"Vener. in Christo Patri Alberto Dei gratia electo Armachano Edmundus Dei gratia Archiepisc. Cantuar. totius Angliæ primas salutem cum dilectione sincera. Noverit fraternitas vestra nos dilectos filios Mag. Rob. de Abingdon, germanum nostrum et R. de Langdon, officiales nostros ad tractandum de pace inter nos et monachos nostros Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. coram vobis constituisse procuratores ratum et gratum habituri quicquid iidem in hoc negotio usque

¹ Ex Chron. Gervas. Cant., vol. ii.

ad instans festum S. Georgii Martyris coram vobis ratione prævia vice nostra duxerint faciendum. Idem omnibus Christi fidelibus significamus. Datum apud Suthmallinges ii. id. Apr. P. n. a. 6^{to}."

ARCHBISHOP'S MANDATE FORBIDDING BURIALS AT CHRIST CHURCH. (Dated April 26, 1239.)

"Edmundus, dei gratia, etc., dilecto in Christo filio Mag. W. rectori ecclesiæ S. Martini Cantuar. penitentiario suo salut. grat. et bened. Cum communio fidelium excommunicatis sit merito subtrahenda ne contagio illorum grex Dominicus maculetur, tibi mandamus firmiter injungentes quatenus in singulis parochialibus Cantuariæ ecclesiis, excommunicare facias in genere omnes illos de civitate Cantuariæ vel in ea commorantes qui corpora Christianorum defunctorum ad monachos Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. dum in sententiis suspensionis, excommunicationis a nobis in eos latis obstinaciter perseverent, sepelienda deferent vel comitabuntur, vel exequiis vel officiis eorum presumpserint interesse: necnon et omnes illos qui scienter ad hoc faciendum opem vel operam adhibebunt. Datum apud Wingham vi. Kal. Maii P. n. a. 6^{to}. Hujus igitur auctoritate mandati vobis mando firmiter injungens quatenus juxta formam in mandato prædicto contentam in ecclesiis vestris excommunicationis sententiam proferatis." ¹

ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER TO THE OFFICIAL ORDERING THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE WHOLE CHAPTER. (Dated April 27, 1239.)

"Edmundus, Dei gr. Cantuar. Aepisc. totius Angliæ primas, dilecto in Christo filio Mag. J. de Londoniis, Archidiaconi Cantuar. officiali, salut. grat. et bened. Cum excommunicaverimus omnes electores Rogeri de la Lee in priorem ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. ne deducatur in dubium qui nomine electorum debeant comprehendere, noveris quod Capitulum Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. pluries nobis scripsit per literas suas patentes quas penes nos habemus, quod ipsi unanimiter et concorditer Rogerum de la Lee elegerunt in priorem: unde nomine electorum intelligimus prædictum capitulum universum. Quare volumus et districte præcipimus quatenus totum capitulum sæpeditum denunties generaliter ac publice denunciari facias per

¹ This addition is apparently addressed by the penitentiary to the city clergy.

totum Archidiaconatum Cantuar. excommunicatum : firmiter inhibens ne quis alicui eorum communicare præsumat. Datum apud Wingham. v. Kal. Maii P. n. a. 6^{to}."

XVII.—POPE GREGORY'S APPROVAL OF THE FOUNDATION OF A COLLEGE OF SECULAR CANONS.

(Dated Mar. 8, 1239. Ex Registr. Cantuar., A. 49a.)

Gregorius de faciendis Canonicis.

"Gregorius Ep. s. s. dei ven. fr. Aepô Cantuar. sal. et ap. ben. In gaudium nobis vertitur, et accedit aliis in salutis exemplum quod, sicut a longis retro temporibus, sic et modo illa velle dinosceris in quibus habetur gloria redemptoris. In nostra siquidem presencia constitutus, nobis humiliter supplicasti ut in aliqua ecclesiarum tue dioceseos ad te spectantium pleno jure, qua malueris, collegium canonicorum secularium ac dignitates ecclesiasticas instituendi, et ipsam de beneficiis ad te pleno jure spectantibus, necnon de proventibus archiepiscopalibus, juxta quod permittunt canonice sanctiones, dotandi, tibi de benignitate solita licenciam largiremur. Nos igitur, pro devocionis tue meritis, reputantes te dignum dono gracie specialis, fraternitati tue quod postulata, cessante cujuslibet appellacionis obstaculo, libere perficere valeas auctoritate presencium, concedimus facultatem. Nulli igitur, etc. Datum Later. viii. id. Mar. P. n. a. 12^{mo}."

POPE GREGORY'S FINAL DECISION ON THE NEW FOUNDATION OF SECULAR CANONS. (Dated June 6, 1239. Ex. Registr. Cantuar., A. 62b.)

Diffinitiva sententia contra Archiepiscopum de edificio capellarum de Hakyntone (near Canterbury) vel Maydestane non faciendo.¹

"Gregorius Ep. s. s. Dei ven. fr. Archiepô Cant. sal. et ap. ben. Olim ad apostolicam sedem accedens, duxisti a nobis humiliter postulandum ut instituendi Collegium Canonicorum secularium ac dignitates ecclesiasticas in aliqua ecclesiarum tue dioceseos, qua malles, ad te pertinencium pleno jure ac ipsam de beneficiis ad te simili modo spectantibus, necnon de proventibus Archiepiscopalibus, juxta quantitatem sacris canonibus prefinitam, dotandi tibi licenciam

¹ This endorsement is most inaccurate, as the decision was not adverse but favourable to the archbishop. But it shows the pertinacity of the monks in asserting their claims.

largiremur. Procuratores autem Cantuar. eccl. e contrario asserentes tuam non debere petitionem admitti, arbitrium quoddam per sedem apostolicam confirmatum, indulgencias et privilegia Rom. Pontificum opponebant ; se in Anglia habere munimenta alia proponentes.

“ Propter quod, ne quid de contingentibus videretur omitti, certum terminum peremptorium utrique parti, quo cum munimentis et rationibus suis, coram nobis subituri iudicium vel apostolicam recepturi providenciam, comparerent, prefiximus ; dilecto filio nostro Othoni S. Nic. in carc. Tull. Diac. Card. apost. sedis legato nostris dantes literis in mandatis, ut interim locum quem ad premissa eligeres inspiceret, quid et quantum et de quibus bonis in dotem dicto loco conferre, et quot Canonicos instituere ibidem intenderes ; et alias circumstantias plena circumspectione pensaret ; nobisque rescriberet quicquid super premissis omnibus inveniret. Qui mandatis nostris diligencius obsequens, ad nos suas remisit literas continentes quod tu sibi ostenderas locum qui dicitur haukynton ad id satisabilem et manerium tuum de maidenestane cujus situm ad hoc idem legatus reputat aptiorem : insuper asserens quod quadraginta prebendas quarum quilibet quinquaginta marcas valeret, de ecclesiis ad te pleno jure spectantibus, in ecclesia prefata ordinare proponeres. Nichilominus promisisti quod eidem ecclesie redditus duum milium marcarum de predictis assignares ecclesiis, et de proventibus archiepiscopalibus porcionem sacris prefixam Canonibus exhiberes. Tuo igitur et prioris ac conventus Cant. eccl. procuratoribus ob hoc prefixo termino in nostra presencia constitutis, pro parte fuit allegatum adversa quod cum tibi, prout in iudicio, ad quod dicti prior et conventus se petebant admitti, erant docere parati, Collegium instituendi predictum jus nequaquam competere ; sed id in grande Cant. eccl. prejudicium redundaret ; tibi, ante institutum et finitum iudicium, postulatum indulgere licenciam, ne pro hoc principale perimeretur negocium, minime debebamus : quia nec rem minorem in iudicio deduci convenit per quam questioni majoris rei prejudicari contingit. Iudex enim super libertate ex testamento petita audienciam denegat donec de ipso testamento, cui ex hujusmodi prejudicat petitione, cognoscat : et ei cui novum opus nunciatum extitit, nunciatore de suo jure docere parato, ne edificet interdicit : quamvis de destruendo opere, si necesse fuerit, cautio offeratur. Ceterum, cum olim a bone memorie Eliensi episcopo et ejus collegis, in quos bone mem. predecessor tuus et dicti prior et conventus compromiserant arbitrium, ut Cant. archiepi, assensu ipsius conventus aut majoris et sanioris partis non habito, congregacionem secularium

clericorum nequaquam instituerent et de bonis Cant. eccl. non dotarent, latum et ab utraque parte acceptatum extiterit et illud fel. rec. Innocentius P. predecessor noster, perpetuum silentium partibus et earum successoribus super questionibus in eo terminatis imponens, de certa sciencia confirmavit: ac dicti arbitri Cantuar. Archiepiscopis reservantes quod dumtaxat in ecclesia de lame,¹ si vellent, certum numerum regularium personarum instituere, eique possent certos redditus assignare prohibentes expresse ne aliqua congregacio secularium canonicorum ab ipsis fieret per quos jura et dignitates Cant. eccl. minui, et in ea sancte valeret contemplacionis ocium perturbari duxerint inhibendum. Hujusmodi questio ex concessione resuscitari non debebat, apostolica cum fuerit, longi sub temporis dispendio et expensis, solempni deliberacione sopita; quantum cum Cantuar. Archiepi, qui fuerint pro tempore tot de bonis ecclesie Cantuar. piis locis contulerunt, quod quantitatem prefixam canonibus jam excedant, ipsaque ecclesia tot debitorum, pensionum et aliis opprimatur oneribus; adeo etiam bonis propriis sit exhausta, quod vix jam ad sustentacionem Domino serviencium in eadem, hospitalitatem et alia sufficiat onera supportanda; tibi prefatum instituendi collegium et dotandi de predictis proventibus et beneficiis quod sine grandi ipsorum non poterat prejudicio fieri, non debeat aliquatenus licencia indulgeri: quia, scilicet, singuli successores tui hoc ad consequenciam trahent: infra breve tempus ipsi ecclesie pauca vel modica remanerent. Ex predicta etiam assignacione beneficiorum atque proventuum grave inferri asserebant Cant. eccl. detrimentum, a qua sine ipsorum assensu, seu majoris et sanioris partis, alienari et alteri ecclesie applicari non poterant: et in hoc Archiepiscopalem dignitatem non modicum ledi dicebant: quod si eadem beneficia collegio predicto assignari contingerit, Cantuar. Archiep. qui fuit pro tempore, disponendi de ipsis beneficiis dumtaxat illius ecclesie canonicis conferendis, facultatem liberam more solito non habebit. Ideoque cum ipsorum interesset ut illesa sua servaretur ecclesia, eorum erat in hoc contradictio admittenda. Nam etsi hoc propositum pretendat honestatis ymaginem, quia tamen, collegio ipso in numero prebendarum et dignitatum successive crescente, et volente Cantuar. conventui adæquari; ac ex eo quod Cantuar. Archiep., exclusis monachis, sua negocia communicaret eisdem, jura sibi et honores usurpantibus ecclesie cathedralis: exinde gravius suboriri potuit scandali periculum, pro quo vitando erat ab hujusmodi proposito, quod sine mortali potest intermitteri peccato,

¹? Lambeth.

cessandum: quia, etsi pro vitando scandalo nichil committi vel omitti in interitum salutis eterne convenit, illa tamen jure dimittimus in quibus nullum anime periculum intercedit. Illud insuper in sue intencionis adjutorium proponentes quod, cum in jure ne quis episcopus absque sui consensu capituli, parochialem ecclesiam seu monasterium, et multo fortius, ecclesiam secularem ditare aut alia de bonis ecclesie sue in eam transferre valeat, doceatur inhibitum; necnon a fel. rec. Alexandro, Urbano, Innocentio, Romanis pontific. dictis priori et conventui, ut nullus in fundo ecclesie Cantuar. preter Archiepi et eorum assensum, capellam vel oratorium de novo edificet, sit indultum. Te ab hac petitione per quam, archiepiscopalibus proventibus aliorum usibus applicatis, multo forcius quam ex capelle vel oratorii constructione, Cantuar. ecclesia lederetur, per nos arceri instantissime postulabant; et affirmantes quod non deberemus in grave partis sue dispendium tuam supplicationem admittere, qui non consuevimus in alterius prejudicium cuiquam beneficium indulgere; ac (haud) immemores quod nunc actoris nunc rei intencionem perimit sentencie gladius, se ad dubium iudicii admitti certamen; tuamque repelli petitionem frequenti principii repetitione rogabant.

“Quod ex adverso vero pro parte tua propositum extitit; quod pro eo quia non juri communi sed soli gratie nostre, que nondum habebat effectum, inniteris, super hoc cum eis quibus super hiis nondum actio nata erat, subire iudicium minime tenebaris. Nec verum erat in hoc eccl. Cantuar. prejudicium irrogari: quia cum bona tua a bonis dictorum prioris et conventus sint omnino divisa, et ob hoc ipsorum bona deteriorari seu minui non contingat. Necnon et Cantuar. Archiepi qui omnimodam dictorum proven-tuum et beneficiorum dispositionem obtinent, sint eandem, preter ordinationem hujusmodi, potestatem quam preteritis obtinuerunt temporibus in predictis ecclesiis habituri, eorum vel Cantuar. eccl. dignitas in nullo leditur: sed ipsius in eo potius honor et commodum procuratur, quod ecclesie que interdum personis conferebantur extraneis, et in usus cedebant absencium ex hoc in meliorem statum assumpte usibus ascriberentur presencium, divinusque ampliabitur cultus et numerus servitorum ideoque id alienacionem dici non convenit ex quo retinetur preterea dignitas [et] grandior ac nominis honor accrescat. Arbitrium quoque predictum ex eo procurator tuus asserebat non debere parti alteri suffragari quod compromissum, ex quo vires capit arbitrium, nequaquam apparet: et super ecclesia de lame super qua tantum questio vertebatur, latum extiterit; constructionem nove ecclesie non debet nec potest aliquatenus impedire:

et arbitri, in quos super questione tunc mota dumtaxat compromissum fuisse debet intelligi, super aliis non potuerunt aliquatenus arbitrari. Confirmationem etiam apostolicam eidem arbitrio, sicut provide latum esset, adjectam, et tui predecessoris assensum nullius hujusmodi arbitrio adicere roboris firmamentum procurator tuus vehementer asserebat, quia Romanus pontifex sola ea que rite aguntur approbare intelligitur; nec ex assensu ejusdem predecessoris tui tibi prejudicium irrogatur quoniam illa tibi revocare sit licitum, que in dignitatis tue vergere noveris detrimentum; nec obstat quod super omnibus capitulis ab arbitris determinatis eisdem dicto predecessori tuo et successoribus ejus dictus I. predecessor noster perpetuum dicitur imposuisse silentium; cum de compromisso non constet, a quo sumit determinatio firmamentum. Preterea, in hoc ipsorum contradictio tibi non debet officere, nec eorum scandalum sibi aliqua potest ratione prodesse, cum pietatis concepte propositum ex apostolica intendas gratia proseguire: et ipsorum, quibus omnia jura sua retinentibus in statu preterito, in nullo prejudicatur, omnino scandalum a radice invidie videatur oriri. Quod autem per privilegia romanorum pontificum inhibetur ne in diocesi Cantuar. sine consensu dictorum Archiepi et conventus ecclesia vel oratorium construatur, non videatur obstare, cum hec facultas faciendi per oraculum apostolicum indulgetur. Quare, a parte tua a nobis petebatur ut cum principem in beneficiis crescere, non concessa deceat beneficia revocare, concessas tibi super petita indulgentia litteras, que longa dictorum prioris et conventus fuerant contradictione suspense, expediri paterna providencia mandaremus.

“Nos igitur, hiis et aliis que partes voluerunt coram nobis proponere diligentius intellectis de fratrum nostrorum consilio decernimus eandem indulgentiam non debere, quominus suum effectum obtineat, impediri. Nulli igitur hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre diffinitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Later. viii. id. Junii pont. nostri anno tercio decimo.”

POPE GREGORY'S LETTER TO THE PRIOR, ETC., OF CANTERBURY ON
THE NEW FOUNDATION OF SECULAR CANONS. (Dated Oct.
21, 1239. Ex Registr. Cantuar., A. 49.)

“Gregorius de canonicis secularibus faciendis non in prejudicium nostre ecclesie.

"Gregorius Ep. s. s. Dei. dil. fil. priori et conventui Cantuar. ord. S. Benedicti sal. et ap. ben. Ut Cantuar. ecclesiæ, quam propter merita gloriosissimi martiris Thome cujus corpus requiescit ibidem, specialis prerogative titulis dominus insignivit, honor debitus conservetur, decet nos eandem ecclesiam apostolicis munire presidiis et ipsius honorem debito munimine conservare. Hinc est quod cum ven. fr. nostro Cant. Archiepo duxerimus indulgendum ut in aliqua ecclesiarum ad eum pertinencium pleno jure, collegium canonicorum secularium instituere valeat, presencium auctoritate statuimus ut per hoc in nullo juribus, dignitatibus, honoribus, privilegiis et consuetudinibus antiquis et approbatis predicte Cantuar. ecclesie prejudicium generetur, sed in eo statu in quo fuerunt ante concessionem hujusmodi perpetuis temporibus conservetur. Nulli ergo, etc. Datum Anagni, xii. Kal. Nov. pont. nostr. anno xiii."

XVIII.—THE ARCHBISHOP GUARANTEES THAT HE WILL NOT OCCUPY THE MONASTIC ESTATES DURING THE VACANCY OF THE PRIORATE.

(Dated Dec. 19, 1237. Ex Registr. Cantuar., C. 36.)

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes litteras nostras inspecturis, Edmundus, etc., Cantuar. Aepisc. tocius anglie primas. sal. in dom. Tenore presentium protestamur quod in pace inter nos ex una parte et priorem et conventum ecclesie Christi Cantuar. ex altera, super controversiis in eadem contentis, de novo inita, concessum fuit et ordinatum quod nichil juris nec nobis nec successoribus nostris nec alicui viventium, capiendi in manum nostram aut detinendi prioratum ecclesie predicte cum vacaverit, accresceret. Unde nec nos nec successores nostri predictum prioratum dum vacaverit, seisiremus, neque seisiri faciemus pretextu alicujus vacationis; neque detinebimus, sicut nec aliquis predecessorum nostrorum unquam facere consuevit. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Valeat universitas vestra in domino. Datum apud Cantuar. xiv. Kal. Jan. pont. nostri anno iv."¹

XIX.—ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER TO HIS SUFFRAGANS.

(Dated Nov. 16, 1239. Gervas. Cantuar., vol. ii.)

"Edmundus, Dei gratia, Cantuar., etc., Londinensi et ceteris Cantuar. Ecclesiæ suffraganeis salutem, etc. Cum monachos nostræ

¹ Endorsed "S. E. Archiep. de pace. (alia manu) Ne Archiepi capiant prioratum in manus suas cum vacaverit. (tertia manu) pro se et successoribus suis dicit".

ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. ob manifestas eorum contumacias et inobedientias, jamdudum a divinis suspenderimus : et eorum postmodum crescente contumacia et inobedientia, justitia exigente, præfatam ecclesiam quoad ipsos supposuerimus interdicto ; quos etiam, vacante prioratu ejusdem ecclesiæ, cujus ordinatio ad nos spectare dinoscitur, canonice duximus admonendos ut se habilitarent ; ita quod ex eis aliquem possemus ibidem præficere in priorem, ac ipsi suspensi in loco quoad ipsos culpis propriis interdicto, tanquam propriæ salutis immemores et clavium ecclesiæ contemptores, divina nihilominus celebrare, Dei timore postposito, non verentes, spretis monitionibus nostris, in grave nostri præjudicium, necnon etiam contra ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem, hactenus inviolabiliter observatam, Rogerum de la Lee, monachum suum pariter suspensum, sicut per literas capituli ecclesiæ supradictæ nobis innotuit, temere de facto, cum de jure non possent, eligere præsumperunt in priorem. Hoc audito, electionem hujusmodi statim contradiximus et tam electores quam electum canonice monuimus quod suum in hac parte revocarent errorem ac nihilominus satisfacerent de præmissis. Quia vero monitionibus nostris ac mandatis nostris canonicis parere pertinaciter contempserunt, omnes prædictos monachos et singulos, et servato juris ordine, sententia excommunicationis duximus includendos, et ipsos excommunicatos per singulas ecclesias Cantuar. civitatis publice ac solemniter denunciari fecimus et ab omnibus artius evitari. Quocirca fraternitati vestræ mandamus, firmiter injungentes quatenus sine dilatione post receptionem præsentium, similem denuntiationem simili modo per vestram diœcesim locis consimilibus fieri faciatis ; hoc mandatum nostrum taliter impleturi ut affectionem quam erga ecclesiam Cantuar. et nos geritis debeamus merito commendare. Datum apud Teynham xvi. Kal. Dec. p. n. a. 6^{to}."

XX.—ARCHBISHOP'S MANDATE TO THE SHERIFF OF KENT.¹

"Edmundus, dei gr., etc. . . . Vicecomiti et omnibus aliis de comitatu Kantie salut. grat. et bened. cum jam anno elapso et amplius monachos ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. ob certas causas et rationabiles sententia excommunicationis innodaverimus, et hoc per singulas ecclesias parochiales in provincia nostra publice denunciari fecerimus : cumque postmodum per Archidiaconum nostrum omnes communicantes eisdem denunciati fuerint eadem sententia innodati,

¹ Ex Chron. Gervas. Cant., vol. ii.

mirari non sufficimus quod quidam sui immemores nihilominus eisdem passim communicant et indistincte. Hinc est quod vobis omnibus et singulis tanquam filiis devotissimis duximus inhibendum sub pœna excommunicationis firmiter injungentes ne dictis monachis vel alicui eorum in salutis vestræ dispendium ausu temerario communicare præsumat. Immo eisdem in omnibus coram vobis agendis tanquam excommunicatos omnimodam audientiam denegetis. Hoc autem vobis significamus ne de cetero excusationem vestram hujus facti ignorantiam prætendere valeatis. Ad statum autem dictorum monachorum specialius et plenius vobis exprimendum dilectum clericum nostrum Jordanum, latorem præsentium ad vos decrevimus destinandum. Valet.

ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER TO HIS OFFICIAL. (Dated March 4, 1240.)

Edmundus, dei gr., etc. . . . dilecto fratri Mag. R. officiali suo, salutem, etc. . . . Cum sit malignantium incursibus rigore justitiæ, antequam prævaleant, obviandum, tibi mandamus firmiter injungentes quatenus in singulis ecclesiis Cantuar. diocesis per tres dies festivos publice denuntiari facias omnes illos sententia excommunicationis innodatos qui occasione returnii alicujus brevis domini regis vel alia occasione aliqua feuda monachorum ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. ingredi præsumpserint, contra libertates nostras et possessiones per nos et predecessores nostros obtentas: hoc mandatum nostrum taliter impleturus ut diligentiam habeamus merito commendatam. Datum apud Suthmellinges iv. Non. Mart. P. n. a. 6^{to}.

XXI.—THE ARCHBISHOP'S LAST LETTER TO THE CONVENT.

(Dated March 15, 1240.¹)

Edmundus, dei gr., etc. . . . Cap. ecclesiæ Christi Cant. spiritum salutis et consilii. Sicut audivimus vos res ecclesiæ nostræ in casibus a jure non concessis, in ipsius grave præjudicium, alienare præsunitis, libertates ejusdem nitimini confundere, et quod dolentes referimus, eum in dignitatibus suis ancillare. Quocirca vobis mandamus sub pœna excommunicationis districtius inhibentes ne bona ecclesiæ nostræ in casibus non concessis aliquatenus alienare, vel libertates ejus infringere præsumat, et quæ alienata fuerint vel præsumpta sub pœna superius expressa, revocare quam citius studeatis. Præterea, statu nostro exigente, vobis interdicimus

¹ Ex Chron. Gervas. Cant., vol. ii.

ne aliquorum confessiones audiatis, potestate etiam solvendi confidentes ad præsens vos omnino privantes. Datum apud Suthmellings id Mart. P. n. a. 6^{to}.

REPLY OF THE CONVENT TO THE SAME. (Dated March 22, 1240.)

"Reverendo, etc. . . . Dolentes referimus quod nobis attritis et afflictis nondum desunt tribulationes: sed de die in diem magis atterimur et affligimur. Cum enim diebus istis (per) mandatum vestrum reperimus quod quasdam res ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. . . . (Here follows a recapitulation of the Archbishop's charges) . . . Dolemus, cum nihil ex parte nostra alienatum sit, quod nobis cadere debeat ad opprobrium. In hoc tamen timemus nos deliquisse quod diebus aliquibus alienationibus contra statutum canonis factis, prout debuimus minime contradiximus quibus tamen non consensimus, nec aliquo termino consentiemus. Libertates vero ecclesiæ Cantuar. pro quibus stamus confusionem sustinentes nunquam, Deo dante, per nos confundentur; et pro quibus antecessores nostri nobis exemplum relinquentes, contumelias et opprobria passi sunt et injurias. Super hæc autem quod ecclesia nostra Cantuar. diebus istis ancillata jacet et confusa, quondam inter ecclesias occidentales nobilis et præcipua, dolemus, cum quicquid honoris et dignitatis ei tanquam matri debebatur non per nos jam sit eidem subtractum. Sola sedet, trenos iterans Jeremiæ: episcoporum ignorat consecrationes: ordinum non novit celebrationes: quo solemnes devenerint processiones miratur: cum, interdicto generali baptismus, viaticum et penitentia petentibus concedi consueverit, in hoc se conqueritur aggravatum, quod aliorum confessio in ea non est concessa, sed potius quantum in vobis est, interdicta. Quia vero ab illatis et inferendis a vobis gravaminibus ex parte nostra plures appellationes sunt interpositæ, in quarum sumus prosecutione, merito vos in his et in aliis habentes suspectos, illas adhuc innovamus, et nequid occasione prædictarum vel aliarum adinventionum contra nos, litem coram Domino papa pendente, statuatis, appellamus. Datum A.D. 1239 (1240) mense Martii feria 5ta (Mar. 22) ante Dominicam qua cantatur 'Lætare Jerusalem'."

XXII.—"CAUTIO" IN THE CONSECRATION OF HOWEL, BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

(Ex Registr. Cantuar., n. 222. No date.)

Cautio Sancti Edmundi Archiepiscopi de consecratione H. Episcopi Assaph.

"Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Edmundus, permissione divina, Cantuar. Archiep. totius Anglie primas sal. in dom. Cum per libertates ecclesie Cantuar. suffraganei ejusdem sine consensu capituli Cantuar. alibi quam in ecclesia Cantuar. nullatenus debeant consecrari; ne consecratio ven. fr. H. de S. Assaph Episcopi in ecclesia de Boxgrave a nobis celebrata dicte ecclesie in posterum possit aut debeat prejudicari, consecrationem ipsam in eodem loco de consensu capituli fuisse celebratam presentibus litteris nostris protestamur."

XXIII.—ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF ST. EDMUND'S
TREATISE ENTITLED "SPECULUM ECCLESIE".¹

Ch. 1. That a man ought to have regard to the obligations of his state of life.

"Consider your vocation, brethren."² These words of the apostle apply especially to religious persons. Joy and grief ought to sway their minds—joy, at being called to such a holy state; grief, at the imperfection of their life. For, as St. Eusebius says: "To be called to the religious state is the height of perfection; but not to live perfectly in that state is the depth of damnation". Hence the religious must abandon all worldly things, and betake himself to the way of perfection.

Ch. 2. In what the perfect life consists.

According to St. Bernard, to live perfectly is to live in a friendly, humble and honourable way; that is to say, amicably, as regards our neighbour; humbly, as regards ourselves; and honourably before God, which again consists in doing everything in conformity with the Divine will. But what is the will of God? It is our sanctification.³

Ch. 3. In what holiness consists; and how a man ought to come to the knowledge of himself, both as to soul and body.

Two things make one holy: the knowledge of the truth, and the love of goodness. We arrive at the first by self-knowledge, and at the second by love of one's neighbour. As to the first, we should

¹ In the Bodleian there is a MS., Digby 20, which contains a French version of the "Speculum". It begins (f. 143): "Ceste some fist seint Edmunde de pontenye e lapela merure de scê eglise". It has some passages which are not found in Bigne's edition; and we shall occasionally take notice of these additions in the course of this analysis.

² 1 Cor. i. 26.

³ 1 Thess. iv. 3.

consider what we are, have been and shall be as to body and soul. As to the body, its origin is corruption and its end corruption. As to the soul, we are full of imperfections. Every moment that is not given to the thought of God is a moment lost. You will have to give an account of every idle word and thought. How weak are we to resist temptation; how prone to consent! We must love our parents and kinsfolk not with carnal but with spiritual affection.

Ch. 4. On God's benefits.

To love God we have only to think of His benefits. He created us out of nothing; redeemed us from the state of sin; receives us again and again to repentance; keeps us in all our ways. All these and many other favours does thy sweet spouse Jesus bestow upon thee.

Ch. 5. How a man ought to spend his time.

In gratitude for all these benefits we ought always to think of God and speak of Him day and night. When we wake in the morning, we should think how many have perished that night as to body and soul, whilst we have been spared. The Saint then gives examples of little ejaculatory prayers we may advantageously use on such occasions. Thus: "O Lord Jesus Christ, I give Thee thanks who hast watched over, proved and visited me, Thy unworthy servant N., and hast brought me safe, sound and harmless to this present hour; I thank Thee for this and for all Thy other benefits which of Thy sole goodness Thou hast bestowed upon me. Thou who bringest me from the day's beginning even to its close, who livest," etc.

Here the French version adds that this prayer should be said when we awake in the morning, when we retire to rest, or when we awake in the middle of the night; and that in reciting it we should reflect on the evil we have done and the good we have omitted to do: and ask pardon therefor.

He then adds a prayer for friends and enemies, for the living and the dead, for all one's kinsfolk and for oneself.

"Into Thy hands, O Lord, and those of Thy holy angels, I commend this day (or night) my soul and body, my parents, brothers, sisters, friends, enemies, acquaintances, kinsfolk and benefactors, and all Catholic people. Keep us, O Lord, this day (or night), through the merits and intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of all the saints, from all the vices, lusts, sins and temptations of the devil, from sudden and unprovided death, and from the pains of

hell. Enlighten my heart with the Holy Spirit and with Thy grace, and make me always obey Thy Commandments and do not let me be for ever separated from Thee, who with," etc.

After which, the French version adds: In this way you will arrive at true knowledge of yourselves. For the Saint used to say: "If you trust in yourself, you will be left to yourself; but if you mistrust yourself, you will be taken up by God". This kind of consideration is called meditation; and through the self-knowledge which you will derive from this meditation, you will arrive at the knowledge of God, through holy contemplation.

Ch. 6. How one ought to see God in every creature.

There are three sorts of contemplation—in the creature, in Scripture, in the Divine Nature itself. The first kind of contemplation shows us the power, wisdom and goodness of God, as exhibited in the myriad forms of inanimate things, in the vegetable and animal world; and lastly, in the rational creature, man, for whom all other things were created: these creatures assist us in our labours, feed, clothe and warm us. Even noxious things are useful for punishing us, for correcting us and for instructing us.

Since the finger of God is thus apparent in all His works, lift up your heart to Him: and think of His power, wisdom and goodness. How many, on the contrary, abuse the creatures of God? Say, therefore, to Him: "Because Thou art, therefore are they: because Thou art fair, therefore are they fair: because Thou art good, they are good. Justly, therefore, do all Thy creatures praise Thee, adore Thee, glorify Thee, O Blessed Trinity."

Ch. 7. On the contemplation of God in holy Scripture.

If the holy Scripture is above our comprehension, we can always make it serve to our edification by inspiring us with a hatred for sin, a love of virtue, the fear of punishment, the desire of eternal glory, the contempt of this world, the thought of what we must do, and what we must give up in order to prepare ourselves better for the next life. From holy Scripture we learn the seven capital vices; seven evangelical virtues; seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; the ten commandments of God; the twelve articles of faith (which include the seven sacraments of the Church); the seven works of mercy; the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer; the pains of hell and the joys of heaven. Our Saint proceeds to treat of these several points in the next eleven chapters. The eighth chapter treats of the vices which spring from each of the seven capital sins. But, preceding this, there is, in the French version, a long dissertation on the

seven capital vices, which is not found in Bigne. It is as follows:—

On the seven mortal sins, their species, and the remedies against them.

The first is pride of heart, disobedience to God, to the Church, and to one's neighbour. The second is envy, by rejoicing in one's heart at another's ill, and by grieving at heart for another's good. The third is settled anger in the heart, in not pardoning one's neighbour his trespass on any account, not even for God's sake. The fourth is sloth, in being slack and remiss in God's service, or in doing other good works. The fifth is avarice, in being too much engrossed with the goods which God has lent you. The sixth is lust, in doing the will of the flesh outside the marriage bond. Alas! alas! "*clers e lais, iouvenes e veuz sont soille de ceo peche*". The seventh is gluttony, in habitually eating and drinking too much. The remedies against these vices are: Against pride, to have in one's heart true humility: against envy, to rejoice in one's heart at another's good, and to grieve at others' misfortunes, and to bear true friendship towards all people: against anger, one ought to have patience and good temper: against sloth, one ought to be active and stout of heart in God's service and in other good works: against avarice, one should be generous, and give to the poor with a good heart according to one's means: against lust, one ought to be chaste of body, of heart, of speech: against gluttony, one ought to be moderate in eating and drinking: "through drinking too much many a brave knight has lost his life, many a good girl has forfeited her honour, many a man and many a woman have lost their fair reputation; dropsy, fever, gout, tumours, headaches, and all sorts of maladies which I cannot enumerate, all come from excessive drinking".

Ch. 8. On the vices which spring from the seven mortal sins.

Pride is the love of one's own excellence; from it spring disobedience, boasting, hypocrisy, contempt for others, arrogance, shamelessness, complacency in one's own wickedness. Men are proud of their natural gifts, or acquired endowments, or temporal possessions.

Envy leads to joy in another's misfortune, regret for his prosperity, whether it be felt in the heart, uttered by the lips, or expressed in acts.

Anger leads to wrath, quarrels, contentions, heart-burning, evil words, contempt, blasphemy, sadness, despondency, or recklessness,

from which spring wickedness, spite, threatenings, despair, neglect of God's commandments, wandering of the mind on forbidden ground.

Avarice leads to deceit, perjury, unrest, violence, and hardness of heart.

Gluttony: from which spring foolish levity, uncleanness, loquacity, mental imbecility.

Lust: from which spring blindness of heart, instability of will, stubbornness, thoughtlessness, self-love, hatred of God, love of this world, forgetfulness of the next, despair.

Of these seven deadly sins the three first take the wretched sinner captive and strip him—pride, of God; envy, of his neighbour; and anger, of himself; the fourth torments him; the fifth casts him headlong; the sixth hoodwinks him; and the seventh makes a slave of him.

Ch. 9. On the seven evangelical virtues.

These are the remedies against the seven deadly sins: first, against pride, our Lord says, "blessed are the poor in spirit"; second, against envy, "blessed are the meek" (towards their neighbour); third, against anger, "blessed are they who mourn"; fourth, against avarice, "blessed are the merciful"; fifth, against sloth, "blessed are they who hunger," etc.; against intemperance; "blessed are the clean of heart"; against lust, "blessed are the peaceful"; for the lustful have no peace nor rest. Hence a man ought to be humble in heart, in word, and in work; he ought to rejoice in another's good, grieve at his misfortune, to be active and enduring in the service of God, generous to the poor, chaste in thought, in act, and in speech, temperate in food, and especially in drink, for drink causes ruin to thousands, both as to soul and body.

Ch. 10. On the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Our heavenly Physician heals us of these seven infirmities, and strengthens us in these seven virtues by pouring into the soul the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which teach us all that is necessary for the active and contemplative life. Our first duty is to avoid evil, to do which we are moved by the fear of the Lord; our next to do good, which is the effect of the gift of piety; we are hindered from doing good by the caresses of the world, and by its harsh treatment. Against the first the spirit of knowledge is efficacious, against the second the gift of fortitude: these belong to the active life. The other three gifts belong to the contemplative order. The three forms of contemplation are as observed before: first, in

creatures, for which the gift of understanding is bestowed; the second, in Scripture, to which belongs the gift of counsel; third, in God, for which we receive the gift of wisdom.

See now, adds the Saint, how prompt and careful is our Lord Jesus Christ, to provide everything for our soul's health.

Ch. II. On the ten commandments.

Thou shalt adore one God, and Him alone shalt thou serve. We adore God by a right faith, and we serve Him by good works. Let us examine ourselves and see if we have faithfully performed what we promised in baptism. By this first precept our duties are regulated towards God the Father.

Second. An oath to be lawful must be in judgment, justice, and truth. By this second precept our duties are regulated towards God the Son, who says of Himself, "I am the Truth".

Third. We are bound to keep holy all Sundays and Festivals. "I will tell you how you ought to keep them holy. If you are well, rise from bed, and do not delay on account of the cold or of sleepiness; for the more irksome it is, the more merit will you have. Then go to church and say matins devoutly; then hear mass and recite the other hours without chattering to anybody: if there is a sermon, listen attentively to the word of God, commit it to memory and fulfil it in work. When you come home to dinner be mindful of the poor. After that do not go to taverns or athletic sports, or dances, or other vain amusements, for they often lead to accidents and grievous sins. Rather visit the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, and so finish the day in God's service." This third precept makes us fit to receive God the Holy Ghost. The other seven commandments regard our neighbour.

Fourth. We must honour and obey both our carnal and spiritual parents. To enjoy eternal life we must pay due honour to those to whom we owe our temporal life.

Fifth. Homicide may be committed by the hand, by the tongue, or by the heart.

Sixth. An incorruptible life in heaven is only to be obtained by a pure life on earth.

The seventh is a sequel to the fifth commandment. If we must respect the life of another, we must also respect his means of living.

The eighth is also a sequel to the same. As we must not injure our neighbour ourselves, so we must not lend our co-operation to others to do so.

The ninth is a sequel to the sixth, and the tenth to the seventh; teaching us to abstain from unlawful desires.

Ch. 12. On the virtues, especially the theological virtues.

There are seven virtues: Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude. These enable us to keep the commandments. Faith, Hope and Charity teach us how to order our life towards God; the other four how to order our life in the affairs of the world. We are created to know, to possess, and to love God; hence we need three faculties: knowledge, power, and will. God gives us Faith to supply the defect of our knowledge; Hope to supply the defect of power; and Charity to order our will. By Faith we are united to God the Son, who is Wisdom; by Hope to God the Father, who is Power; by Charity, to God the Holy Ghost, who is Goodness.

Ch. 13. On the twelve articles of the faith.

These consist of the five articles of the Apostles' Creed and the seven Sacraments.

Ch. 14. On the seven Sacraments.

With regard to baptism, our Saint appears to think that the imposition of a name is necessary for its validity. A child ought to be confirmed before it has completed its fifth year, and should be well instructed beforehand. Penance with contrition of heart, oral confession and satisfactory works accompanied by humility expels the enemy from the soul of the penitent, destroys mortal sin, draws man to his Creator, and brings him to great joy and contentment. The Holy Eucharist strengthens the penitent against relapse, reconciles him and supports him. Holy Order gives power to priests to bind and loose from sins, to administer the Sacraments, especially the Holy Eucharist. Matrimony is the union of husband and wife, a union which cannot be broken in this life except by the sentence of the Church. Extreme unction relieves the sick of corporal and spiritual penalties. After the holy anointing, the patient ought to be more assiduous in Divine contemplation.

Ch. 15. On the four cardinal virtues.

These regulate our life in this world. Providence teaches us to discriminate between good and evil—between a greater and a lesser good. Justice causes us to choose that which prudence suggests. Temperance prescribes moderation, so that we be not too elated by prosperity, whilst Fortitude secures us against too great dejection under adversity.

Ch. 16. On the seven works of mercy.

A religious might object: I have no power to exercise these works: it would be better for me to be a secular. Not at all. For it is of more worth to have a compassionate feeling in the heart, than to give the whole world if you had it: you can give yourself; and that is worth more than the whole world. St. Bernard says: The poor have nothing on earth: the rich have nothing in heaven. Hence whatever the rich wish to have in heaven, they must first purchase it from the poor on earth. Who are the rich and who the poor? Some have riches and love them: these are the avaricious; others have them not, yet love them: such are the covetous poor and bad religious. These are as bad as the rich as far as intention goes. Some have riches but love them not: these are upright men who make good use of their riches. Others neither have them nor wish to have them: these are true religious, the real "poor in spirit," to whom belongs the kingdom of heaven. We may therefore reverse the benediction and say: Cursed are the rich in spirit, for theirs are the pains of hell.

Ch. 17. On the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer.

The Lord's Prayer excels all other prayers in dignity and usefulness. It excels in dignity because it was composed by our Lord, who knows the will of His Father, and what kind of prayer pleases Him, and what we most stand in need of. Many people are under a delusion who think that devotion consists in a multiplicity of prayers. It excels in usefulness; for it contains all that we need for this life and the next. We pray to be delivered from all evil; that is, past evil, when we say, "forgive us our trespasses"; from future evil, when we say, "lead us not into temptation"; from present evil, when we say, "deliver us from evil". We pray also for all good, spiritual and temporal: for temporal good, when we say, "give us this day our daily bread"; for spiritual good, when we say, "Thy will be done"; for eternal good, when we say, "Thy kingdom come". When we say, "hallowed be Thy name," it is, as it were, a confirmation of all the other petitions. The words "Our Father who art in heaven" show us how to pray. For four things are required in prayer: namely, perfect love for Him to whom we pray; certain hope of obtaining what we ask; firm belief in Him whom we address; humble diffidence in ourselves. The first condition is expressed by the word "Father," the second by "our," the third by "who art," for we believe in Him whom we do not see; the fourth by "in heaven," since God is in heaven, whilst we are on the earth. Hence, when we say, "hallowed be Thy name," we mean, confirm

Thy name (who art our Father) in us, that we may be wholly Thy children, and do nothing contrary to Thy good pleasure. And since we cannot be perfect in this life, we ask that "Thy kingdom may come"; that is to say, that Thou mayest reign here in us in this life by grace, and we in Thee in the other life by glory. This petition is also put forth on behalf of the souls in purgatory. Since the Will of God is the rule of our actions, we pray that all classes of society, from the highest to the lowest, may do what is pleasing to God; to which end we ask for grace, when we say, "give us this day our daily bread". Food is of three kinds, corporal, spiritual, that is scriptural meditation, and eucharistic. This latter kind of food only profits the soul when it is free from sin; hence, we ask to have our sins forgiven. But we must not only be freed from past sin, but also secured against future sin; hence, we ask not to be led into temptation, and not only do we ask to be delivered from temptation, but from all evil of soul and body, from all guilt and punishment, present and future. You need not be so anxious to repeat it over and over again; it is better to say one Paternoster with good understanding and attention, than to say it thousands of times without understanding or devotion. So also in reciting the Divine office in church. "Sing praise to our God, sing ye wisely."¹ To sing wisely is carefully to meditate on what you utter with the lips. If your body is in the choir, your lips on the psalter, but your heart in the streets, you are miserably divided, and you cannot be heard by God.

Ch. 18. On the endowments of body and soul, and on the pains of hell.

In heaven, the body has seven endowments: beauty, agility, strength, liberty, enjoyment, health, immortality. The soul also has seven: wisdom, friendship, concord, power, glory, security, joy. The reprobate, on the contrary, have, as to body and soul, the opposite qualities to these. One day in heaven is worth more than the enjoyment of all temporal goods, even if you had them to the top of your bent, from the beginning of the world to the end. If you bear in mind all the principles laid down in the preceding chapters, you will easily apply any sermon you hear to your own edification.

Ch. 19. On the contemplation of God in His human nature.

We contemplate God in Himself in two ways—externally in His humility, intrinsically in His Godhead. The soul can always find food for contemplation in its Creator, either interiorly by

¹ Ps. xlvii. 7, 8.

contemplating His Divinity, or exteriorly by contemplating His Humanity. There are three phases of His human nature—His Incarnation with all its sweetness—His Life with all its beauty—His Passion with all its ardour of love. You may set apart the seven canonical hours to this contemplation, applying them either to the Passion or the Incarnation.

Ch. 20. For Matins—The Birth of our Lord and His Apprehension.

At Matins, you think of our Lord being born in mid-winter, at midnight, in the midst of a public road, in a public stall. There He is wrapped in a few rags, swathed in bands, laid in a manger, in company with an ox and an ass. Think of Mary's solicitude and Joseph's joy; the devotion of the shepherds. Think of the sweet choir of angels, and lift up your heart and sing that canticle, Gloria, etc.

Applying it now to the Passion, think how at such an hour He was betrayed by Judas, captured and bound like a thief. How meekly He submitted to all this, kissing Judas, and calling him His friend: how He was abandoned by His disciples, dragged by His enemies to Annas and Caiaphas, where He was subjected to every kind of outrage.

Ch. 21. For Prime. How Jesus was mocked—How He rose again.

Before Prime, think how the Jews brought Jesus before the council, suborned false witnesses against Him; how they spat on Him, blindfolded Him, buffeted Him. He, meanwhile, was as a sheep before the shearers, without opening His mouth. Applying it to the resurrection, think how at that hour God rose from death to life after He had despoiled hell and delivered the holy souls. Think also of His beautiful apparitions—five times in one day, and five times afterwards. First to Mary Magdalen, then to the same and some other holy women; next, to St. Peter; fourth, to the two disciples; fifth, to the ten apostles; sixth, to the eleven apostles; seventh, to Peter, James, John, and Nathanael, when they went a-fishing; eighth, to the eleven on a hill of Galilee, when He told them to go into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature, baptising them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; ninth, on Ascension Day, when He upbraided them for their incredulity and hardness of heart; tenth, on the same day, when He led them forth to Bethany and ascended into heaven.

Ch. 22. For Tierce. The Coming of the Holy Ghost. The Scourging.

Before Tierce, think how our Lord was at that hour stripped quite naked, tied to a pillar, and so cruelly scourged that a sound place was not left in His Body from the crown of His head to the sole of His foot. How He was sent to Herod and derided by him; how He was arrayed in a purple robe for scorn, with a reed for a sceptre, and a crown of thorns on His head, and then exposed to the derision of the soldiery. Think also how at the same hour the Holy Ghost came down on the apostles in the form of fiery tongues, to signify the fervour of charity and eloquence of speech with which they were then endowed.

Ch. 23. For Sext. The Incarnation. The Crucifixion.

Before midday, think of the Annunciation—of the mercy of God in willing to become man and to suffer death for us, when He might have redeemed us in some other way: and all to gain our love. For, if one had been our Creator and another our Redeemer, we should have loved our Redeemer more than our Creator. Hence He our Creator would also be our Redeemer. Think also of His Passion, how, at that hour, Jesus was crucified between two thieves. If all the sufferings of all mankind were accumulated in one person, they could not compare with our Lord's agony on the Cross in that hour: and if I were to live a hundred thousand years, and die every day a thousand times the same death as He died, it would be as nothing compared to His sufferings. No creature could suffer as Jesus did, since no one ever had in himself so much truth. Certainly, there was never sorrow like to Thine, O sweetest Jesus! Think, too, of the sweetest Virgin Mary, with what anguish she was filled when she stood at the right side of her dearest Child, and received the disciple in place of the Master. Surely she might well say, "Call me not beautiful."¹ Again, "Wonder not that I am discoloured."² Hence a certain writer, moved with tenderness, says of thee: "O maiden fair, now of a truth hast thou experienced the keen piercing of that sword of which Simeon spoke on the day of thy Purification: now hast thou received the promised gifts which Anna the prophetess foretold as being in store for thee.

Ch. 24. For None. Death of Jesus Christ. His Ascension.

Before None, think how at that hour the Author of life died for our love. Think of the seven words on the Cross; and of the four signs which happened after His death. "Father, forgive them," etc.; "This day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise"; "Woman, behold thy Son"; "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani"; "I thirst"; "It

¹ Ruth i. 20.

² Cant. i. 5.

is consummated"; "Father, into Thy hands," etc. The four signs were: an earthquake, the veil of the temple rent in twain, the sepulchres opening and giving up their dead, the sun darkened. Think also of His Ascension: how our Lord at that hour, in the sight of His disciples and blessed mother, ascended from Mount Olivet up to heaven to the right hand of His Father.

Ch. 25. For Vespers. The Lord's Supper. The taking down from the Cross.

Before Vespers, think how, after our Lord's death, a soldier pierced His side with a spear, and there came forth blood and water—blood as a sign of our redemption, and water as a sign of the ablution of our sins—how Joseph of Arimathea took down His body from the Cross. Think also how, at that hour, our Lord gave to His apostles His Body and Blood in the form of bread and wine. In the Sacrament of the Altar there are three things: the appearance of bread and wine, which we see with the bodily eye; the Body and Blood of Christ, which we cannot see with the eye of the body; the spiritual grace, which we receive when we receive that Sacrament worthily. Though we see the appearance of bread and wine, we know that their substance does not remain after the consecration. We know that these appearances truly contain the Body and Blood of our Lord, though the appearances of the same are not visible to us, lest we should shrink from partaking of this Sacrament. Our Lord wished to allure us by taking this form which is apt for our nourishment: and at the same time to exercise our faith, whilst we see one thing and believe another. Therefore, when you approach this Sacrament, so receive It as if you visibly received His Body and the Blood which flowed from His side.

Ch. 26. For Compline. The Sweat of Blood. Our Lord's Burial.

Before Compline, think how Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped the body of Christ in a clean linen winding-sheet, anointed it with precious unguents, and placed it in a tomb which they closed with a large stone. Think also how our Lord, after His last supper, went with His disciples into the garden where He prayed, and was seized with such agony that the drops of blood ran down from His blessed Face to the ground.

Ch. 27. On the contemplation of God in His Divinity.

In our present state, we cannot see God as He is. For if we could, there would be no room for faith: for faith is of the unseen; and what we see is not an object of faith. On the

other hand, if God were totally withdrawn from our view, then also there would be no faith, and infidelity would be excusable. But God partly hides Himself, partly reveals Himself, and this in four ways; two interior and two exterior: interiorly, by reason and revelation: exteriorly, by Scripture and the works of Creation. Revelation comes to us from inspired sources confirmed by miracles. The light of reason makes known to us the existence of God, convincing us that there must be some one Being who gives being to all things that begin to exist: and that Being must Himself be without a beginning. This Being without a beginning who is the Author, Maker, and Ruler of all things, we call God. Thus we arrive at the first knowledge of God, who is all good, and from whom comes all good that exists.

Ch. 28. That God is One Substance and Three Persons.

Then our reason perceives that God is necessarily One. For, if there were more than one, none of them could be God. On the other hand, nothing can be wanting in God; and since the company of others is an essential element of happiness, hence in One God there is a plurality of Persons: that is, there must be at least Two Persons: but the company of Two is of little worth unless they are united by a compact of love. Hence in God there is a Third Person who is the bond of union and the love which unites the other Two Persons. Thus our reason arrives at the notion that God is one in Himself and in Substance, Three in Personality. We see the same kind of thing in ourselves. For man is conscious of possessing power and also wisdom, from both which proceed love. Thus to God the Father is appropriated power, to God the Son wisdom, and to God the Holy Ghost goodness and love.

Ch. 29. On the three degrees of contemplation in the soul.

After the soul is well grounded in Faith, Hope and Charity, let it rise to the contemplation of God. Since we cannot see God as He is in Himself, the soul must rise from itself to Divine contemplation by three degrees. The first degree is that the soul should free itself from all corporal images, that it should return to itself, and recollect itself wholly in itself. The second is that it should regard itself thus concentrated in itself. The third is that it should rise above itself and strive to look down upon itself from above. There can be no knowledge of oneself until one has learned to suppress every corporal, earthly image; and when any sensitive satisfaction reaches us, we must trample it under our feet, and regard ourselves as incorporeal. Wonderful is man's soul. One in itself, it is diverse

in its operation. For it is the same soul which sees with the eyes, hears with the ears, and so on. By one act of thought it can comprehend heaven and earth and all that is therein. How great then must He be who created this soul: He who rules all things, supports all things, pervades all things, encompasses all things. This contemplation begets faith and devotion. Then think of God's Bounty: bountiful in temporal goods which He bestows on good and bad alike: bountiful in forgiving sins: more ready even to forgive than the sinner is to be forgiven: bountiful in spiritual graces and virtues: for he who obtains one virtue from God obtains all: bountiful in eternal blessings towards all who rightly ask for them. For how can He refuse to give what He bids us ask? This contemplation begets Hope. Then think of the Divine Goodness, Sweetness, Beauty. If we find such attractions in corporal things, what must they be in a spiritual substance which is imperishable? What must they be in the Creator of all things? This contemplation begets the love of God. After this, banish from your thoughts corporal images, and let your pure intellect soar above all human considerations up to heaven. There you will find such ecstasy and such secrets as no man knoweth who hath not experienced them. I cannot explain them: for how can I utter with the lips what I cannot think in my mind? and that secret surpasses all thought. All I can do is to try and live up to that contemplation.

Ch. 30. What is meant by living honourably, amicably, and humbly.

To live honourably is to live according to the principles laid down in the preceding chapters: to live amicably is to apply those principles to your neighbour, and to apply them for God's sake, and not for any excellence in them, as, for example, personal beauty. To love any one for goodness', or justice', or truth's sake, is to love them in God, for God is Goodness, Justice, and Truth. Hence, we love the good as being good, and the wicked because they might be good; thus we love all for goodness' sake. Do you in turn show yourself good and lovable. This you will do if you bear in mind three observations—do to another what you wish done to yourself—take, without murmuring, what is given you—bear patiently whatever a man may say to you. Lastly, try to live humbly. There are two forms of humility: one springs from truth, the other from charity. You may attain the first by a knowledge of yourself, for humility is the truth; the other you may obtain by meditating on the humility of our sweetest Saviour—how He humbled Himself

who never sinned. Now you know what it is to lead a perfect life. May our sweetest Lord Jesus Christ so enable us to honour God, to love our neighbour, to humble ourselves that we may deserve to be honoured for our honour, to be loved for our love, and for our humility to be exalted to the joys of heaven, prepared for us from the beginning of the world. Let all say, Amen.

XXIV.—VARIOUS READINGS IN THE MSS. OF AN ENGLISH PHRASE USED BY ST. EDMUND WHEN DYING.

(1) Jul. D. VI. (1). Men *se/h* gamen *gooth* on wombe : ac ich segge gamen *gooth* on herte.

(2) Lamb. 135. Men *soet/ie* game *gath* on wombe : ac ich segge now *gath* on herte.

(3) Bib. Reg. 2 D. VI. Me said game *gath* on wombe : ac ich segge game *gath* on herte.

(4) Harl. 692. Me seid game *goth* on wombe : ac ich segge game *goth* on herte.

(5) Cleop. B. I. Man seid gamen god a wombe : and ich segge game god on herte.

(6) Harl. 2. Men *seith* gamen *goth* in wombe : ac ich saie gamen *goth* in hert.

(7) Jul. D. VI. (2) [same as No. 4]. Me seid game *goth* on wombe : ac ich segge game *goth* on herte.

(8) Bertrand (apud Martène). Men seith game *goth* in wombe : at ich segge, non, game gat on herte.

(9) Vitell. C. XII. Men seyn gomen *goth* in wombe : and ich sei gomen *goth* in herte.

(10) Trin. Coll., Oxon., MS. 57. Me *seith* game *goth* a wombe : ac ich segge, *goth* an herte.

(11) Bodl. Laud. Misc. 463. Men *seith* game *goth* in wombe : & I seie game *goth* in h'te.

(12) Corp. Christi, Oxon., MS. 154. Men seigh game god en wombe : ac ich segge game god en herte.

(13) Bodl. MS. 779 gives the following paraphrase :—

Me *seith* game *goth* in wombe : & *thorw* herte & wel wyde
& heried be *thu* Jhu my lord · *that* I *this* day my3t byde,
our lord *that* he hadde ynome · wel joyful he was *tho*,
& al his game was in his herte · for his body was wel wo.

An expert might perhaps be able to detect, from these varieties, from what part of England the scribe came.

XXV.—EXTRACT FROM BULL OF INNOCENT IV., CONFIRMING THE ELECTION OF BONIFACE AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

(Dated Sept. 16, 1243.)

“ . . . Suggesto nobis prædictos priorem et conventum per bonæ memoriæ Edmundum Cantuar. Archiepiscopum, esse sententia excommunicationis adstrictos . . . idem subprior asseruit quod illa lata fuit post appellationem legitimam ab eis ad sedem apostolicam interpositam, et quod etiam propter hoc piæ recordationis Gregorius Papa prædecessor noster eis impendi mandavit absolutionis beneficium ad cautelam : Nos, itaque, post deliberationem de præmissis omnibus cum fratribus nostris habitam, attendentes quod jam dicta electio in plena fuit celebrata concordia ; et idem prior et conventus in pristina firmitate positi unanimiter perseverant : ac pensato solícite . . . (here follows a recital of the personal merits of the elected archbishop) . . . omnem defectum in ipsa electione habitum supplentes de nostræ plenitudine potestatis, dictum Bonifacium . . . Cantuar. Ecclesiæ . . . concessimus in pastorem.”

XXVI.—LETTER OF THE BISHOP AND CHAPTER OF SALISBURY ASKING FOR THE CANONISATION OF ST. EDMUND (1241).

“ Sanctissimo Patri et Domino nostro Gregorio, D. Gr. Summo Pontifici, Suæ sanctitatis servi, R(ober)tus Div. miseratione Sarum Ecclesiæ episcopus, et ejusdem loci decanus et humile capitulum tanto patri cum omni subjectione et reverentia devota pedum oscula. Ea quæ audivimus et vidimus et quasi manibus attrectavimus de Edmundo venerabili olim Archipræsule Cantuar. qui a gremio ecclesiæ nostræ ad archipræsulatus dignitatem est translatus, vestræ præcellentię humili sermone vero et plano significamus. Sciat igitur, si placet, vestræ paternitatis præeminentia, quod in ecclesia nostra inter nos fere per 10 annos, egregie et laudabiliter conversatus, imitator fuit illius de quo scriptum est : ‘Erat Joannes lucerna ardens et lucens’.¹ Arsit quidem illo igne de quo veritas dicit : ‘Ignem veni mittere in terram’.² In omnibus enim operibus suis secundum possibilitatem suam, relucebat zelus animarum, fervor caritatis, et affectus pietatis. Contemptor etiam erat sæculi, legendo et prædicando opus faciens evangelistæ ; cujus doctrina ita erat catholica et lucida ut de eo per totam regionem Anglicanam passim ab hominibus diceretur : ‘lingua ejus calamus scribæ velociter

¹ John v. 35.² Luke xii. 49.

scribentis'.¹ Scivit etiam juxta humanam capacitatem quodam modo excellentissimo de thesauro sacrarum Scripturarum proferre nova et vetera :² ita quod cum legeret vel prædicaret, visum est auditoribus suis quod digitus Dei scribebat in corde suo verba vitæ quæ procedebant de ore ejus. Et quasi alter Joannes Baptista in deserto Angliæ factus generalis prædicator turbis et publicanis et militibus, magnis et parvis utriusque sexus, religiosis et clericis, verba sanctæ prædicationis et exhortationis cum affectu et effectu, lucide et salubriter et incessanter proposuit. Erat etiam emulatur præcursoris Domini in mira abstinencia cibi et potus et asperitate vestis cilicini, in modicitate somni, nunquam vel raro in lecto membra sua quieti subjiciens ; qui jugiter in suo corpore crucis mortificationem portavit. Sublimatus autem divina dispositione ad apicem pontificalem, et priori humilitate et benignitate perseverans, omnem excellentiam oculorum abjecit, omnibus se affabilem exhibuit : super afflictos piissima gestans viscera. Et ne longo sermone vestram sanctissimam serenitatem, tot et tantis negotiis occupatam, tædio afficiamus, videtur nobis quod erat veracissimus Dei cultor, potens in opere et sermone, in vinea Domini assidue laborans, vigilans et expectans beatam Domini vocationem. Cum igitur a Domino jam sit vocatus et quanti meriti fuerit in hac vita Divina clementia mirifice ostendit per crebra miracula ad tumbam ejus et alias ad invocationem nominis sui facta, vestræ sanctissimæ paternitatis pedibus provoluti, humiliter et devote supplicamus quatenus jubeatis tantam lucernam super candelabrum poni et in sanctorum catalogo adnumerari. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram nobis et ecclesie sue conservet Altissimus per tempora diuturna."

XXVII.—BULL OF INNOCENT IV. ISSUED AFTER THE
CANONISATION OF ST. EDMUND.

(From the Life by Eustace. Dated Jan. 11, 1247.³)

(f. 151 vº.) "Innocentius, servus servorum dei, episcopus, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, archidiaconis, prepositis, archipresbyteris, et aliis ecclesiarum prelati ad quos litere iste pervenerint, salutem et

¹ Ps. xlv. 2.

² Matt. xiii. 52.

³ In Martène, the Bull is dated Feb. 27. We have followed the date given both by M. Paris and by Eustace.

apostolicam benedictionem. (Lectio 1^a.) Novum matris ecclesie gaudium, novi sancti celebritate jocunda leti referimus. Grande a celesti collegio² agi festum exultanti animo nunciamus. Gaudet quidem ecclesia se talem ac tantum produxisse filium, qui alios et sacre³ conversationis exemplo dirigat, et percepto jam beatitudinis premio, firmam spem eis tribuat de salute. Letatur nimirum se tam preclara sobole illustratam que digno ab omnibus attollenda premio,⁴ et devota veneratione colenda, manifeste declarat ad hereditatis eterne participium⁵ admittendos qui ecclesiam ipsam matrem fide⁶ et opere profitentur; et nullos in supernam posse gloriam, nisi per eam, tanquam regni celorum (f. 152 r^o) clavigeram, introire.

(Lectio 2^a.) "Gaudet celestis patria nobilis habitatoris adventu, expertumque colonum fidei suis incolis noviter adunari. Exultant cives celibes de celebris aggregatione concivis, de condigno celi consorte nuper ipsis adhibito, psallunt sancti. Exurgite, igitur, et vos fidei zelatores; et una cum ecclesia, matre vestra, letamini de⁷ magnificentia et exaltatione confratris; affluite gaudio et spem tutam assumite de condigena⁸ terrenorum facto compatriota celestium. Exsultate ingenti letitia quod novellus vobis apud Dominum patronus accrevit: quod⁹ adest coram ipso pro salute nostra placidus intercessor.

(Lectio 3^a.) "En, siquidem, beatus edmundus, archiepiscopus Cant., salubriter pensans ad factorem suum facturam affectu dirigi naturali, naturamque collapsam reparatorem debere recognoscere, proprium¹⁰ creatorem ac redemptorem suum affectuose ac studiose quæsit. Rectæ namque intentionis lumen bajulans ad Christum perfectorum operum processit gressibus: salutis semitam aliis et splendore vitæ ac doctrinæ claritate demonstrans. Unde horum trium: intentionis puræ, perfecti operis et recti sermonis dulci concordia, velut delectabili psallens tripudio, tribus hostibus: carne, mundo, demone, virtute perseverantiæ, superatis; digne meruit veræ fidei, securæ spei et fervidæ caritatis ternario insignitus summæ trinitatis arte, terno electorum, virginum, scilicet, continentium et conjugatorum ordini præparata palma victoriæ honorari.

¹ These references mark the distinction of the nine "lectiones" in the office of St. Edmund according to the Sarum Breviary.

² Sarum adds "De college novi consortio".

³ Sarum. "Sancte."

⁴ Sarum. "Preconio."

⁵ Sarum. "Participationem."

⁶ Sarum adds "spe".

⁷ Sarum adds "de tanti filii sui," and omits "confratris".

⁸ Sarum. "Vestro indigena."

⁹ Sarum. "Qui."

¹⁰ Sarum. "Primum."

(Lectio 4^a.) Etenim ut de suis actibus aliquid referamus: licet ipsius vita quo plenius exponitur eo relatoris gustui plus dulcescat; magisque delectet animos auditorum, ab annis teneris, dei filium tenere diligens, eum postmodum tenere corde non desiit, quia ipsum tenellæ mentis tabulæ stilo rec(f. 152 v^o)tæ considerationis inscripsit. Quinimmo quanto majori profecit ætate, tanto pleniori cognitione in amorem ejus exarsit. Et ne fervor spiritus sue¹ carnis exstingueretur ardore, sed mortificatione potius accenderetur ipsius, assidui eam asperitate cilicii edomans, ejus libitum arctæ abstinentiæ nexibus alligavit, ut non suo ducta voto sed spiritus voluntate, ad licita tute pergeret et proinde² ab illicitis declinaret. Nam districtis corpus maceravit jejuniis, antiquorum observantiæ novorum austeritatem quæ sibimet ipsi idem indixerat, superaddens: dum deliciosorum ciborum oblectatione despecta, refectione contentus humilium; communium jejuniorum temporibus a permissis etiam elegit jejunare cibariis, et ceteris insuper in hebdomada diebus³ abstinere. (Lectio 5^a.) Somni quoque prolixitatem odiens diuturnis vacabat vigiliis: et, excusso corpore, orationi sedulo insistebat. Cubilis enim sprete mollietie, ne requie delicata lentesceret, illam membris indulgebat jacendo quietem, ut sopore brevissimo⁴ refectus, protinus surgeret, seque genuflexionibus et orationibus diutius deputaret. Ab initio autem viarum suarum, sic munde usque in finem incedere studuit, quod mundi in tanto⁵ lubrico in lutum non defluens voluptatis, munditiæ nitore præfulsit. Quid amplius? Contrivit fragile carnis vasculum, ut in eo thesaurum animæ sibi creditum, cautius conservaret. Doctor vero præclarus ac prædicator eximius, et auditorum mentibus scientiæ lumen infudit; et pectoribus fidelium avulsis vitiorum tribulis, semina virtutum iniecit. Humilitate quippe sublimis, mansuetudine placidus, patientia fortis, benignitate affabilis, pietate condolens, misericordia ignoscens, et multiplici eleemosynarum irriguo in subventionem affluens egenorum. (Lectio 6^a.) Et ut gestorum suorum multitudinem succincta relatione texamus, sic (f. 153 r^o) Jesum firma credulitate cognovit et cognitum sincero corde dilexit, ac dilectum totis votis concupivit,⁶ et quod mundo et eis quæ in mundo sunt penitus vilipensis, ad cælestia cunctis studiis inhiavit, satagens se suo nomini actibus coaptare: ut, sicut vocabatur edmundus, sic se ut⁷ a criminum

¹ Sarum. "Socie."² Sarum. "Provide."³ Sarum adds "amplius".⁴ Sarum. "Brevi sopore."⁵ Sarum. "Vitato."⁶ Sarum. "Ambivit," and omits "et".⁷ Sarum. "Vel."

labe mundum, vel e mundo abductum, seu extra mundi amplexus positum, operum testificatione probaret. Unde tanquam spiritualis omnino edmundus¹ a carnis contagiis in extremis agens et corpus Christi sibi delatum reverenter adorans, hæc verba omnium attentione notanda mira protulisse compunctione aperte monstratur. 'Tu es in Quem credidi; quem prædicavi: quem docui: Et tu testis es mihi quia nihil aliud, nisi te domine, in terra quæsi. Sicut tu scis quod nihil volo nisi quod tu vis: fiat voluntas tua.' (Lectio 7^{ma}.) Verum cum vivens dei ecclesiam præclaris illuminasset meritis, mortuus suæ sibi claritatis radios non subtrahit. Sed cum functus hac vita verius viveret quam vixisset, eam postmodum illustravit fulgore luminis plenioris. Non enim voluit dominus sanctitatem mundo suppressi tanti viri, quin² sicut pluralitate innotuerat meritorum, sic miraculorum diversitate pateret. Ut qui tota ipsum devotione in terra³ coluerat, jam secum regnans venerabiliter coleretur. Nam cæcis lumen restituit; et, quod est gloriosius, de cujusdam oculis innatæ cæcitatæ tenebras infusi visus perspicuitate fugavit. Alii, cujus linguam natura diutina taciturnitate ligaverat, liberam loquendi tribuit, soluto silentio, facultatem. Leprosam quamdam squamis lepræ mox decedentibus, subita et mirabili abstersione mundavit. Tremula paralytici membra firmavit consolidatione nervorum; contrac (f. 153 v^o) tis artuum extensione subvenit; tumorem hydropicum corporis extenuatione curavit: et quandam senilis ætatis veteri gibbo imis inflexam restituit, erecta sursum ejus facie, sanitati. (Lectio 8^{va}.) Hiis et aliis quam pluribus choruscavit miraculis manifestis quorum seriem non duximus præsentibus inserendam. Convalescit ex ipsis fides catholica, Judæorum pertinacia erubescit: confunditur hæreticorum fallacia; et obstupescit ignorantia paganorum. Cantet itaque Cant. Ecclesia laudis divinæ canticum, quod inter alias modernis temporibus venerabilibus est decorata patronis, unius quidem rubricata martyrio et confessione alterius candidata. Exultet plena gaudio fertilis cantuaria quod ab ecclesiæ suæ area tam purum granum transmisit ad horrea summi regis. Lætetur pontiniacense monasterium quod talium ac tantorum patrum meruit honorari præsentia: dum unus diu ibi degens, illud suæ vitæ nobilitavit moribus, et alter illuc accedens, ipsum, reddita cælo anima, sui corporis thesauro ditavit. Ut quasi adimpleretur quod ipse gloriosus martyr, thomas videlicet, post longam moram quam exilii sui tempore in eodem continuavit⁴ monasterio, cum

¹ Sarum. "Et mundus."² Sarum. "Qui."³ Sarum omits "in terra".⁴ Sarum. "Contraxerat."

ipsis monachis de multa honorificentia caritative sibi ab eis exhibita respondere juxta sui voti plenitudinem non valeret, dixisse asseritur quod esset sibi aliquis successurus qui dignam ipsis retributionem rependeret pro eodem. (Lectio 9^a.) Porro quia quos omnipotens Deus perpetua corona glorie in celum manifestat,¹ summe devocionis studio, ab hominibus in terris convenit venerari: ut quo solempnius fideles sanctorum² memoriam agimus, eo dignius ipsorum patrocinium promerentur:³ nos, de sanctitate vite ac veritate miraculorum ejusdem sancti edmundi curiose inquisitionis sollempn(f. 154 r^o)itate ac districti examinis discussione premissis, plenariam certitudinem obtinentes, ipsum de communi fratrum nostrorum et prelatorum omnium tunc apud sedem apostolicam existentium consilio et assensu, in dominica de adventu qua cantatur 'gaudete in domino semper' sanctorum⁴ catalogo ascribendum, vel⁵ ascriptum pocius nunciandum (duximus).

"Ideoque universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur attente, per apostolica scripta⁶ precipiendo mandantes quatenus septimo decimo⁷ kal. dec., cum tunc felix ipsius anima de carnis liberata carcere, ad astra conscendens, aulam celestem adiverat, paradisi deliciis fruitura, festum ejusdem devote ac sollempniter celebretis. Et faciatis vos, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, per vestras civitates et dioceses a Christi fidelibus congrua veneratione celebrari, ut pio ejus interventu, et hic et⁸ ab imminentibus possitis periculis erui, et in futuro salutis præmium consequi sempiternum.⁹ Ceterum ut ad venerabile ejus sepulcrum frequentius et copiosius christiani populi confluat multitudo; ac celebrius ejusdem sancti agatur sollempnitas, omnibus vere penitentibus, confessis, qui cum reverentia illuc in eodem festo annuatim accesserint, ipsius suffragia petitori; de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, unum annum et quadraginta dies; accedentibus vero annis singulis ad prædictum sepulcrum infra ejusdem festi octavas, quadraginta dies de injuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer relaxamus." (Datum Lugduni III^o Id. Januar. pontificatus nostri anno IV^{to}.)

¹ Sarum. "Magnificat."

² Sarum adds "recolunt," and omits "agimus".

³ Here the Sarum Breviary inserts: "Unde pro declaratione festi istius sancti gloriosi papa scribit in hæc verba".

⁴ Sarum adds "confessorum".

⁵ Sarum adds "vobis".

⁶ Sarum omits "et".

⁷ Sarum adds "jam".

⁸ Sarum. "XVI."

⁹ End of lectio 9.

XXVIII.—(1) LETTER OF GREGORY IX., CONFIRMING EDMUND'S ELECTION TO THE SEE OF CANTERBURY, ADDRESSED TO THE SUFFRAGANS OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

(Baronius Annals (Paris, 1870), vol. xxi. p. 88, n. 64, and taken from the Regest. Pontif. L. vi., Ep. ccxxx., ccxxxi.) (See ch. xii. p. 149.)

“Præsentatam nobis electionem, quam dilecti filii capitulum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ de dilecto filio magistro Edmundo thesaurario Sarisberiensi, viro morum honestate conspicuo, eminenti litterarum scientia prædito, et temporalium providentia circumspecto, in Cantuariensem archiepiscopum canonice ac concorditer celebrarunt, examinantes sicut convenit diligenter eam, quia rectis dispositionibus nihil debet difficultatis afferri, de fratrum nostrorum consilio duximus confirmandum: firmam spem fiduciamque tenentes, quod idem in eadem ecclesia recta regens, et dirigens indirecta, sibi per vitæ meritum et aliis proficiens per exemplum, quasi stella in ejusdem ecclesiæ firmamento fundata per diligentiae suæ ministerium, ipsi auctore Domino spiritualibus et temporalibus proficiet incrementis. Quia vero si patrem quis tenetur honorare carnalem, eo ipso spiritualis debet amplius honorari, quo pretiosior est carne spiritus, et animæ sunt corporibus digniores, universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eidem electo tanquam patri et pastori animarum vestrarum humiliter intendentes, ipsius monitis salubribus, et mandatis curetis efficaciter obedire,” etc. Dat. Lat. xi. Kal. Jan. anno vii.

Translation.

“Whereas we have had presented to us the election which our beloved sons, the chapter of the Church of Canterbury, have canonically and harmoniously made of our beloved son, Master Edmund, treasurer of Salisbury, a man of conspicuous rectitude of conduct, eminently endowed with literary accomplishments, and prudent in the management of temporal affairs, to be Archbishop of Canterbury, we, having carefully scrutinised that election, as was befitting, inasmuch as no difficulty ought to be put in the way of matters rightly settled, by the advice of our brethren, have decided to confirm his election, in the firm hope and confidence that he, by preserving order and controlling disorder in the same church, and improving himself by the merit of his life, and others by his example,

like a star set in the firmament of the same church, through the carefulness of his ministry, may by God's grace promote its spiritual and temporal welfare. And since one is bound to honour one's earthly father, how much more ought the spiritual father to be honoured, in proportion as the spirit excels the flesh, and souls are more estimable than bodies, hence we command you all by these apostolic letters that you humbly submit yourselves to the father and pastor of your souls, and that you take care scrupulously to obey his salutary counsels and precepts, etc. Given at the Lateran, December 22, in the seventh year of our pontificate (1233)."

(2) OATH TAKEN BY ST. EDMUND AT HIS CONSECRATION.

(*Ibid.*, n. 65, taken from the *Liber Censuum* in the Vatican. See ch. xii. p. 152.)

"Ego Eadmundus Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro et sacræ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Domino papæ Gregorio, suisque successoribus canonice intransibis. Non ero in facto, nec in consilio, aut consensu, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum, aut capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut per nuntios suos, sive per litteras ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia B. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis visitabo, aut per me, aut per nuntium meum, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque pignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia."

Translation.

"I, Eadmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, from this time and henceforward, will be faithful and obedient to Blessed Peter and the holy Roman Church, and to the Lord Pope Gregory and his

successors canonically succeeding. I will take no part by deed, nor by counsel, nor by consent, that they should lose life, or member, or be held in wrongful captivity. The counsel which they shall entrust to me personally, or by their envoys, or by letters, I will disclose to no one, to their detriment, as far as I know. Saving my order, I will help them to keep and defend the Roman Papacy and the princely rights of Blessed Peter against every man. I will honourably treat the legate of the Apostolic See in going and returning, and I will help him in his necessities. Being summoned to a synod I will come unless hindered by a canonical impediment. I will visit the threshold of the apostles every three years, either personally or by my deputy, unless I shall be released by apostolical permission. I will not sell the possessions which belong to the *mensa* of my archiepiscopate. I will not give them away nor pledge them, nor enfeoff them afresh, nor alienate them in any way without consulting the Roman Pontiff. So help me God and these His holy Gospels."

This oath was administered to the archbishop by the Bishops of London and Rochester.

The oath pronounced by the Archbishop of Westminster, at his recent investiture with the Pallium, is almost word for word the same as this pronounced by St. Edmund, but with several articles added which we must briefly particularise. To the article, *Non ero in facto*, are added the clauses, *Aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quasito colore*. After the article on the papal legate, the following additions are inserted: *Jura honores privilegia et auctoritatem Romanæ ecclesiæ, Domini Nostri Papæ, et successorum præfatorum conservare defendere augere et promovere curabo*. And he swears to oppose to the utmost of his power the machinations of the enemies of the Holy See. Then follows: *Regulas sanctorum Patrum decreta ordinationes seu dispositiones, reservationes provisiones et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo et faciam ab aliis observari*. The visit *ad limina* is limited to every four years, and the scope of the report to be then presented is thus prescribed: *Rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio, ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri et populi disciplinam animarum denique, quæ meæ fidei tradita sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus; et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam, et quam diligentissime exequar*. Then follow minute details providing for the execution of this article. To the article on the alienation of the estates is added the clause, *Etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiæ meæ*. The oath concludes with an affirmation that it contains .

nothing derogatory to the archbishop's loyalty to the reigning sovereign.

It will be seen that the two oaths are substantially identical, though the modern oath is more stringent and precise in its details: changes which were rendered necessary by the circumstances of the times when Christendom was rent asunder by heresy and schism.

THE LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY,

AS GIVEN IN THE COTTON MS. JUL. D. VI. (1) ff. 123-157.¹

(f. 123 r^o.) *Vita beati Edmundi Cant. Archiep.*

“Beatus Edmundus Cantuariensis Archiep. ex piissimis parentibus fortune mediocris, in pago Abendonie extitit oriundus, patre editus Reginaldo cognomento divite, matre vero Mabilia matrimoniali federe copulatis. Quibus tale cognomen congrue, immo non sine divino nutu competeat. Ipsos namque, inter ceteras prosperitates, utriusque sexus maxime fecunda ac sancta soboles divites fecit et beatos. Suscepit enim dictus Reginaldus ex gremio uxoris sue Edmundum, de quo mihi ad presens sermo est: quem deus postea ad dignitatem, ut infra dicitur, vocavit archipresulatus. Habuit et Robertum, quem sicut et Edmundum, meritis suis preclaris exigentibus, ad uberrimorum reddituum² opulentiam dominus ditando sublimavit; qui sanctitatis eximie, dapsilitatis facete et profunde sciencie dotibus coruscavit. Habuit et nicolaum qui mundum despiciens cum flore sterili habitum religionis in domo de Boxele ordinis Cisterciensis devotus suscepit. Habuit et duas filias Margaretam et Aliciam quæ ab ineunte etate et virginali puritate custodite et literis informate apud Katebiam sanctimoniales, edmundo procurante, sine simonie scrupulo facte, velum perpetui celibatus susceperunt. Habuit et memoratus edmundus fratrem quemdam qui apud Eynesham, vir discretus et compositus, habitum suscepit religionis. Hec idcirco scripserim ut tam beate prolis sit memoria in eterna benedictione. Patre igitur post paucos annos defuncto quem, ut dictum est, in hoc seculo dominus uxoris honestissime individua societate et sanctissime sobolis fecunditate letificaverat et divitem fecerat, ut competenter et vere (f. 123 v^o) dives cognominaretur: mater in viduitate irrepre-

¹ The MS. is a small quarto in vellum of the thirteenth century. See ch. i., where we have stated our reasons for supposing it to be the work of Eustace, a monk of Christ Church and chaplain to the archbishop.

² MS. has “ab uberrimorum redditur”.

hensibili perseverabat, ut jejuniis eleemosynis et orationibus intendens omnium matronarum quas habuit abandonia gemma diceretur. Ipsa igitur filio suo edmundo electo et inter ceteros fratres suos preelecto et dilecto transivit (? transmisit) adhuc parisiis studentem pannos lineos materna sedulitate et asperrimum cilicium involutum cum eisdem, deprecans eum ut pro Christo preeligeret uti cilicio quod et ipse obediendo complevit. Cum autem rediisset Oxoniam mater ejus jam universæ carnis viam sanctissime ingressa reliquerat ei lorica qua dum viveret utebatur, quæ consulens obnixius supplicaverat ut exemplo sui pro Christi amore ipsa lorica deo militans pro camisia uteretur. Filius autem pius pie matris precibus et consilio dulciter obtemperavit; et sic matris ad dominum sequens vestigia studuit matrissare.¹ Nec cessavit filium suum adhuc etiam moritura feliciter informare et deo per omnia complacere. Viva enim dulci nato cum lactis primitiva dulcedine lacte dulcius Christi nomen indidit, amorem immisit, timorem incussit: crescentem et proficientem suo exemplo virtutibus multipliciter informavit, nunc persuadendo nunc supplicando nunc increpando; vices matris vices patris vices magistrique supplevit. Libet igitur tam infantie primordia quam rudimenta adolescentie et juventutis sue maturitatem, dum adhuc matre superstite scholarum studiis sedulo intenderet, audientibus explicare. Seriem enim totius vite sue sub ferula districte discipline continuavit. Et sub regimine honestissimorum necnon et peritissimorum a primis annis usque ad ultimos totam vitam deduxit scientia et moribus instruendam utens lorica super nudo vel rudi cilicio. Et sic infantie principia virtutibus subarrhavit. Ut sicut de beato Benedicto legitur, ab ipso pueritie tempore cor gessit senile. Ex utero enim matris sue (f. 124 r^o) alter nicolaus electus est a deo et meditabatur a pusillo placere deo nitens in carne præter carnem vivere, hostiam sanctam deo placentem seipsum offerre, optinere per gratiam quod non poterat per naturam, gloriam scilicet sempiternam.

"Qualiter annulo quodam imaginem (beate²) virginis subarravit.

"Beatus vero edmundus dum adhuc puer etate existeret duodennis sub pedagogo scholas frequentans sepe cujusdam sancti sacerdotis cui frequenter confitebatur disciplina instructus regebatur. In conspectu igitur sui confessoris cum virginitatem suam illibatam castissime dei genetrici marie dare et vovere et omnibus vite sue

¹ To take after the mother: "patrissare" is used in a similar way.

² MS. "de".

diebus conservare promississet hec dicta ante imaginem sancte virginis in ecclesia recitasset, surrexit concito et digito imaginis quendam annulum, quem ad hoc adquisierat, imposuit et adaptavit, dicens: 'Tibi, virgo virginum, mater domini mei Jesu Christi purissima, virginitatis mee voveo spondeo ac libo donativum. Et hoc annulo te subarrans in dominam et sponsam eligo et gratanter adopto, ut virgo virgini gratius de cetero tibi ac conformius merear famulari. Et genibus flexis ante ipsam imaginem velut ante ipsam dei genetricem oravit devotissime lacrymis uberrimis profusis, ita ut exitus aquarum deducerent oculi mei (ejus) dicens: O domina mea, serenissima sponsa jam mihi precordialis, filium tuum dominum meum efficaciter deprecare ut in obsequiis vestris perseverans, beati Joannis evangeliste vestigia sequi promerear'. Et post orationem cum vellet annulum quem digito imaginis apposuerat, ne vulgo generaret admirationem, avellere, non potuit, licet omnibus quot poterat modis cum conamine niteretur. Unde gaudens spem concepit quod beata virgo votum suum favorabiliter acceptavit, ut sicut ipse puer purissimus se castissime dei genetrici ac sempiternae virgini sponsum (f. 124 v^o) sic et ipsa beata virgo feliciter beato edmundo sponte copulandam se promisit.

"Qualiter apparuit ei dominus quando vidit rubum florentem.

"Adolescentia vero jam pubescens cum provecioribus scholaribus associaretur et quadam die medie estatis tempore cum iis iret in prata spatiatum et ipse ne singularis haberetur, sequeretur, noluit se ludis eorum immiscere, sed solus seorsim semotus, in lege dei meditabatur: et ecce rubum reperit quemdam præter morem et contra temporis exigentiam floribus mirifice pulcherrimis redimitum et incomparabilis odoris fragrantiam longe lateque circumquaque dispergentem. Quod cum in spiritu certissime perpenderet hoc aliquid celitus significare, genibus flexis devotus oravit dicens: 'Deus, qui in monte sinai sancto moysi figuraliter in rubo ardenti et non combusto apparuisti revela mihi quod istud miraculosum portentat'. Et cum flens et orans solo procubisset, en claritas de celo copiosa circumfulsit eum in qua Christus infans suavissimus apparuit, ipsumque vehementer stupefactum consolans ait: 'Ego sum Jesus Christus beate marie virginis sponse tue filius quam annulo subarrasti et in dominam adoptasti. Ego tuorum conscius secretorum tibi solivago fui socius indivisus; amodo me et matrem meam sponsam tuam polliceor tui adjutores et consolatores.' Hecque dicens impressit signans fronti adolescentis benedictionem hoc modo: Jesus nazarenus

rex judeorum. Et addidit: 'Frequenter te signans sic hec replica in mei commemorationem'. Et post hec cum ipsa claritate evanuit. Et cum prolixius ibidem procumbens adhuc orasset postulans sibi a spiritu sancto donum scientie salutaris cum ceteris virtutibus suis concedi, surrexit: et ecce socii ejus festinanter advenient(es)¹ interroga (f. 125 r^o) bant quænam esset ipsa claritas maxima quam juxta rubum viderant coruscare. Et ipse caute dissimulans noluit alicui misterium illud temere revelare. Beatus igitur adolescens extunc in omni virtute et scientia felix suscepit incrementum. Et hoc memoriter retinens sepiissime diebus ac noctibus omni vite sue tempore se signans in fronte et oculis devotissime recitavit; fidelisque sponsor et sponsus usque ad mortem in illa beata virginitate indubitanter perseveravit. Cui in presentiarum, tu Christe, etsi homo dubitet, certum in crebris miraculis, presertim in sui corporis integritate perhibes testimonium. Et testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.²

"Qualiter extunc de virtute in virtutem diatim ascendit beatus edmundus.

"Adolescens autem maturior factus cum esset jam liberalibus studiis artium addictus, via qua prius ducebatur, incedebat: spontaneusque juxta sui nominis interpretationem beatus extitit atque mundus. Nam extunc plus solito voluntarie sacrificare deo cepit: ecclesie limina sepius et maturius frequentare: vana et frivola quibus etas illa solet implicari devitans; eruditioni sue diligenter intendens: carnis delicias non solum fugiens sed crucis mortificationem jugiter in suo corpore portans:³ toto mentis studio vite requisivit auctorem. Videbatur enim jam illud quod nondum legerat, intellexisse proverbium: 'adolescens juxta viam suam primam, cum etiam senuerit, non recedet ab ea'.⁴ Quod in eo vere completum est. Nam vigilare et jejunare, sed et cetera penitentiae gravia extunc tam duxit in consuetudinem facere, quod postmodum, ut ipsemet testimonium perhibebat, non tam facilia quam etiam delectabilia ei fuerunt in etate provectiori. Insolentiam namque carnis restringens balteo castitatis, asperitate cilicina (f. 125 v^o) dura, dira et nodosa, ipsam studuit edomare, ita quod, excogitato novo cilicii usu in nocte, et manuum et colli nuda tegebat. Et ut afflictus magis affligeretur, corpus ciliciatum funiculo triplici de seta grossa circumcingendo constrinxit, et constringendo circumduxit. Beati itaque joannis evangeliste imitator existens, carnem suam nulla

¹ MS. "advenientibus".

² 2 Cor. iv. 10.

³ Ps. xcii. 5.

⁴ Prov. xxii. 6.

unquam immunditie macula coinquinavit, quod et firmiter asseruerunt qui ipsius confessiones audierunt, et qui ipsum ex familiari cum ipso conversatione ab annis puerilibus noverunt. Et sic in carne vixisse creditur preter carnem.

"De vite sue mira severitate.

"Crescente vero etate, crevit in virtute. Nam sic, gratia sibi divina favente, profecit quod dum in annis puerilibus liberalibus intenderet disciplinis, nondum sacre pagine auditor effectus, honesta, matura et sancta conversatione doctor videbatur sacre scripture: non solum prius incipiens facere quam docere, sed prius incipiens facere quam audire: abstinentiam verbi, cibi, potus et somni, rerumque omnium mundanarum ab infantia illibatam servavit. Ubi vero occurrunt spectacula nunquam in spectaculis se immiscuit nec sedit cum concilio vanitatis sive ludentium.¹ Orationi insistebat sedulus: noctes cum brevissima somni degustatione deducens; non in lecto sed ante lectum nuda terra jacens vel sedens, semper vestitus et cinctus aliquantulum quiescebat. Hoc autem per triginta annos et sex ampliusque creditur inviolabiliter observasse: nisi gravissima infirmitate impediretur, semper sibi rigidus et durus, aliis semper affabilis et benignus. Vir utique exstitit sanctę conversationis, castitate precipuus, abstinentia singularis, in vigiliis, orationibus et disciplinis assiduus: scripture sacre doctor egregius, predicator frequens et devotus: confessionum auditor: pauperum scholarium nutritor piissimus, paupertatis amator (f. 126 r^o), animarum zelator, vitiorum extirpator, omnium bonorum exemplum prebuit semetipsum. Omnia ipsius tam verba quam opera quasi cujusdam latentis energie voce in mentibus omnium clamabant quod operator eorum non que sua sed que Jesu Christi sunt perquirebat. Tanta quoque penitentie asperitate carnem suam mortificavit, in pane et aqua frequenter jejunando, aliisque modis quam plurimis, ut vix inveniretur qui vires humanas ad tot et tantos labores sufficere posse estimaret. Sed ad occultandum hominibus asperitatem quam gerebat interius, semper letum, semper hilarem, gratissima et matura jucunditate se exhibuit. Hoc etiam speciale virtutis exemplar ex aliis duximus exprimendum, quod licet tantis pollere videretur virtutibus, in hoc se imitorem mirabilem exhibebat quod appetitus inanis glorie que virtuosus viris se multipliciter ingerit importunam, sub quadam simplicitatis cautela et modo mirabili elidebat, actu et verbo hoc pestiferum viciū et doctrina viriliter repellendo. Mirum etiam in modum quanto

¹ Ps. xxv. 4.

amplius in virtutum acquisitione profecit, tanto magis studuit humilitatem servare, in tantum ut aliquid quod simplicitati possit ab hujus mundi sapientibus imputari mallet in opere publico demonstrare quam ad ostensionem inanem aliquid faceret virtuosum. Oppressorum quippe refugium extitit; miserorum solacium; afflictorum benignissimus consolator; manusque suas ab omni munere immunes observabat; a suis familiaribus sordes avaricie et immundicie eliminabat pro posse.

“Quod amator et frequentator fuerit ecclesie incomparabilis.

“Factus igitur magister artium, nondum ad sacros ordines promotus, nec adhuc ratione alicujus accepti beneficii ecclesiastici compulsus, sed solo dei instinctu et studio pietatis ductus, supra morem tunc legentium singulis diebus priusquam (f. 126 v^o) legeret, missam audire consuevit. Quod ut devotius faceret, capellam de beata virgine quam speciali quodam privilegio amoris semper diligebat, in parochia in qua tunc habitabat, construxit, ubi adhuc solemnes missæ continue celebrantur ad ipsius gloriam et honorem. Cumque his et aliis plurimis virtutibus excellenter premineret, addidit deus suo servo illam gratiam meritorum ut vivens etiam miraculis coruscaret, prout illi qui oculata fide viderunt et interfuerunt fida assertione protestantur. Sic enim nutrix gratia magnificum fidei zelatorem prosequabatur sicut a multis viris fide dignis qui eum ab infantia noverunt, creditur ab omni peccato mortali fuisse immunis; ut cum beato job dicere possit: ‘Ab initio coaluit me(cum) miseratio et pietas de utero matris egressa est mecum’.¹ Illud autem spectabile fuit in eo quod beneficium ecclesiasticum non retinuit nisi faceret residentiam, ita quod quando transtulit se ad studium resignavit si quod habuit, quod antea apud nostrates fuerat inauditum. Porro transactis fere sex annis quibus in artibus rexerat, cum jam placuisset ei qui eum segregavit ab utero matris sue ut in eo et per eum revelaret filium suum, fieret vas electionis, ipso adhuc cursum legente arismetico quibusdam sociis suis, apparuit ei in somnis piissima mater ejus paulo ante defuncta dicens: fili, quid legis? que sunt ille figure quibus tam studiose intendis? Quo respondente: ‘taliam lego’; ostensis protractionibus que in illa solent fieri facultate: illa mox dexteram manum ejus arripuit et in ea tres circulos depinxit: in ipsis quoque hec tria nomina per ordinem scripsit: Pater, filius, spiritus sanctus. Et hoc facto sic ait: ‘fili carissime, talibus figuris et non aliis amodo intende’.

¹ Job xxxi. 18.

Quo somno quasi per revelationem edoctus (f. 127 r^o), statim ad theologie se transtulit exercitium. Cepit igitur fastidire jamjam philosophie sterilitatem, et ad theologie fructus profuturos hanelare. Sed cum adhuc delectabili acerbitate et acerba delectatione liberalium artium maxime quadrivialium, adhuc dentes ejus obtepescerent, non sapiebant ei divine pagine rudimenta quæ animam esurientem plenius reficere consueverunt potius quam vagum animum ambagibus illudendo demulcere. Reversus igitur ad se cepit vehementer formidare ne peccatis irretitus, adeo ut ejus speciali scientia veluti reprobis repelleretur, scriptum illud recolens: 'In malevolam animam non introibit sapientia'.¹ Recurrens igitur ad lavacrum mundationis que per confessionem requiritur et acquiritur sese ab omni mentis scrupulo confitendo veraciter emundavit. Ex tunc igitur in ipsa theologie facultate adeo expedienter in brevi profecit, ut omnes ejus collaterales aut æquiparavit aut precessit. Opponens igitur prudens et discriminans tenebras ignorantie dilucidavit. Unde cito post paucos annos suadentibus multis cathedram magistralem ascendit.

"Qualiter per aliquod tempus mertonam commorabatur.

"Deinde quoque patet antequam theologie publicus rector existeret, per annum et amplius in domo et cenobio mertone jugiter morabatur, et postea per longum tempus quasi unus ex ejusdem ecclesie filiis sepius introivit claustrum et exivit. Quidam enim fratrum in ipsius sancti valde delectabantur colloquiis et fovebantur consiliis, et conversationem ejus ineffabiliter admirantes: Nam in mundo conversans, mundum conculcaverat, et etate juvenis, quosque senes fide, doctrina, scientia et consilio excedebat. Et quod mirabile est dictu, inter scholares gradiens, non solum religiosus, sed etiam forma totius religionis inter eos videbatur. Erat enim in lectionibus et meditationibus assiduus, devotissimus, semper in jejuniis et vigiliis continuus, horam (f. 127 v^o) nullam matutinorum dormiendo preteriens; sed ad omnes una cum fratribus, quasi eorum officio deditus esset, accessit. Nec solum gestus exteriores religionis sed etiam secretissimos, quos in spiritu sancto didicerat pretendebat: clavem scilicet hujus totius religionis. Fœdus insuper in tantum cum suis oculis pepigerat ut quemdam fratrem per annum in mensa ei perministrantem ex nomine (? facie) vix cognosceret. Equidem qualiter de virtute in virtutem celitus proficeret ut deum deorum in syon videret non solum illis sed etiam omnibus innotuit. Tanta denique diligentia tantaque discendi aviditate fratribus ipsis inheserat

¹ Sap. i. 4.

quod pene noctes deducebat insomnes, et videbantur ei dies pauci præ amoris magnitudine quo ad speciose rachelis castos amplexus hanelans perveniret. Nec est fraudatus a desiderio suo. Nam complens in brevi tempora multa, juxta estimationem suam modicum in ejus opere laboravit, et cito de generationibus benedictionis fructus percepit.¹ Etenim divini verbi semina cordis aure suscipiens, tanquam terra celesti rore perfusa, non solum sanctarum meditationum et affectionum segetes sed etiam bonorum operum fructus uberrimos ex se producebat. Verum etiam legendo et disputando ejusdem verbi strenuus et egregius seminator ad aliorum edificationem tanquam imbres eloquii et sapientie divine mittebat. Unde factum est ut ob tantam edificationem tam in maturitate sermonum quam in exhibitione salubrium exemplorum viri religiosi non pauci inter quos tempore vacationis commorari solebat,² quorum corda tetigerat deus, talia ac tanta perpendentes in eo sanctitatis indicia, se in comparatione ipsius in habitu seculari constituti tepidos arbitrantes et desides, cum haberentur et essent competentes religiosi, confusi erubuerunt juxta ysaie vaticinium: 'erubescere Syon, ait mare'.³ De tempore siquidem suo, salubriter erubescere ceperunt, et ejus vestigia sequi nitebantur.

"Item de moribus illius multiplicibus.

"Beatus igitur Edmundus sicut augebatur diatim et multi (f. 128 r^o) plicabatur divine lumine sapientie, sic multipliciter refulsit exterius fructuosorum operum claritate: illam namque noctis particulam quam sine corporis dispendio insomnem deducere non valebat, lacrimis et orationibus et sacris meditationibus exponebat. Castitatem quippe servabat in corpore; pudicitiam in corde; modestiam in sermone: in opere justitiam, ut quos eruditurus erat verbo, sanctitatis sue moneret exemplo. Erat enim predicator eximius, doctor egregius, ignitum in predicatione et doctrina habens eloquium, mentes auditorum ad veritatis cognitionem illuminans et affectus ad bonitatem accendens, ut effectum verbi in auditoribus luce clarius pateret quod ipse in eo et per eum loquebatur de quo scriptum est: 'non vos estis qui loquimini; sed spiritus patris vestri':⁴ Et, 'ignis consumens est'.⁵ Unde et effectus est clericis gratus, laicis acceptus, ipsis etiam principibus reverendus. Cumque sederet inter primos erat tamen merentium consolator; Ab infantia quippe cum eo creverat misratio,⁶ que aliorum sibi

¹ Eccli. vi. 20.

² Is. xxiii. 4. Lege "Sidon".

³ Deut. iv. 24.

⁴ See ch. xxviii. p. 396.

⁵ Matt. x. 20.

⁶ Job xxxi. 18.

coadcervans miseras, nullius afflictionis aspecte permittebat eum non esse participem. Cujus unquam mens ad pietatem mollior? cujus cibus durior? Cujus sermo blandior? Cujus amictus asperior? Quis loqui rarius, quis orare prolixius potuit? Quem minus ab adolescentia detinuit lectus? Quem magis lectio? Quem minus moveret injuria; quem magis miseria? Quis daret promptius quod sibi detraxisset? Cui rarior mundus, cui frequentior Christus? Quis in illa sublimitate virtutum positus sibimet minor videretur? Et quis sic quo magis merito ascenderet, magis compunctione decresceret? Superhabundantem igitur gratiam caritatis¹ qua preeminens in sublimitate karismatum, multorum corda ad se convertit, sicut multi noverunt qui hoc experimento didicere [quod] non possumus satis habundanter demonstrare. Quos (f. 128 v^o) libet enim etiam sibi hostiliter adversantes dilexit in tantum ut gratis obsequiis quorumlibet amicorum graves injurias visus fuit pertulisse, quod quibusdam austeris displicebat.

"De liberalitate ipsius et quam reverenter se habuit circa altare et in ecclesia.

"In exercenda hospitalitate et aliis liberalibus operibus sic pollebat, ut quicquid erat in facultatibus suis commune bonorum omnium credi potuisset. Viciium detractationis quod in locutionis cursu surripere consuevit, viris etiam sibi studiose caventibus, summa intentione vitabat: ita quod cum occasio detractationis incideret, aut verba detractoria incidebant, mutando materiam, aut si verba persisterent detrahentis, penitus abscedebat,² nolens pollui audiendo qui vix aut nunquam ipsum polluere consueverat in loquendo. In altari autem existens totus effundebatur lacrimis et sic in altaris officio versabatur ac si visibiliter et personaliter³ in carne geri dominicam cerneret passionem. Reverentissime quidem divina sacramenta tractabat ita ut intuentium fidem et mores ipsa tractatio divinitus informabat. Siquis velit inspicere in quanta mansuetudine ubique subditos pertractavit, et quot ubique virtutum propagavit exempla, nimia prolixitate onerabit auditores. Erat nempe in divinorum munerum gratia ubique precipuus, corpore castus, mente devotus, affabilis colloquio, amabilis adspectu, prudentia peditus, temperantia clarus, interna fortitudine firmus, censura justitie stabilis, longanimitate assiduus, patientia robustus, humilitate man-

¹ "Caritatis" repeated in MS.

² Aliter, "abscedebat". (Harl. ii. 11.)

³ Aliter, "presentialiter". (*Ibid.*)

suctus, caritate diffusus. Et ita in eo omnem virtutum decorem sapientia divina ordinaverat, ut secundum apostolum semper illius sermo in gratia sale esset conditus.¹ Nunquam in ore ejus nisi pax, nisi castitas, nisi pietas, nisi caritas: nunquam in corde suo nisi horum omnium fons Christus habitavit: qui et aliis per eum plurimos caritatis, gaudii, pacis, modestie, continentie fructus ministravit. In almariolo quoque (f. 129 r^o) cordis, quasi in horreo, messis tempore, dum lecturiens apud mertonam multiplicem segetem postquam exaggerasset, oxoniam lectum vadit invitatus a multis et instanter flagitatus. Ubi aliquot annis laudabiliter legens et predicans fructum fecit, exuberantius talentum sibi commissum multiplicando.

“Quomodo diabolus vicit cogitando de passione Domini in cruce.

“Contigit autem quadam die quod habito multorum colloquio apud ipsum propter diversas causas, maxime tamen propter edificationes speciales confluentium, in suis meditationibus et lectionum studiosis provisionibus parvulam quietem dormitando pregustaret fatigatus. Fecerat enim scholaribus quibusdam ut memorie eorum preaudita firmius imprimeret annotare. Cui hostis humani generis apparuit; sed ipsum vir sanctus crucis signaculo effugare nitebatur: diabolus autem, arrepto brachio suo dextero, illud constrinxit violenter ut sic pro tutela sancti facienda ne fieret signum impediret. Magister igitur, erecta manu sinistra, ut dexteræ officium in signo faciendo adimpleret, se preparavit: at hostis, eadem qua prius temeritate, etiam illam manum fortius constringendo, adhuc munimen tale ne fieret impedivit. Sanctus autem in hoc certamine in dei adjutorium confidens, Christi passionem cum pretiosi sanguinis effusione ad memoriam reducens, collisum cum ingenti sonitu in terra diabolus fortiter arripuit, adjurans per sanguinem Christi per quam rem magis confundi et repelli solet ut recederet irrediturus.² Et sic victus recessit et confusus.

“Qualiter curatus est quidam scholaris a gravissima infirmitate.

“Quadam vero dierum contigit quod quidam suus scholaris in uno brachiorum suorum graviter infirmabatur, infistulatus ita quod de vita sua desperaret. Cui valde compatiens magister, dixit illi miserabiliter ingemiscenti: ‘Confide, fili (f. 129 v^o) rogabo Deum ut tuam in me transferat infirmitatem’; et oratione cum lacrimis et suspiriis facta prolixa, quod petiit, obtinuit: translata in ipsum

¹ Col. iv. 6.

² There seems to be a sentence omitted here.

quam alius habuerat mirabiliter egritudine: brachium autem dicti scholaris morbo quo circiter quindecim diebus intollerabiliter torquebatur, ex integro statim sanitati restitutum est, nulla remanente quod admirabile et insolitum est, cicatrice. Illam enim infirmitatem physici solent antracem vocare quia antrum facit in recessu. Magister autem postea in brevi leviter et leniter, caritate medicinam conferente celerem, sanabatur.

“(Quomodo) nubes ei obediunt.

“Cum per multos annos legem theologus lector egregius docuisset, in qua tota sua voluntas nocte diuque versabatur, et videretur ei disputationum subtilitates non sine quadam vana gloria posse exercere, cessavit ob hoc et ad horam cathedram suspendit magistralem. Verbum autem pro crucis negocio de mandato summi pontificis, non sine fructu multiplici seminavit. Cujus imperio per invocationem nominis Christi nubes sepe et pluvie obediunt ne a sermone plebs fidelis recederet congregata.

“De bono odore fame sue.

“Talibus igitur floribus in beato viro cum gratissima venustate vernantibus, cepit odor honestatis necnon et sanctitatis ejus per totius regionis anglicane circumquaque diffundi latitudinem. Nam doctrina ejus ita erat catholica et lucida ut de eo per totam provinciam passim ab omnibus diceretur: ‘lingua ejus calamus scribe velociter scribentis’.¹ Quippe erat ei promptum et sponte fluens eloquium et sub succincta brevitate tam retoricum quam sententiosum stilo gregoriano subornatam, juxta illud (f. 130 r^o) proverbium: ‘Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci’. Scivit etiam supra humanam capacitatem quodam modo excellentissimo de thesauro sacre scripture nova et vetera² indubitanter proferre: ita ut cum legeret vel predicaret visum esset auditoribus suis quod digitus dei scribebat in corde suo verba vite que de ore suo ut profluvium paradisi procedebant. Collata est igitur quedam prebenda ei ecclesie Saresbir. ut thesaurorum custos diceretur et esset.

“Quomodo factus est thesaurarius Sarisburiensis et quo (modo) dignus censetur pontifex (ali dignitate).

“Quia igitur decebat et expediebat ut talis esset pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus et segregatus a peccatoribus,⁴ vacante

¹ Ps. xlv. 2.

² MS. “pontificem”.

³ Matt. xiii. 52.

⁴ Heb. vii. 26.

sede cantuar. videlicet, anno divine incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo trigesimo quarto,¹ divina inspiratione, post relatu indigna[n]s papales et regales vexationes sancte sedi irrogatas quamplurimas, in archipresulem solemniter est electus. Dicebat enim cantuariensis conventus ad quem ab antiquo dignoscitur jus electionis pertinere : eligatur talis in quo non inveniatur alicujus scrupulus juste contradictionis et in quo merito elidantur omnium morsus detractorum. Invocata igitur sancti spiritus gratia, et facta oratione devota post multorum ponderationes quorum virtutes, prout humanum est, ipsi electores rationis statera diligenter estimabant ; tandem, Deo procul dubio sic volente, omnium resedit (sententia²) et quievit in magistrum edmundum de Abendonia lectorem theologum. Decantato igitur angelorum hymno, scilicet, 'Te deum laudamus,' ipsum adeuntes ipsi electores eundem edmundum quem legentem inveniunt, alloquuntur, assensum benignum suppliciter postulantes. Verum de se concorditer, communiter, canonicèque electioni facte per duos (f. 130 v^o) dies nullatenus voluit electus consentire. Porro multorum pulsus precibus et persuasionibus et usque ad spiritus amaritudinem impulsus, cepit hesitare. Quidam etiam amicorum secretius ei dicebant : 'Nisi tu consentiens ibidem sine mora instituaris, procurabit regis consilium ut ibi aliquis alienigena tali prorsus ac tanto indignus honore ubi tot Deus sanctos ordinavit, intrusus subrogabitur. Et cum nolle justis postulationibus adquiescere genus sit arriolandi, noli esse piis inexorabilis. Cave etiam ne tua pusillanimitas et rebellio tante sit causa confusionis in nobilissima ecclesia cantuarie.' Instabant etiam monachi flexis genibus, junctis manibus et profusis lacrymis, postulando ut benigne consentiret, dicentes : 'Domine, qui tam pius diceris et es, ne nos ter vel quater repulsos, iterum confundi permittas'.

"Consentit sanctus vix in electione de se facta.

"His igitur precibus ac rationibus motus et commotus beatus edmundus, tandem sed vix consensit : unde sicut de beato gregorio legitur, ita et de eo dici potest : 'Capitur, trahitur, et in nomine sancte Trinitatis, metropolitani tocius Anglie cum summa devotione constituitur feliciter. Pastor autem et dux in populo dei factus, pristinam humilitatem non deposuit, sed jugi abstinencia, in vestimii asperitate, in vigiliis multis, in orationum devotione, carnem spiritui, sensualitatem rationi evam scilicet ade coegit deservire, dignitatis oneri succumbens non honori. Interior affabilitas pristinaque benignitas

¹ The election took place in 1233.

² MS. "suam".

nullatenus immutatur : pontificalis fastigium dignitatis mentem ejus penitus aliqua elationis ostentatione (minime) corruptit.

"De primis factis ejus post consecrationem.

"Consecratus igitur beatus Edmundus in ecclesia Cantuar. (f. 131 r^o) a Rogero London. Epô, sanctus a sancto, theologus a theologo, virgo a virgine, ciliciatus a ciliciato, archiep. a suo decano domica qua cantatur Letare jerusalem : quarto nonas sc. april. presente rege henrico cum tredecim episcopis et magnatum copiosa multitudo, sollempniter eo die cum pallio quod ei gratis transmiserat dominus papa, missam celebravit.

"Ratio quod divinitus fuit illa dignitas beato edmundo reservata.¹

"Nec pretereundum censeo eventum de ipso mirabilem a Deo preordinatum : quod, scilicet, cassatis ante ejus promotionem tribus electionibus, videlicet, Priore Cant. joanne, Cicestrensi Epô Radulpho, Magistro quoque joanne cognomento blundo, dignitas illa preclara ipsi sancto edmundo veluti de multis preelecto reservabatur. Qui quidem in hoc assimilabatur tobie minori, cui amplexus sare filie raguelis, prefocatis multis maritis, specialiter assistente angelo, debantur et dabantur a (Raphaele).²

"Ratio de fortunatis eventibus in ipsius honore.

"Notandum quoque est non hoc accidisse sine dei providentia quod in quadragesima, tempore scilicet, penitentiali ac parcimoniali et spirituali consecratus est beatus edmundus in Archipresulem Cant. Et in adventu domini, tempore similiter penitentiali, parcimoniali et spirituali (preconizatus)³ est. Eodemque tempore postea sicut sequens sermo declarabit a domino papa Innocentio Lugduni canonizatus est : post se omnibus nobis datus est forma et exemplum vere penitentie et parcimonie. Bene igitur divina ordinatione evenit quod in die consecrationis ejus canitur in ecclesia : 'Letare, jerusalem' ; et in die canonizationis sue : 'Gaudete in domino' : utrobique letitia, utrobique resultat exultatio. Quicumque autem ejus sequuntur vestigia (f. 131 v^o) post penitentiam et abstinentiam letitiam et honorem sempiternum que in ejus consecratione et canonizatione designantur, consequentur.

"De augmentatione sanctitatis ejus.

"Extunc autem solito diligentius operibus caritatis precipue que regnum et magnates contingebant conatus est efficaciter insistere, et

¹ MS. "reservatus".

² MS. "Gabriele".

³ MS. "consecratus".

discordantes ad pacis tranquillitatem amicabiliter revocare, satis caute considerans quod a magnatum odio et discordia dependent pericula subditorum. Unde tunc occiso comite Ricardo merescallo in hibernia, rex difficilem se exhibuit in substituendo Gilberto in ipsam hereditatem, ipsum tanquam fratrem proximum contingentem, hac tactus ratione, quia comes Ricardus occisus fuit in hostili prelio contra regem, abjudicatus. Archiepiscopus igitur diligens gilbertum quia vere amabilis¹ erat, condoluit afflicto, utpote qui super afflictos pia semper gestabat viscera; regem festinus adiit: tunc apud regale manerium suum Wudestok existentem. Quem cum rex satis reverenter ac civiliter in osculo assurgens suscepisset, dixit ei: 'Bene veneris, pater! et que causa adventus et laboris tui?' at ipse: 'Magna, domine mi! videlicet, salus anime vestre et regni prosperitas et salvatio'. Et pro fundamento locutionis sue ponens et exponens eleganter et rhetorice virtutem caritatis, junctis manibus et obortis lacrimis regem pro memorato gilberto devotissime deprecabatur: ut frater fratris noxam nullatenus lueret et portaret: nec (in) innocentem culpa nocentis aliquatenus redundaret. Et cum theologicas (rationes), quibus habundavit, induceret; ad hoc cum rationibus auctoritates efficaciter orans et persuadens ut non tantum omnem animi rancorem remitteret, immo eidem ad cumulum amplioris beneficii (f. 132 r^o), totam cum officii dignitate concederet hereditatem, suppliciter deprecabatur. Cui respondit rex pietate motus, vultu ingerens serenissimo; 'O bone archiepiscope, multum ponderis et efficacie habent preces tue que me in concepta ira fixum ad clementiam et favorem inopinabilem revocarunt'. Et ut vulgariter loquens ea que benignus rex pronunciavit recitem, planius ait, modeste ridens: 'O quam pulcre scis precari: precare eodem modo pro me deum: et non dubito cum sit me deus benignior, quin te clementer exaudiat. Porro ego te jam exaudiam; fiat ut petisti.' Et accito Gilberto, rex omnem remittens indignationem, ei suam restituit cum plenitudine dignitatis hereditatem.

"Quomodo reconciliavit Hubertum de Burgo et alios nobiles regni."

"Comitem quoque Cantie,² Hubertum de Burgo, cujus erumpne et injuriose persecutiones speciales tractatus exigent, ipse piissimus beatus antistes edmundus, tactus super eo dolore cordis intrinsecus, simili precum instantia, regi misericorditer reconciliavit. Quid de

¹ MS. "amabilia".

² Called here by "prolepsis," Earl of Kent. He received the earldom subsequently.

Gilberto Basset et Stephano de Segrave et aliis preclaris ac viris potenti-
bus quos in regno regi reddidit tantum non pacificatos sed amicissimos,
auditores onerando percuncter? Quorum perturbationes damnaque,
non sine magna solitudine et labore tam prudenter quam clementer
sedare procuravit. O peccatores qualescunque, ad sinum miseri-
cordie talis ac tanti intercessoris confugite confidenter: ut hoc
enim persuaderem hec prædicta retexui: misericordiam procul dubio
consequimini nunc, cum sit causa favorabilior (f. 132 v^o) animarum
quam corporum; et deus omni rege terreno deprecabilior et propitior
ad salvandum, si modo quo decet et expedit preces, expiatis viciis,
porrigatis salutares. Sic igitur omnium misertus cunctosque miseratus
dum in hac vita deo militaret, beatus archipresul edmundus univer-
sorum pressuras pro posse propitius relevavit; singulorum honores
et commoda procuravit. De cura animarum vero sibi commissæ et
spiritualium tutela sollicitus, recipiendisque confessionibus eorum
quos in multa spiritus lenitate confovebat ut multos Deo lucrificeret,
aut per se aut per alios sedulus intendebat. Eleemosynarum quoque
irriguum quæ peccata dicuntur extinguere tam affectuose quam
largiter pauperibus diffudit, ut quicumque de adventus sui presentia
per totius provincie latitudinem certificaretur ad patulas ejus portas
confugiens famelicus adveniret, tam potus quam cibi sustentatione
diurna recreabatur. Et quamvis numerose pauperum multitudini
in corporalibus cooperimentis subveniret, verecundatis tamen quos
aliquando oneratos (? honoratos) paupertas precipitaverat esu lautiori
vestibusque honestioribus lineis et laneis ac calceamentis secrete et
civiliter respiciebat. Ita videlicet ut impensum beneficium docta et
faceta industria duplicaret. Abstinentie quoque consuetudo prioris
diatim suscepit augmentum, et cum nobilium hospitum in mensa
crebro suscepisset frequentiam, consuete sobrietatis usum retinuit
illibatum. Verumtamen archanum jejunium sub serena facie mirabili
prudencia novit sub sancta dissimulatione palliare. Et cum ipsi
pransuro tam deliciose quam speciose dapes et fercula calentia
apponerentur comedenda, minima buccella cibos ipsos pregustatos
vel commensalibus circumsedentibus vel alicui advene (f. 133 r^o)
hospiti jussit distribui vel pauperibus qui fratres appellantur¹ in
presentia sua prandentibus, erogari.

“Qualiter nunquam tempus consumpsit otium.

“Desidium autem et otia detestans beatus edmundus semper vel
orans vel meditans vel librorum correctionibus vel confessionibus vel

¹Id est, the “Friars”.

inter fratres collatarum questionum solutionibus vel exortarum litium decisionibus occupatus detinebatur, ne unquam inveniret eum humani generis inimicus vacantem a bonis operibus et otiosum. Quem si aliquis de immoderato labore corripere, rideret illud repetens sapientis: 'Nunc lege, nunc ora, sacra vel in arte labora: Sit episcopi hora brevis, et labor ipse levis'. Maxime tamen orationum prolixitati crebrius intendens, noctes etiam hiemales in brevissima somni degustatione pervigil in genuflexionibus, fletibus et meditationibus usque ad ultimum gallicinium expendebat. Et tunc diurnas et cotidianas preces quas consuetudinarias appellavit, ac si tunc diesceret vel mane foret, inchoavit. Nos autem torpentes et somnolenti vix potuimus ad ejus horas finales pervenire, cum jam tempus erat matutinas inchoare. Negociorum enim diurnorum occupatio quam officii pontificalis necessitas ingerebat, consuetam horam orandi prepediens consuetudinem orandi non studium alternavit: Datum enim sibi tempus in otiiis nunquam consumpsit. De silentio vero suo in ecclesia et nocturnis horis et post completorium, silentii pacem (nunquam) infregit, illud sepe recitans authenticum: 'Silentium cultor justitie':¹ Et: 'sedeat silens solitarius; levabit quoque se supra se'.² De qua consuetudine inviolabili quiddam relatu dignum huic libello duximus inserendum. Dum rome fuit quodam (f. 133 v^o) sero cum prolixius oraret, solus ad vocationem domini pape pulsatus post completorium invitatus et a suis increpatus de mora et hesitatione, accessit ad eundem. Et inter loquendum recitans illud samuelis a mortuis vocati atque provocati ait domino pape: 'O domine sancte pater, tali hora quare inquietasti me'.³ Et cum causam hujus dicti querentibus plenius exposuisset, ait papa jocose vultuque sereno: 'bene scires monachus esse'. At ipse: 'Utinam his executus (? exerutus) sollicitudinibus bonus monachus essem. O quam est (bona) monachorum pax et conditio.'

"De quadam comparatione ejus ad beatum martinum et ejus similitudinem.

"Erat autem de beato edmundo sicut de beato martino legitur: 'hic pauper et modicus, sed celo dives et magnificus: subjectus et prelatas: magnus deo, modicus sibi: officii dignitate severus: vultus hilaritate et eloquii melliflui affabilitate socialis. Semper insuper ab omni munere palantium excutiens manus, sua novit gratanter esse contentus cum usu rei familiaris sibi competente, conditione. Indefessus quoque operator omnium operum misericordie pietate

¹ Is. xxxii. 17.

² Lam. iii. 28.

³ 1 Reg. xxviii. 15.

exuberans quam erga pauperes et afflictos semper habuerat in assumpto pontificali officio nunquam defecit. Magnificarum quoque, simul cum officio, abundantiam facultatum vel reddituum, vix ad exhibitionem earum, manu auxiliatrice semper extenta ad Christi pauperes, suffecit. Non enim sustinebat ut aliquis mendicus vacuus aut desolatus a portis ejus aliquando recessisset. Sed ne quis moveatur [quis] si, salva tanti sancti reverentia, beatum edmundum sancto martino equiparaverim vel sane assimilaverim, cum in utroque (f. 134 r^o) similia virtutum insignia fallibiliter consideraverim: Martinus enim adhuc catechumenus algentem pauperem, immo in ipso paupere Christum divisa chlamide vestivit: Edmundus numerosam pauperum multitudinem quolibet anno etiam antequam beneficiaretur pro posse vestiens, multo plures fidei et doctrine vestibus adornavit. Martinus sancte trinitatis gratiam in partibus occiduus gentibus manifestavit: edmundus in partibus anglicanis doctor celeberrimus theologie doctrinam elegantissime dilucidavit et predicando longe lateque non in cassum seminavit et scripta posteris profutura reliquit. Pro martini corporis desiderata possessione, orta est sacra contentio, pro sancto corpore edmundi prout sequens sermo declarabit possidendo pia exorta est controversia. Martinus flos francorum, Edmundus gemma angligenarum chorcuscat. Martinus turonensium archipresul; Edmundus Cantuar. Archiep. refulgebat. Martinus in virtute trinitatis trium vivens mortuorum suscitator erat magnificus: edmundus adhuc vivus tres a mortuis, quod tamen in tota vita sua jussit suppressi, [a mortuis] revocavit. Quid pluribus immorer? Uni ambo regi militantes uno spiritu sunt sanctificati. Uni domino fideliter famulantes supra multa constitui feliciter promeruerunt.

“De quarundam ipsius virtutum titulis.

“Laudemus igitur dominum qui sanctum suum sic glorificavit. Gratuletur anglia que talem ac tantum celicolam generavit, et in gremio suo tam felicem alumnum educavit. Letetur et francia, que corpus tanti patroni retinere meruit intumultum. Exultent angeli et omnes celestis curie milites de tanti commilitonis associatione. Erat namque quasi sol in terra (f. 134 v^o) refulgens doctrina et quasi thus redolens fama et operatione, implens illud apostoli: ‘sic loquimini et sic facite’: et quasi alter johannes baptista in deserto angelus,¹ factus generalis [factus] predicator turbis publicis,² militibus et urbanis, religiosis et clericis, utriusque sexus fidelibus. Verba

¹ Aliter, “anglie”.

² Aliter, “publicanis”.

sancte predicationis et exhortationis cum affectu et effectu lucide, salubriter et incessanter propinavit. Sane cunctis extitit bene ac digne vivendi lumen, eximium speculum sanctitatis, justitie zelus, magisterium pietatis, forma doctrine, discipline sanctio, religionis exemplum. Habet in eo omnis sexus, etas, conditio, gradus, ordo, statusve quid eligat; et in omnes habundanter emanat luminis hujus sancta serenitas. Invenit in eo pueritia quid imitetur; speculatur robur virile quid appetat et miretur; instruitur clerus et informatur ad quid debeat anelare. Membra corporis ipsius debilitantur; robur anime suscepit incrementum. Pallescit jejunio speciosa facies, adeo quod repente totus immutatur. Aliquando etiam a potu sic abstinebat quod pili capitis sui et barba ceciderunt quia humorem nutritivum non habebant; cujus depilationis deformitas socios suos in arte medicinali tunc regentes et valde peritos non latebat. Quibus intersciscitantibus et disputantibus quæ hujus rei esset causa, argumenti scrutinio inventum est hoc ex defectu humorum nutritivorum accidisse. Corpus quoque ipsius ossibus desiccatis et medullis evacuatis, tysis que est substantialis humiditatis consumptiva fere demersit et adnichilavit.

“ Testimonium Archiepi Ebor. de virtutibus beati edmundi.

“ Inter multos qui veritatis testimonium de ejus incomparabili sanctitate perhibebant archiep̃s eboracensis scribens ita loquitur: Fuit itaque vir edmundus archiep̃s Cantuar. gloriosus, ut (f. 135 rº) firmiter credo, et ut humanum est scio, a lapsu carnis prorsus immunis. Pre omnibus, prout cognovi, fide firmus, spe robustus, caritate ferventissimus, lingua facundus, sententia copiosus, abstinentie plurimum deditus, in orationibus sedulus, creber in vigiliis, strenuus in disciplinis. Doctor egregius, predicator eximius, confessor discretus, semper ciliciatus, in lecto vix aut nunquam quietis gratia recubans, dormiens vestitus et cinctus assidue, discalceatus raro. Virgarum flagellationes quas disciplinas appellamus, qualibet nocte, nisi precipuum festum ipsas suspenderet, usque ad livorem et aliquando sanguinis effusionem suscepit, teporem disciplinantis cum parceret increpando. Hic in adversis fortissimus, in prosperis mansuetus, affabilis omnibus. Verbo pius, cum debita maturitate semper gaudens et hilaris, compatiens miseris, eleemosynarum largitor benevolus, merentium consolator, usque adeo quod tanquam alter Job vere dicere potuit: ‘ pes sum claudus, oculus cecus, pater pauperum,¹ solatium miserorum ’: cujus cum recolo inexpugnabilem in operibus fidem, precipuum in

¹ Job xxix. 15.

victu rigorem, diuturnam cum mundo et diabolo colluctationem, incunctanter et indubitanter affirmo hunc quamvis non completa in gladio passione, longum et quasi intollerabile (martyrium) traxisse martirii palmam suscepisse. Ut dixisse posset cum apostolo: 'Mihi vivere Christus, et mori lucrum'¹ est. Et quia ipsum celestis docebat unctio, et ipse qui in linguis igneis apparens, apostolos instruxit, verbis ut essent proflui et caritate fervidi, mirum in modum ejus collatio, tam pondere sententiarum quam puritate verborum elegantissima, placens erat et efficax, et nescio quid celestis gratie effectum in se confortans. Post epulas autem et somnum de consuetudine quem sedendo gustavit, aut scripturis sacris aut honestis et edificativis colloquiis intendebat, oti (f. 135 v^o)um summopere devitans, ne videntes hoc hostes deriderent sabbata illius.² Raro cenavit, et rarissime post prandium potavit: illud adimplens sapientis: 'Sobrietas est sanitas anime et corporis':³ post matutinas vero clericis et capellanis recedentibus et dormitum euntibus, ipse archiepiscopus licet distincte et articulatim omnia rite complevisset, tam tempore hiemali quam estivali, remansit in oratorio solus et reliquum noctis in meditationibus, lacrimis et orationibus expendebat. Horis itaque illis conflictum cum diabolo sepius visibilem habebat: unde quasi objurgans audiebatur. Videbat quoque aliquando diabolum inter Wrotham et Ottofordiam in specie draconis ignivomii nunc ad celum erectum, nunc (se) in terram projectum et demersum habebat."

Veriloquium ac breviliquium fratris Roberti cognomento Bacun de sanctitate beati Cant. Archiepi.

Frater Robertus cognomento bacun de ordine predicatorum regens oxonie de theologia qui beato Edmundo specialissimus fuit scolaris, auditor et socius, juratus dicit: "cum beatus edmundus in liberalibus artibus studeret parisiis, mater ejus cum lineis pannis quos ei misit, solebat cilicium mittere, deprecans eum ut eo uteretur: cujus petitionem ipse gratanter adimplevit. Cum autem oxoniam devenisset, mortua matre sua ipse uti (cepit) lorica quam ad hoc reliquerat ei mater sua, que in vita sua eadem utebatur. Uti etiam solitus fuit in adventu domini et in quadragesima quodam indumento plumbeo. Constringere etiam solebat carnem suam funiculis in locis plurimis corporis sui. Nunquam lectum, maxime lintheaminibus stratum, intravit. Sed ante lectum vestitus et cinctus jacuit. Clausis et talaribus utebatur vestimentis, quia ea conferre solebat veris viduis vel honestis puellis. Chirothecis (f. 136 r^o) et mitra non

¹ Phil. i. 21.² Lam. i. 7.³ Eccli. xxxi. 37.

utebatur. Rarissime quasi nunquam lavabatur caput ejus. Quasi nihil de carnibus vel piscibus vescebatur. In adventu domini et quadragesima solo pulmento utebatur. Species et electuaria et medicinalia non curabat; immo pro frivolis habebat. Nunquam voluit ut sibi propter se diceretur quid manducaturus esset. Immo frequenter cibum, cum coram ipso laudaretur, non gustavit, dicens: quod 'laus sibi satis illi cibus (? cibo) erat'. Aliquando etiam tantum abstinuit quod pili barbe et corone sue defluerunt. Die quo celebravit, carnes non gustavit: sic nec secunda feria, nec in septuagesima. In jejuniis, vigiliis, et orationibus ardens instabat. In ecclesia vero non sedebat: stabat vel genua aspere flectebat. Jocundus erat¹ et dulcissimus aliis, sed sibi durissimus, dicens: quod 'oliva retinet sibi radicis sui amaritudinem'; sed aliis infundit olei sui suavitatem et lumen cum refectione. Bursam vel loculum non portabat: sed cum denarios a scholaribus recepit, solebat eos in fenestra sua quasi omnibus expositos² ponere et potius jactare: et accipiens pulverem, ait: 'pulverem pulveri, cineremque cineri'; unde sepe a quibusdam furto asportabantur. Regens in artibus singulis diebus audivit missam antequam scholas intraret. Et sic assuefecit scholares suos, ut similiter secum missam suam audirent. Contigit autem quod quidam de scholaribus suis in brachio suo infirmaretur. Qui accessit ad magistrum suum edmundum, et ostendit ei morbum suum. Qui dixit hujusmodi verbum: 'Sanet te Dominus'. Ille autem in crastinum reversus, dixit se sanum esse; et sicut mihi retulit magister Edmundus, ipse morbum scholaris sui per aliquantum temporis in brachio suo portavit. Mater (f. 136 v^o) sua in morte sua commisit ei duas sorores suas cum quadam summa pecunie ut eas traderet religioni. Ipse autem super hoc sollicitus, conatus est hoc adimplere; nec potuit nisi exprimeret quid cum eis dare vellet, quod et ipse renuit. Et tandem pervenit ad Kateby: et antequam colloquium habuit cum priorissa, ipsa sibi eum ignotum proprio nomine nominavit et negotium pro quo venerat ei expressit. Et dixit ei ut eas sibi mitteret, et eas faceret moniales. Et sic factum est. Hoc mihi ipse retulit. Item quadam die (cum) regens in artibus, occupatus esset studio, oblitus dicere quandam orationem beate³ virgini et beato jôhl Evangeliste quam qualibet die dicere consueverat: nocte autem sequenti apparuit ei beatus jôhês ferulam bajulans et dixit ei: 'Extende manum tuam'. Qua extensa beatus jôhês ferula quam manu tenebat, comminatus est ei, sed vultu non torvo, ipsum percutere. Quod si fecisset, videbatur ei

¹ MS., "erit".² MS., "exposita".³ MS., "beati".

pre magnitudine comminationis qua potens erat si vellet, quod si vellet, mortuus fuisset. Dixit autem ei quod exinde illam orationem nulla die omitteret." Hoc etiam mihi retulit magister jôhês de Witz, cui magister edmundus hoc narraverat, cui et illam orationem scripsit. Incipit autem illa oratio sic: 'O intemerata,' etc. Alia. "Cum autem lectionem quandam festinam suis auditoribus de scientia disciplinali legeret et frequenter figuras in pulvere pertraheret, quadam nocte in somnis apparuit ei mater sua et dixit ei: 'Fili mi, extende manum tuam'. Et ipsa in manum quam extendit tres circulos descripsit, dicens: 'Hi tres circuli sunt tres troni trium personarum: has figuras, non alias, amodo addisce'. Et sic postquam sex annis in artibus rexerat, et mirabiliter profecerat, ad sacram scripturam audiendam se transtulit. In qua predicando, legendo, et disputando multum fructum attulit. Multi enim divites ba(f. 137 r^o)rones in medio tempore ipsum audientes, cruce signati, omnia pro Christo reliquerunt, et sese peregrinationis periculis subdiderunt; alii claustra subierunt: alii vero bonis moribus informati theologie paginis intenderunt. Quadam autem nocte in sompnis ei visum fuit quod magnus ignis in scolis suis accensus erat, et quod septem titiones vel torres de igne extraherentur. Ipso autem die sc. crastino, eodem in cathedra sedente, et docente, intravit abbas de lapidicina cisterciensis ordinis, et, completis magistri lectionibus, septem de scholaribus suis, a monitu tam magistri quam abbatis, ut credi potuit, igne caritatis accensos secum adduxit habitum suum assumpturos. Quorum unus fuit magister stephanus de leixentuna, postea abbas clarevallensis. Contigit insuper quod cum versus partes Wallie die quadam predicaret, nubes quedam aquosa nimis et imbre manifeste repleta super congregatos ad audiendum suspensa esset imbres effusura. Ipso autem et ipsis orantibus, hinc inde in pluviam resoluta est ipsis ab (ea) minime complutis. Et sic prospere in predicationem processit. Quadam etiam die visitavit quemdam scolarem infirmum, nobilem virum: quem, cum vellet ab eodem recedere, infirmus detinuit. Cujus rei causam ego ab infirmo postea quesivi. Qui mihi respondit et dixit: 'Dum magister mecum erat, videbatur mihi quod tota domus plena esset aromatibus cum predicaret'. Vix enim cum aliquo maxime infirmo loqui voluit donec predicasset. Cum servientibus suis semper pactum inivit, ut si quandoque in lapsu carnis deprehensi essent, accepta mercede pro rato ab eo recederent. Officium regendi in sacra scriptura et omnes sacros ordines invitatus et coactus suscepit (f. 137 v^o). Orare solebat ut nunquam vacaret ecclesia ad ejus spectans dona-

tionem. Antequam bibliam suam aperiret, de more osculabatur eam. Paucos libros sacre scripture quos parisiis habuit, etiam audiens sacram scripturam vendidit, et pretium pauperibus scholaribus erogavit. Ipso adhuc regente in artibus, contigit unum de pauperibus scholaribus infirmare, quem ipse portari fecit in domum suam. Et ipse per quinque fere hebdomadas qualibet pene nocte jacuit coram eo et ministravit ei in urinali suo et in aliis nature necessariis quasi vulgare mancipium; et nihilosecius, in crastinum legebat et disputabat. Frequenter autem cadebat de manu infirmi pre vanitate capitis, nec tamen licet vas fragile super aspera caderet frangebatur. Archiep. Ebor. Walterus ipse magistro edmundo carissimus, obtulit ei quia erat¹ specialis et amantissimus [obtulit ei] quod faceret ei scribi totam bibliam glossatam, quod et ipse renuit: respondens ei quod formidabat ne forte gravaret abbatias et prioratus, scriptoribus ad hoc deputatis, et maluit libris carere, quam religiosos sic inde gravari. Aliquando autem a demone vexatus adjuravit eum ut sibi diceret in quo maxime ei nocuit: qui ait: 'in recordatione effusionis sanguinis Christi'. Ipse qualibet die solebat singula membra sua a capite usque ad pedes signo crucis consignare, et in consignatione cujuscunque membri dicere: 'adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam rede(misti) mundum'. Celeberrimi igitur viri et preelecti regionis anglicane prelati, Cantuar. videlicet, Stephanus et eboracensis Walterus archiep., simul et alii viri magni, talia de viro sancto fama referente, cognoscentes, ipsum amplioribus honoribus et redditibus uberioribus certatim ditare festinarunt. De quorum receptione, causa (f. 138 r^o) et modo vobis duximus referendum, et sit unum exemplum plurimorum. Cum igitur ad ipsum nuntios suos dominus archiepiscopus destinasset, offerens ei regimen cujusdam ecclesie que circiter ducentarum marcarum summam annuarum ejus rectori persolvere consuevit, respondit magister edmundus post modicum deliberationis tempus, et dixit nuntio qui advenerat, amice, nosti qualiter ecclesia illa quam collaturus est mihi sui gratia dominus tuus, cancello, vestimentis, libris et aliis que ad rectoris pertinent exhibitionem communitur? Responsum est: 'Domine, certo, pauperrime'. At ipse super hoc certificatus nuntio respondit: 'Cras referas domino tuo: oblatum enim redditum accipio et accepto; ne forte in ipsum Romani vel alii ipsis consimiles qui nihil de ovibus Christi preter lac et lanam querunt avidas manus injiciant'. Apposito igitur eidem ecclesie, ad cancellum ampliandum, cooperiendum et decorandum et ad

¹ MS., "erit".

ornamenta et que fuerant necessaria emenda fideli ac diligente procuratore, omnes ecclesie proventus in hoc exposuit; nihil inde sibi penitus reservando. Et hoc per plures annos continuavit officium, donec omnes illius ecclesie defectus plenius supplerentur. Postea vero ne de animarum reddendis rationibus obligaretur, vel curie curis ipsum implicare oporteret, quominus scholarum studii interesset, omnia resignavit."

Nota quoddam miraculum.

Cum autem haberet beatus edmundus pontifex ciliciorum mutatoria, contingit quod uno per usum contrito et inveterato, aliud sibi supersit ejusdem vel majoris asperitatis novum ad utendum; precepitque cubiculariis duobus quos ad secretiora sua habuit fideles ac familiares ut continuo cilicium vetus quod turpe et scissum fuit, et ad nullius rei usum valens, clam com(f. 138 v^o)burerent. Qui obedientes, in loco competenti accenso igni copioso, illud ad comburendum apposuerunt. Sed flamma vorax nec unum valuit pilum consumere. Mirabantur famuli, nec ausi fuerant, ne adulatores viderentur, talia domino suo nuntiare. Impositis igitur lapidibus ponderosis cilicio quot poterat continere, illud in profundo quodam gurgite ut putrefactione consumeretur, submerserunt.

Oritur contra beatum edmundum multiformis tribulatio.

Videns autem humani generis publicus inimicus tantum virum ecclesie Dei quam plurimum profuturum, invidit, et ne pace principis gratularetur ut consuevit, multos et magnos elegit incentores discordie, per quos in corde regis et curialium odii detestabile sparsit seminarium. Monachi autem Cantuar. quibus specialius ceteris prefuit, videlicet, de gremio ecclesie sue zelum justitie habentes, sed non secundum scientiam, quasdam suas libertates ipsum, ut dicebant, conventum specialiter contingentes, quas archiepiscopales occupant, constanter reposcebant. Quas etiam cum archiepiscopus,¹ eo quod caput eorum esset et pater, vendicaret sibi pertinere, et de rei familiaris cognitione merito debere certificari; contradicebant ei monachi in faciem constanter appellantes ne in prejudicium eorum et (contra) approbatam ecclesie antike consuetudinem, aliquid novum adtemptaret. Credebant enim quam plures confidenter et indubitanter ipsas libertates sibi specialiter pertinere, super quo cartas ostendebant et privilegia. Quorum unum quod, ut asserebant ex diligentia beati thome martyr is fuerat obtentum; secus quam deceret, suspectum erat et videbatur adulteratum et idcirco aliquorum

¹ MS., "Archiepiscopo".

fratrum consilio combustum est. Unde non minimum ortum est schisma in conventu. Eo (f. 139 r^o) autem tempore otto cardinalis romane sedis legatus existens in anglia, ut tante perturbationis damnosum ac probrosum tumultum et discordiam pacificaret, cantuariam adiit; quia scandalum jam super hoc exortum per totam ventilatum regionem fetorem exhalavit. Intransque monachorum capitulum, facta diligenti inquisitione, dixit conventui: 'fratres, domini, qui monachi venerabiles hujus estis nobilissime metropolitane ecclesie, qua non major est in anglia, immo necnon ei par, infirma est pars vestra, nec vos unitatis jungit conformitas. Humiliamini sub potente manu: obediant membra capiti suo. Obedite pastori ac patri vestro sanctissimo archipresuli. Et antequam amplius scandalum oriatur, quod famam vestram indelebili nota possit obfuscare, hec contagio sepeliatur.' Cui sic peroranti pars conventus benignius adquievit. Et cum post non multos dies rediens archiepiscopus intrasset capitulum, intellexit illico quod, orto schismate, non omnes idem sentiebant. Volentibus enim aliquibus humiliari et cedere, alii credentes etiam super hoc enormem subire lesionem, reclamabant, appellantes. Pro qua discordia dispersus est grex divinitus. Et multi, ut in pace dies suos residuos ducerent, fratrum carthusiensium vel alium ordinem sibi eligentes irremeabiliter recesserunt. Porro insurrexerunt aliqui monachorum primates et eorum amici seculares improperantes archiepiscopo quod ecclesie et conventus sui non tantum esset perturbator sed manifestus impugnator nimisque videretur in ipsos protervire¹ qui eum, spretis etiam nobilissimis, contra regis et aliorum multorum petitionem, in tante dignitatis apicem de humillimo eligentes sullevarunt (f. 139 v^o).

Archiepiscopus misertus condescendit in multis voluntati conventus sui.

Archiepiscopus igitur perturbationi conventus et ecclesie condolens non mediocriter, ab alto ducens suspiria usque ad amaritudinem spiritus angebatur. Una igitur dierum ut imminenti scandalo obviaret, capitulum cum summa humilitate intravit, statera rationis et modestie motam perturbationem prudenter compescens ne beneficiorum sibi impensorum [ei] a monachis immemor videretur. Formidabat enim vehementer ne nota ingratitude colore ei posset objici qualicunque. Voluntati igitur in tantum eorum condescendit, ut omni sopita lite pax tam decenter quam gaudenter reformaretur; quam omnes et singuli monachorum benigne concesserunt, grates

¹ Proterve agere—Ducange.

super hoc deo et archipresuli referentes. Archiepiscopus itaque ut ipsius pacis formam apostolica confirmaret auctoritate et quandam aliam controversiam inter ecclesiam suam et ecclesiam cathedralem Londonie tempore pie recordationis¹ Rogeri Epi. motam; et ut quedam alia ardua negocia ecclesiam et officium suum contingentia expediendo determinari procuraret, romam se protestatus est aditurum. Qui quam tempestive potuit, dispositis necessariis, transalpinavit. Et ecce cum jam romam pervenisset, prima die quosdam de monachis cantuarie suorum causidicorum fallacibus promissis inherentes invenit, qui raptim et cum indecenti festinatione ipsum archiepiscopum prevenerunt. Ipsi igitur contra pacem memoratam, quam proposuit archiepiscopus feliciter confirmare, inopinabiliter, et non sine maxima admiratione ipsius et suorum, pertinaciter appellarunt. Et cum super hoc nimis confusus archiepiscopus asseruisset. hoc in contumeli(f. 140 r^o)am sui et sue dampnum ecclesie et scandalum redundare; animabant advocati, qui tantum munera sequuntur et retributiones, ipsos monachos ut in faciem archiepiscopi starent contradicentes. Quibus ait archiepiscopus, nimis detestans supinam monachorum simplicitatem: 'Non est pax impiis; dicit dominus'.² Quid plura? Tandem, obstinatis monachis, nec volentibus quomodolibet a conductitorum causidicorum suorum consiliis recedere, in omnes pacis perturbatores archiepiscopus sententiam tulit excommunicationis. Et extunc imposterum diatim crevit concepta indignatio inter ipsum archiepiscopum et sibi singulos adversantes.

Multiplicantur undique adversarii Archiepiscopi.

Verum preter omnes istos qui videbantur esse sue filii ecclesie, insurrexerunt in ipsum archiepiscopum graves et arduas moventes questiones ep. London. rogerus, conventus rofensis, comes harundelie Hugo, Justiciarius anglie hubertus, comes legecestr^a Simon. Quorum impetus, quos videbantur rationibus suffulcire, cum molestia et expensis non minimis sustinuit Archiep. Cum ipsis enim insurgentibus qui majores videbantur, levaverunt et minores in ipsum calcaneum. Tandem habito cum domino papa tractatu secreto super his negociis, ad iudices in angliam destinatur super his questionibus predictis, quod jus dictaret reportaturus. Postea vero convenientibus suffraganeis ex mandato regis ad excipiendas ecclesie necessitates, orta est contentio inter regem et ecclesiam que, instigante diabolo, magis ac magis augebatur. Reformande quidem paci constituti sunt dies

¹ Roger died Sept. 29, 1241.

² Is. xlviii. 22.

plurimi: sed, stimulante dissensionis auctore, post proroga(f. 140 v^o) tiones frustratorias, discordes ab invicem recesserunt. Tunc archiepiscopus securus ascendens ex adverso, opponensque se murum pro domo israel, post renovatas vexationes et multiplices injurias de consilio suffraganeorum suorum in pacis ecclesiastice perturbatores sententiam anathematis iterando, renovando et ampliando fulminavit. Porro vir Dei fundatus supra petram que Christus est et solidatus, nec blanditiis emolliri potuit nec minis terri ut a cultu justitie deviares enervatus. Otto vero legatus placere regi cupiens, postquam vidit cor ipsius regis jam penitus aversum¹ ab ipso archiepiscopo et undique sibi adversarios multiplicari, multitudini studuit complacere. Auctoritate igitur qua fungebatur, facta archiepiscopi cassavit: absolvens quos specialiter excommunicaverat, et eos quos aliquando archiepiscopus absolverat, anathematis vel suspensionis vinculis innodavit. Quid multa? Omnia ejus facta nugatoria censuit et reputavit, monachi insuper Cantuarie post obitum ejus juvantibus eos rege et legato, impetrata Rome sine difficultate et more dispendio absolutione, absolvendi destinati sunt in angliam ad priorem dunstaplie Ricardum et archidiaconum sancti Albani, Johannem: qui protinus auctoritate apostolica ipsos absolvebant. Monachi hoc non obtinuerunt beneficium sine multa pecunie effusione. Data est insuper sententia eadem auctoritate contra eum pro conventu rofensi: Comes insuper legecestr. Simon permissus est sponsam suam in pace retinere, licet ipse archiepiscopus rei veritatem domino pape super voto suo in presentia sua sollempniter facto plenius (f. 141 r^o) intimasset. In aliis quoque causis usque ad thesauri exquisiti exinanitionem miserabiliter fatigatus damnificabatur et multipliciter gravabatur.

Omnia sinistre Archiepiscopo acciderunt et male interpretati(ones)² actuum ejus.

Hanc itaque mutationem dextere Excelsi maligna interpretatione conati sunt impii obfuscare, superstitioni ascribentes quod vitam duceret altiozem; zelum justitie crudelitatem asserentes; affabilitatem suam scurrilem garrulitatem esse certius asserebant: quod ecclesie procurabat utilitates avaritie attribuebant: contemptum mundani favoris venationem vane glorie mentiebantur: curialis quoque magnificentia fingeatur elatio: quod divinitus edoctam voluntatem sequebatur in plurimis nota supercilii dicebatur. Hec rei summa. Nihil jam ab eo dici vel fieri poterat, quod non a malitia sinistre

¹ MS., "adversum".

² MS., "interpretativos".

interpretationis obfuscaretur. Etsi multa eum moverent et commovere merito deberent et offendere, super hoc precordialius conquestus est in secreto. Quando baptizabatur domini nostri regis anglie primogenitus et universorum heres, preelectus fuit ad ipsum baptizandum otto tunc legatus qui etiam ad hoc se ingessit, ordine diaconus, natione alienigena, moribus inferior, scientia theologica satis supinus; postposito archiepiscopo Cant. totius Anglie primate, quem constat fuisse presbyterum, natione indigenam, moribus, immo omni sanctitate perspicuum, scientia multiplici doctorem et lectorem celeberrimum: qui tunc profecto presens extiterat: principale autem officium legato peragente, Carleolensis infantem baptizandum immerisit. Verumtamen ipsum baptizatum permissus est confirmare. Ex quo (f. 141 v^o) igitur omnes eum inutilem censuerunt, et omnibus contemptui habitus vilis. Sed quid aliud superfuit quam ipsi omnia relinquere?

Cessio.

Videns igitur vir Dei quia cedere oportuit sese (et) absentare secundum illud poeticum: 'Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori,' quadam nocte oravit propensius ut magni consilii angelus vias suas dirigeret, cordique suo revelaret quid melius, quid decentius, quidque anime sue salubrius in hoc articulo sibi foret faciendum. Et ecce inter orandum cum vehementer formidaret recedendo recedere, revelatum est ei desuper quid agendum hoc modo voce desuper elapsa: 'Crede minoris sigilli-tui circumscriptionem et sequere illum cujus in medio martyrium figuratur'. Erat autem sigilli sui secretioris epigramma hic: 'Ut Edmundum doceat mors mea, ne timeat'. Et in medio beatus thomas martir et milites eum excerebrantes eleganter insculpti.

Consilium beati Thome.

Certificatus igitur archiepiscopus celitus quid agendum, conabatur extunc beate thome martiris sequi vestigia pedetentim. Datum est enim ei in spiritu nosse hanc fuisse beati thome predecessoris sui vocem consilii et consolationis. Et quamvis moris id habuisset ipsum martirem in pressuris crebro sollempniter et devote invocare, extunc crebrius, solemnius ac devotius venerando deprecabatur. Ut sicut et ipse erumpnas et tribulationes hujus mundi fortiter tolerando ad quietem eternam gloriose migravit, ita et ipse seculi et secularium pressuras viriliter patiando tandem ad dominum totius consolationis et quietis, eo minante, avolaret. Confortabatur igitur archiepiscopus in domino; et (f. 142 r^o) sollicitudinem precordialem vultu sereno

palliavit. O mira viri dei patientia, et per secula recitabilis! Quotienscunque cause vel causidici ipsum super memorans¹ que adversus eum finem adversum sortiebantur, junctis manibus et oculis in celum intentis, oravit alacriter dicens: 'Domine Jesu qui orans dixisti: pater, non mea sed tua voluntas fiat,² eodem precor schemate: non ut ego sed ut tu vis fiat: et sicut fuerit voluntas in celo, sic eveniat. Optineat utinam tantummodo ecclesia mea quod, jure dictante, suum esse debet; et alia licet videatur adversarii quod suum est feliciter adquirat et possideat.' Et cum audisset plures [plures] adversarios suos optinere postulata: quid mirum! Otto legatus immo alter papa eidem potenter adversabatur—in nullo mota est viri sancti constantia, ut saltem in aspera verba resolverentur labia sua; nec sunt in diversa mutati aliquatenus vultus ejus: sed sancti job formam induens, ait: 'Sicut domino placuit, sic factum est: sit nomen domini benedictum³ sic decreverunt cum deliberatione juris periti: presumendum est tot et tantos viros discretos non errasse aut decipi potuisse'.

Multiplicatis pressuris exulat⁴ Archiepiscopus.

Tandem cum tribulationes multiplicarentur, per potentiores regni quos redarguere nominatim tum propter papalem tum regalem reverentiam decens vel tutum non arbitror, cogitavit archiepiscopus illud evangelicum adimplere: 'Si persecutionem patimini in una civitate, fugite in aliam'.⁵ Et cum pastoralis sibi commisse officium libere cure non valuit cum voluit exercere, cedendum censuit discedendo, actus et (f. 142 v^o) consilium beati thome ut prelibatum est proseguendo.

Transfretat.

In orientali igitur parte Anglie qua extenditur insula dicta Thanetos, navigio clam et repente preparato, prospero cursu, in partem portus ultramarini transfretus est: se suosque, ecclesie quoque sue causam deo et gloriose virgini domine ac sponse et beato thome predecessori ac duci suo commendans familiam suam (quam) quia alieno ære non modicum obligabatur, abbreviavit. Et ut beati thome actus conformiter imitaretur et vestigia sine errore sequeretur, versus Pontiniacum gressus maturavit: ut ibidem in pace secretius commorans orationibus et contemplationi vacando, donec visitaret

¹ The text of the MS. seems defective in this place.

² Luc. xxii. 41.

³ Job i. 21.

⁴ MS., "exultat".

⁵ Matt. x. 23.

ipsum et regnum anglie oriens ex alto, et debitis quibus onerabatur alleviaretur, aliquot diebus prestolaretur.

De honore quem ei exhibuit blanchia Regina francorum.

Cum autem in franciam¹ pervenisset, archiep. apud silvanectem habuit familiare colloquium et prolixum cum domina blanchia domini regis francorum genetricem quam constat esse mulierem consilii magni et non muliebris. Que adducens filios suos secum in presentia sua, se et ipsos precibus suis commendavit, et ut benedictionem suam eis daret, postulavit. Instantissime quoque junctis manibus deprecabatur ut pro statu regni francorum et regis incolumitate, jugiter deo funderet cum devotione preces indefessas. Quod et ipse cum certa affirmatione concessit, et indubitanter adimplevit. Hinc est quod credimus, quod et credere pium arbitror ipsam suam benedictionem vitam et sanitatem regi postea gravissime infirmato et secundum multorum assertionem exanimato, [vitam et sospitatem] contulisse et postea honorem cum prosperitate quod futura successio vera(f. 143 r^o)citer comprobavit. Hoc autem memorata regina eo instantius supplicavit, quod multa sanctitatis insignia in eo audierat choruscasse, ipsumque beati thome martyris vestigia sequi non erronee pedetentim. Exposuit igitur nutui suo regnum francorum ut eidem cum honore maximo ad sumptus domini regis filii sui foret pacis et quietis refugium speciale. Quod et ipse rex et fratres sui devote precabantur; archiepiscopus vero, qui moram nectere recusavit, gratias eisdem solvit multiplicatas. Licentia igitur obtenta, et valedicto, versus pontiniacum iter maturavit. Ubi cum summo, ut decuit, honore et condigna reverentia susceptus est: assignata eidem domo quadam cum cameris honestis, et arcanis, non procul a claustro et ecclesia, quam domum vel domus locum asserebant monachi fuisse beati thome exulanti secretum [fuisse] domicilium: quod et archiepiscopus gratanter, immo gaudenter, acceptavit.

Quomodo se habuit apud Pontiniacum.

Commorans ibidem pacifice aliquot diebus orationibus, contemplationibus, confessionibus, predicationibus, et aliis piis operibus, adeo diligenter intendebat ut omnium ibidem degentium religionem auget, informaret et ad augmentum feliciter provocaret. Mirabantur utique tantam in seculari vigere religionem. Et cum nimis et plus forte solito dietam suam attenuasset in escis quadragesimalibus, licet ab aliquibus fratrum pie corriperetur, perstitit in inceptis: dicebant enim: "Pater sancte! Dicit unus doctorum nostrorum, videlicet,

¹ MS., "Infanciam".

beatus bernardus abbas clarevallensis : corpus tuum restringe, non extingue : reprime non opprime. Et usus ecclesiasticus orans nos¹ edocet : 'Rationabile fiat obsequium (f. 143 v^o) vestrum'.² Et ut illud magistrale : 'Jumento, hoc est, corpori, escam provide onus et virgam'." Dictis igitur eorum persuasibilibus acquiescens archiepiscopus rigorem abstinence in multis mitigavit : sed penitus petitionibus eorum non satisfacit. Erubuerunt igitur cucullati, suam imbecillitatem et desidiam, licet severam vitam cistercium ducerent, condemnantes.

Quomodo fraternitatem in capitulo eorum accepit.

Una igitur dierum ad petitionem abbatis et conventus, intravit archiepiscopus capitulum. Et sermonem faciens eis, omnium corda et moribus informavit, et scientia efficaciter erudit. Habuit sermonem ignitum vehementer, multa sententia impregnatum, et brevitate succincta castigatum, in latino rhetoricum, et in communi, scilicet, franco,³ tanquam gallicanum. Et post sermonem petiit et obtinuit unius monachi sortem in spiritualibus, et ut obtineret totius domus consortium speciale. Ex tunc autem factus est inter eos quasi unus monachorum ipsius cenobii, licet non cucullatus, ita ut eorum confratrem se esse confiteretur. Ipsos quoque in refectionibus quas pittantias dicimus, gratanter recreavit.

Quomodo infirmatus se contra mortem preparavit.

Cum autem apud pontiniacum parvo tempore moram continuasset, quadam infirmitate corripitur, que, licet dolorem ingereret non minimum, nunquam tamen sensum ejus vel rationis vigorem pristinum immutavit. Ut igitur puriorem aera et suo naturali similiorem hauriens respiraret, consilium suorum accepit medicorum ut a pontiniaco ad horam recederet, ut sibi restitutus sanior remearet. Et cum suorum persuasio (f. 144 r^o) nibus adquiescens, erat enim supra id quod dici potest, tractabilis, et in itineris procinctu recessurus, fratres pontiniaci ejulando et flendo dixerunt : 'Cur nos pater, deseris, aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Cur a nobis devotis et subjectis tam propere recedis? Quanto de tua venerabili presentia consolabamur, tanto de tuo recessu nunc contristamur. Ecce nobis tantummodo de tua dulcedine concessum est modicum pregustare, de qua heu! heu! non meruimus plenius satiari. O quantum formidandum est ne hanc nobis peccata nostra penam preparaverint!'

¹ MS., "non".

² Rom. xii. 1.

³ MS., "franco".

Nota quod habuit spiritum prophetie.

His igitur lacrimis et ejulatu condolens beatus archiep. consolando dixit eis: 'Nolite, fratres, de recessu meo contristari: quia in festo sancti edmundi regis et martyris per dei gratiam ad vos revertar'. Quod et ita factum est. Eadem siquidem die beati confessoris corpus pontiniacum constat esse delatum, sicut sequens sermo plenius suo loco declarabit. Cum autem memoratus sanctus crebro ab imo¹ trahens suspiria cum gemitibus, ad soysi domum, videlicet, canonicorum regularium non sine difficultate pervenisset, contra spem et iudicium physicorum, infirmitas ejus magis ac magis sensim ingravescere indies. Quadam vero die, cum in spiritu precognosceret diem sue dissolutionis imminere, eucaristiam cum debita veneratione sibi fecit deferri. Ante cujus perceptionem preposuit omnes articulos fidei. Et ex fervore fidei et devotionis loquebatur et ita se habebat in gestu, in lacrimarum effusione, ut suis et aliis astantibus et videntibus certissime videretur presentialiter in carne dominicam representari passionem. Cujus fidei fervor et incense devotionis affectus multo major fuit quam (f. 144 v^o) dici valeat nedum scribi. Inter cetera vero que proposuit, hec et his similia dixit: 'Tu es, Domine, in Quem credidi, quem dilexi, quem amavi, quem predicavi, quem docui: Et tu mihi testis es, quod non quesivi in terra nisi te'. Que verba nonnulli sapientes admirabantur. Constat autem ipsum hec verba instinctu spiritus sancti pronuntiasse: ut sic, videlicet, tanti dignitas sacramenti in cordibus fidelium solidius firmaretur. Ipse enim Altissimus qui postea sanctum suum virtutibus innumerabilibus illustravit, hec verba cum eorum omnimoda assertionem reddidit sub sigillo veritatis irrefragabilis certiora. Quapropter refloret decentius fides catholica, confunditur judeorum pertinacia, hereticorum repellitur versutia, paganorum cecitas expavescit, pusillanimis peccatorum spes respirat, ecclesia universalis honoris suscipit incrementum.

Quedam mirabilia que dixit et fecit cum jam ad ipsam mortem vergeret.

Postquam autem viatico salutari muniretur, cepit meliuscule se habere, et quasi celesti convivio saginatus ac refectus, exhilaratus est. Et quodam pulvinari suffultus ut erectius sederet, dixit quasi jocose sereno vultu circumstantibus lingua anglicana hoc eulogium proverbiale: 'Men seth Gamen gooth on Wombe: ac ich segge Gamen gooth on herte'. Quod est dictum: 'Ludus, ut dicitur, vadit in ventrem; At ego dico: nunc ludus intrat cor'. Cujus apologi hec

¹ MS., "uno".

est sententia, quod cor spirituali convivio saginatum potius generat conscientie serenitatem, securitatem et letitiam. Et revera tantam pretendebat hilaritatem et jocunditatem, quod hi qui cum (f. 145 r^o) eo fuerant, non modicum admirarentur. Cujus hilaritatis modum qui plane ac veraciter vellet depromere, quoddam celeste ac spirituale gaudium verbis appropriatis conaretur describere velut metas excederet veritatis. Jocundus enim ille fletus vel flebilis jocunditas; risus lugubris vel luctus risibilis; tristis hilaritas vel hilaris tristitia, in quasdam gratiarum actiones que humanam naturam transvolant, jamjam resolvuntur, ut videretur gaudiis paradisi citius subarrari. Et ne aliquatenus negligentie argui valeam, immensitatem pietatis ejus qua super omnes quos vidimus, affluebat, reticendo et scripturis commendare omitendo, quoddam misericordie opus huic libello dignum arbitror inserendum. Cum viderent eum ministri ejus quos omnes habuit honestos, compositos et sub arcta custodia disciplinatos, jam ad portas mortis declinare, ceperunt lacrimabiliter lamentari, dicentes: 'O deus, quid de nobis erit! Mortuo beatissimo domino nostro, quo deveniemus? Nos regio¹ longinqua detinet exules et egenos: et omni etiam genere victualium destitutos. Redditi multiplices hos clericos ditant curiales: sed nos dominus noster deserit penitus mendicantes. Heu! heu! mendicare erubescimus, fodere nescimus,² negociari non consuevimus, nec permittit penuria. Repatriantes, regi vel magistratibus pro domino nostro illis exoso, erimus onerosi. Quid nobis nisi mors restat miserabilis?' Hec cum audisset archiep. ineffabili motus est pietate. Et advocans unum eorum qui miserabilior videbatur, ait: 'Amice, scribe cuidam fideli amico meo pro te: qui nec mihi scribenti, nec tibi deerit indigenti'. Et postulans que ad scribendum sunt necessaria . . .³

Litere Archiepiscopi ultime.

"E. Dei gratia, cant. archiep., totius anglie primas, venerabili in Christo fratri, W.,⁴ eadem gratia Norwycensi ep., salutem et sinceram in domino dilectionem. Licet a quibusdam vulgariter dicatur: quod mors omnia tollat; verumptamen illam dilectionem que in radice caritatis fundata est, nec adversitas frangit, nec casus mortis disjungit: quia caritas nunquam excidit. Hujus igitur dilectionis affectione a longo tempore fraternitatis vestre fidelitatem totis viribus complectentes, ac personam nostram a vestra benignitate amplecti per

¹ MS., "regia".

² Sentence not finished.

³ Luke xvi. 3.

⁴ William de Ralegh.

experientiam scientes, gravissima infirmitate corporis afflicti ac quasi in articulo mortis positi, indefesse dilectionis vestre constantiam interpellare non cessamus, pietatis intuitu humiliter petentes et devote, quatenus anime nostre memoriam cordi vestro imprimentes, pro nobis orare dignemini ac per vestram dioecesim faciatis orari. Insuper etiam vobis supplicantes quatenus dilectissimum nostrum Robertum de essex latorem presentium, quem coram deo et hominibus credimus et experti sumus commendatione dignum in moribus, fidelitate et honesto servitio, munificentia vestra in obsequio velit retinere: ut per ipsum quem cordis nostri vere dilectioni a longo tempore meritis suis exigentibus impressimus, ad nostri memoriam vestra frequentius excitetur devotio. Ceterum, quia mortui rari et paucos invenire solent amicos, et maxime in regno anglie, testamentum nostrum a nobis ordinatum et signo nostro signatum, ac executores nostros in eodem nominatos, vestre perfecte dilectioni recommendamus. Ob amorem (f. 146 rº) ipsius qui bonorum omnium est remunerator magnificus rogantes quatenus memoratis executoribus consilium vestrum et auxilium impendatis. Datum apud Soysi xviii. Kal. Dec. Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.”

Quam certe precognovit mortem suam.

Et cum similiter quibusdam aliis simile fecisset tante humanitatis beneficium, tradidit suas singulas quas scripserat epistolas que gratia Dei omnes effectum habuerunt gratissimum. Dixerat insuper ipsis: ‘Hec mea litera et manus quam ipsi amici mei fidelissimi, quibus pro vestra commoditate scribo, cognoscunt, omni sigillo prestantior est et efficacior’. Et sic quievit multorum egenorum sollicitudo. Hec iccirco dixerim ut sciat quisque hujus lector opusculi quantus in beatissimo edmundo cant. Archiep. fervor caritatis estuabat. Penset autem lector hujus literæ quam pagine huic duxi conglutinandam, quam certus fuit memoratus sanctus pater noster edmundus quod a carnis sue tunc migraret domicilio, quia ipsum amicum suum cui scribit de testamenti sui executione fideliter ac diligenter proseguenda obnixius deprecatur.

De gestis et devotione in extrema unctione.

Succumbente igitur vigore naturali et invalescente morbi gravitate, unctionis extreme sacramentum postulabat quod ex sacra institutione beati jacobi Apostoli constat exordium et consuetudinem documento sancti Spiritus assumpsisse. Quod cum rite sacerdos officium peragendo competenter exequeretur, quis inuncti vel inungendi sancti dei lacrimas, quis gemitus, quis fremitus, scribendo aut

(f. 146 v^o) etiam enarrando plenius explicaret? Oculis namque ac manibus in celum semper intentis; corpore exhausto videbatur jam spiritus ad supera transvolare et grave reputare ei in carnis carcere amplius detineri. Ipso igitur sacramento venerabiliter ut decuit, celebrato: vir sanctus ex manu ministrantis crucem arripiens mira devotione loca clavorum sanguineo colore rubricata ori et oculis imprimens, frequenter et morose deosculabatur et lacrimis vehementer irrigavit: maxime cum vulnus lateris lanceati domini sugens et lambens hiatum vulneris, suspiriis sermonem prurumpentibus, ait: 'Haurietis aquas de fontibus salvatoris,' etc.¹ Cujus devotio et devotionis modus sensibus adstantium non minimam de novitate generaverunt, nam merito generare poterant, admirationem.

Quod spiritus prophetie in ipso erat.

Cum autem ad instantiam circumstantium omnibus monachis cant. omnem rancorem animi remisisset et sententiam relaxasset, volentibus humiliari et satisfacere, et ab omnibus ibi existentibus veniam junctis manibus quoquo modo postulasset, corpus suum domui pontiniaci delegavit. Hec autem verba, cum nec adhuc bene finierat, prior domus, Archiepo carissimus, qui tunc presens erat, ait: 'Heu! heu! siccine, sic nos penitus deseris et a nobis recedis!' At ille: 'Nequaquam; meum cor et dilectio vobiscum semper est'. Et non intellexerunt verbum: sed post obitum ejus, facta anatomia de corpore ejus, sepulta sunt ibidem cor et viscera ejus. Et tunc aperti sunt oculi eorum, et intellexerunt verbum. Hoc autem factum est quia deferendum fuit corpus usque pontiniacum quod distat a soysi ubi obiit circiter viginti leucis, id est, duabus ad minus dietis.

De Pallio et Tabula.

Sed nec sanctarum duarum sororum suarum pius frater obliviscitur (f. 147 r^o) sanctimonialium; scilicet, apud katebyam commorantium in extremis licet agens: pallium namque suum coloris cinerei, de panno videlicet, qui vulgariter dicitur 'camelot,' cum penula agnina. Et quandam tabellam argenteam in qua insculpta sunt imago beate marie filium fovantis in gremio et Christi passio et martyrium beati thome, transmisit; pro quibus usque in presentem diem apud katebyam, ubi tunc veneranter reservantur, dominus miracula eterna digna memoria operatur.

¹ Is. xii. 3.

Qualiter in sacratissimam mortem resolutus sit.

Et cum jam his laboribus vexatus fatigaretur, siluit. Sompno autem deinde ultimo exceptus, in mortis quietem sub quiete et specie dormientis resolutus et sine ullo, ut solet morituro vel morienti evenire, gutturi murmure, letali indicio vel luctamine expirans fratribus et seculo valefecit. Et sic dormiens in domino lenius obdormivit, nullius difficilis obitus mora vel agone pregravatus. Sicque qui semper pacificus exstiterat, pacifice ad pacem eternam transmigravit. Similium enim transitus facilis esse perhibetur. Sic igitur beatissimus edmundus cant. Archiep. et confessor domini gloriosus a carnis domicilio ad celi palatium, ab exilio ad patriam, a caligine mundi hujus ad polorum claritatem septimo decimo¹ kal. Decembres feliciter advolavit; undecimo vero kal. ejusdem mensis, corpus ejus in eccia beate marie apud pontiniacum humane conditionis lege sepultum est. Quo in loco memoratus sanctus se vere in Christo vivere manifeste demonstrat, et in frequentissima viventium consolatione se probat expressius gloriosum. Nam signorum frequentia que perlongum est enumerare et miraculorum numerositas nobis videntur apostolorum tempora renovare. Gaudeat igitur anglia talem ac tantum (f. 147 v^o) patronum ex sinu Abendonie originaliter produxisse. Exultet pontiniacum tanti presulis exuvias in gremio suo suscepisse. Gratuletur francia que exulanti² januas refugii patefecit. Jocundetur insuper qui aliquod³ ministerii vel societatis solatium eidem aliquando impenderunt: convertantur autem et conversi peniteant qui aliquando (aliquid) molestie, perturbationis aut detractationis eidem intulerunt et triumphantem nunc saltem honorent, qui injurias tollerantem ignoranter vel procaciter persequabantur. 'Venient quidem ad eum,' deo vindice, 'qui detrahebant eidem ut adorent vestigia pedum ejus.'⁴ Vincunt enim denique milites tui, Christe, qui pro justitie dimicant veritate, et subactis adversariis, triumpho perpetuo gloriantur.

De hiis que post mortem facta recenter fuerant.

Cum igitur prima die post dormitionem suam ille qui cancellarii fungebatur officio, literas memoratas que ultimo sigillo suo consignabantur, [consignaverat] tradidit eas in crastino mane ipsis quibus sanctus eas concesserat, amicis suis deferendas. Quibus obtentis, statim cum lacrimis et crebris singultibus famuli, valedicto clericis, qui cum corpore remanserant, recesserunt. Confractum igitur est sigillum coram omnibus convocatis, ut moris est, propter adulte-

¹ Lege "decimo sexto".² MS., "aliquam".³ MS., "exultanti".⁴ Is. lx. 14.

rantium fraudes et cavillationes, in quo ut prelibatum est, effigies predecessoris sui, beati scilicet thome insculpta fuit excerebrati. Cujus et ipse beatus edmundus sequens vestigia, consortium promeruit in celestibus. Eademque die de soysi apud triangulum pagum cum corpus deportaretur pontificalibus honorifice redimitum, seque (f. 148 r^o) batur illud agminibus ordinatis longe lateque distentis, cum maxima fidei devotione et laudum veneratione, fidelium innumerabilis multitudo. Et quanto remocius ferebatur, tanto ad instar fluvii qui ex torrentibus pluvialibus suscipit incrementum, magis ac magis crescebat multitudo numerosa subsequendum. Omnes delectantur aspectu, ad quem pedetentim consequendum [sanctum] sese comprimunt. Et jam arta via ministris vix circumstrepentibus castigantur et cohibentur, et dum alter alterum preire contendit, ruunt catervatim, et seipsos conglomerantes, impediuntur et retardantur. Beatos namque et a peccatis expiatis se reputant quotiens sanctum corpus se jactitant tetigisse. Nec immerito vel sine causa cum quam plurimi de suis angustiis levamen acceperunt et juvamen. Hinc mulieres pueros egros apportantes : hinc alii varie laborantes valide clamitant : 'O bajuli ! quid properatis ? quare non sinitis nos saltem per modicum istius sancti corporis presentia gratulari ? Etsi peccatores sumus ut tanto indigni habeamur beneficio, non qui bene sed qui male se habent medico indigere noscuntur.' Neque enim ullus indemnis sibi videbatur qui feretrum, manus, aut pedes osculo vel manu tetigisse se non arbitrabatur : si conspectu sacri corporis caruit : si aliquam reverentiam tantis exequiis non exhibuisset. Eramus autem sub numerosa multitudo clerici ac religiosi sacerdotes in divinis, videlicet, superpelliceis, albis et cappis, ordinate secundum ordinem processionis, castigati ac maturi inceden(f. 148 v^o)tes. Inter nos quoque multi fuerunt cucullati quorum habitus pro ornatu reputabatur. Ubi etiam abbas erat, qui nobis obviam venerat pontiniacensis. Qui cum vidisset populi concursum et cleri ac populi supra humanam opinionem admirabilem devotionem et reverentiam corpori exhibitam, amotis prius extraneis, in hunc modum sanctum dei quasi vivum allocutus est dicens : 'Bone pater, in eo quod es frater ecclesie pontiniacensis, teneris mihi obedire : confidenter loquor tibi : Ego abbas tuus sum : tu vero monachus meus : presum, non tamen tibi archiepiscopo sed monacho. Obedi et exaudi preces meas : Obsecro nulla facias amplius qualia fecisti signa, donec pervenias ad locum requiescionis tue, videlicet, pontiniacum.' Verum abbas vehementer formidabat propter signa aliqua jam facta et notoria, ne corpus ejusdem gloriosi confessoris violenter

ablatum raperetur vel furto subriperetur. Signavit igitur feretrum sigillo suo, presente illo et vidente qui scripsit hec, et aliis pluribus.

Quid secunda die de sacro Corpore factum sit.

Vindicabat autem iccirco specialius et confidentius sanctum Corpus abbas memoratus, quia dum archiepiscopus pontiniaci morabatur, intravit una dierum capitulum ut faceret sermonem conventui. Quo consummato devotissime petiit fraternitatis fedus et participationem sibi fieri caritative. Quod et concessum est ei. Unde abbas frequenter jocose secularibus dixit: 'Quid vobis de monachi mei exuviis?' Et ad efficaciorum rationem divertens subnexit: 'Certe non valet quis adversarius ordinationi beati thome de qua nobis dudum prophetavit, contradicendo obviare. Iste enim, iste est, quem nobis aliquando promisit. Iste solvet omnia in quibus pauperi domui pontiniaci, martyr ille debitor tene(f. 149 r^o)batur. Habetis vos anglici martyrem; nos nostrum monachum retinemus et confessorem.' Hec inter nos nocte illa cum de corporis possessione justiori contenderemus, verba recitata revolvebantur. Apposita vero diligenti custodia atque valida, dispositis excubitoribus vigili¹ . . . noctis, timentes ne quid sinistrum, peccatis nostris exigentibus, nobis de corpore accidisset, cum sollicitudine peregrimus. Mane vero secunda die cum, sacrum corpus deferentes, transitum faceremus per villam-novam-archiepiscopi, occurrit ei multitudo virorum ac mulierum letabundis acclamationibus et devotissimis vociferationibus applaudentium et feretrum mira veneratione deosculantium inter agminum compressionem detentum. Et licet hoc moleste accipere-mus, nulla tamen pronos et devotos ratione compescere, nulla interdictione potuimus repellere: quum vi et virium suarum robusta violentia corpus ad ecclesiam deportarent, illud majori altari imponentes. Irruunt alii in ecclesiam; alii propter magnum et densum populi concursum, donec corpus asportaretur, prestolantur, ut mirabile presagium glorificationis censeretur. Tandem majores de villa post diutinam expectationem ad instantiam quarundam personarum notarum cum fustibus populum abscedere compulerunt. Accepimus igitur corpus, et precedentibus multis et subsequentibus, delatum est eadem die usque ad domum [con] templariorum de Colors, per quam in recessu suo a pontiniaco cum transitum fecisset vir sanctus et domum illam vidisset, quesivit cujusnam illa domus esset. Cui responsum est: 'Templariorum'. At ille: 'In domo illa jacebo in reditu meo'. Et ita factum est. In domo enim

¹ Blank space in the MS.

superius memorata cum corpore sancto continua psalmodia pernoctavimus. Ubi cum, suborto murmure, consiliarentur inter se fratres domus illius, non minimum formi(f. 149 v^o)dabamus ne corpus a nobis auferrent violenter. Dicebant enim: quod ipse sanctus dixerat spiritu prophetico celitus eruditus quod ibidem vellet requiescere, nos tamen constanter eisdem contradicentes, propositum ipsius sancti expressum et verbis et literis determinatum ostendendo, vix spiritum improbitalis eorum compescuimus. Comminabamur etenim asserentes in spiritu amaritudinis quod si vim inferrent, dei et sancti gravamen sentirent (et) ultionem. Non enim hoc sanctus dicebat nisi de ipsius noctis quiete. Et sic dimissum est nobis licet cum magna tum difficultate.

Quid tertia die de sancto corpore factum sit.

Tertia vero, cum inde progredieremur die, sicut pridie et nudiustertius, occurrerunt nobis utriusque sexus populi innumerabiles clamantes et clamando ingeminantes: 'Ubi est sanctum Corpus? Ubi est Corpus?' Hinc psalmicines clericorum phalanges; illinc religiosorum processiones ordinate; hinc cruciferi et sacris induviis vestiti exequialiter canentes: hinc rusticole ex agris qui etiam boves in aratris conjunctos quasi stupidi reliquerant, accurrentes, innumerabilem concursum populorum quasi exercitum copiosum conflaverunt ex agris, villis, castellis et vicis congregati. Tunc duo ex nostratibus admirantibus vehementer de populi concursu insolito et de populorum turmis stupefacti, dixerunt ad invicem: 'Quid sibi vult hec novitas inaudita?' Excessit enim, ut eis videbatur, tam mensuram quam rationem. Et dixit unus alteri, quo animo deus scit: 'Videtur quod monachi pontiniaci ut sibi sanctum fingant et oblationum emolumenta recipiant, nova super terram de corpore hoc magnalia predicaverunt. Dicit enim populus clamitando, "obviam occurramus, precurramus, sequamur, videamus, tangamus et (f. 150 r^o) sanctissimum corpus omnibus quibus possumus modis veneremus" et certatim sese festinant et comprimunt. Nihil tamen de sanctitate ejus constat hominibus, videtur vel scribitur.' Respondit alter alteri colloquentium vel potius obloquentium: 'Si sanctus esset et inter sanctos authenticos computandus, non curaret in cistertium domo sepeliri et quiscere tumultus. Omnes fere sancti gloriosi in domibus jacent nigri ordinis monachorum: pauci vel nulli in cisterciensium domiciliis.' Ad quem sermonem confirmandum, domum cantuarie, sancti albani, sancti edmundi, dunelmensis, et multas alias in regno francorum quam anglorum recitando exempli

gratia dinumeravit. Et ortum est schisma et sententiarum diversitas inter eos et multos alios secundum illud ysaie: 'Deducam cecos in viam quam nesciunt, et in semitis quas ignoraverunt ambulare eos faciam'. Sed post signorum claritatem infra paucos dies, illud quod sequitur propheticum choruscabat manifestum: 'Ponam tenebras coram eis in lucem et prava in directa'.¹

Quomodo aliqui de nostris clericis et laicis adhuc de sanctitate ejusdem sancti non crediderunt.

Affuerunt autem aliqui aliorum quorundam clericorum nostrorum et laicorum, videlicet, ministrorum qui, in hoc veri Didimi, sanctitatis ejus immensitatem, quamvis in vita ipsius sancti frequenter vidissent, non crediderunt. Nec credentes asserere voluerunt quod tam specialis altissimi fuisset amicus: qualiter sequentia dei testimonia manifeste comprobarunt, inexcusabiliter redarguendi ad credendum tardicordes. Quibus addendi sunt etiam quidam cucullati conventus Cantuar. Absit tamen quod aliquorum reatus in universitatem conventualem valeat redundare: prout satis civiliter edocet poeta dicens: 'Parcite paucorum diff. (f. 150 v^o) fundere crimen in omnes': Sicuti non decet in totam sancti familiam quorundam obloquentium incredulitatem retorqueri. Porro² autem patet quod homini(bus) quos secula perturiunt (?) presentia, igniculus caritatis refrigescit, incineratur. Et quid mirum! De discipulis quidem salvatoris, qui de schola ipsiusmet, magistrorum optimi, fidei exhausserant rudimenta, scriptum reperitur: 'Apparuit eis Jesus et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis quia his qui viderant eum surrexisse a mortuis, non crediderunt'.³ Quanto fortius presentes quos lutea secula perturiunt (?) ingravatos, obcecantur indurati! Nos quidem hubonibus et vespertilionibus assimilamur quibus diurnum lumen non conceditur intueri. O quam difficile est his temporibus hypocritam a sancto discernere! verum dei amatorem a dissimulatore sequestrare! Hec iccirco dixerim quia multipliciter etiam a viris discretis in hoc mundo judicabatur beatus dei confessor edmundus: sed 'homo videt faciem: deus autem cor intuetur'.⁴ Sanum igitur et salubre arbitror esse consilium ut quem deus clarificat et clarificando manifestat, homo deinceps veneretur a deo correptus et eruditus.

De venerabili sepultura ejusdem.

Elapsis igitur post hec quatuor diebus quibus tanta hominum frequentia congregata est, quantam solet publice negociationis indi-

¹ Is. xlii. 16.

³ Marc. xvi. 14.

² MS., "per".

⁴ 1 Reg. xvi. 7.

gentia ad nundinas convocare; die sancti clementis, videlicet undecimo¹ Kal. decembres, sepultum est corpus beati ac gloriosi patris nostri edmundi cantuar. Archiep. et Confessoris in ecclesia beate dei genetricis et virginis marie in domo ordinis cisterciensis pontiniaci cum assistantium prefatorum monachorum, clericorum et nobilium numerosa multitudo secularium (f. 151 r°) laicorum. Cujus exequiis assistebant viri graves et authentici, videlicet, pontifices, abbates, priores, monachi et magnates cum classicorum, luminum, vestimentorum et multiplicis obsequii divini devotissima celebritate. In quo loco et in aliis ubi ejusdem sancti agitur in honore Dei dulcis memoria ad fidei Christiane robur et confirmationem, miracula eterna recordatione condigna et nostris tempori(bus) nec visa nec audita, eminus ac manifeste celebrantur.

De miraculis apud Kateby celebratis.

Et ut latius beati edmundi beneficia odore suavissimo multarum regionum repleant latitudines, in anglia quoque que tanti pontificis meruit esse genetrix et nutrix; videlicet, apud Kateby, domum sanctimonialium, miracula choruscant inaudita. Ibi nempe due sorores ejusdem pontificis edmundi, eximie religionis mulieres, velum susceperant perpetui celibatus. Ipsis profecto tum propter sanguinis propinquitatem, tum propter sanctam earum innocentiam, quas tanquam sorores non degeneres precordialiter diligebat, in signum caritatis pallium suum et quandam tabellam pictam vel insculptam, ubi passio Christi figurabatur, ab hoc mundo migraturus, delegavit. Que hucusque in presentem diem, in sepe dicti Sancti memoriam in ecclesia de kateby reservantur. Et domicilium illud quod exile fuerat ditarunt et venustarunt, multiplicatis miraculis et beneficiis cismarinis et partibus transmarinis ad honorem et gloriam regnorum anglie et francie, largiente eo qui vivit et regnat per omnia secula.

Qualiter per invidiam dilata fuit ejusdem Canonizatio.

Gloriose recordationis beatum edmundum proposuerunt maxime auctoritatis viri (f. 151 v°), videlicet, primus dominus papa et alii graves dignitate et sanctitate prelati; procuraverantque quod in concilio lugdunensi solempniter valde canonizaretur: sed invidorum, quos non est tutum nominare, morsibus, ipsius honor impediabatur terrenus. Qui ipsum, etiam post mortem, sicut Judei Christum, oblocutionibus dilacerare et virtutibus quas mundus vidit, detrudere conabantur. Qui tamen honor eidem collatus est, tempore celitus opportuno. Quod sic disposuit [quod], qui attingens a fine usque

¹ Lege "nono".

ad finem fortiter disponit omnia suaviter,¹ ut civitas in monte posita nullatenus abscondi poterat. Et qui ipsum inexorabili odio prosequerantur, ex quo signis perpenderent irrefragabilibus quod dei amicus manifeste factus est: eundem sanctum propensiori venerationis officio prosequerantur de ignorantia propria fructuose postea penitentes.

Incipit authenticum canonisationis beati edmundi confessoris.

The bull of Innocent IV., on the canonisation of St. Edmund, which follows next (f. 151 v^o-154 r^o), will be found (copied from this same manuscript) in appendix xxvii.

(f. 154 r^o.) *Evidens testimonium quale inventum est corpus ejus quum translatum est.*

“R(icardus),² Dei gratia, cicestrensis epus, venerabili amico suo R. Abbati de Begeham, salutem. Ut de elevatione et statu sanctissimi corporis beati edmundi (f. 154 v^o) efficiamini certiores, noveritis quod in crastino Sancte trinitatis proxime preterito, anno, videlicet, gratie MCCXL. septimo, mense Junio, XV. Kal. Junii,³ cum monumentum sancti patris nostri Edmundi, primo, paucis in sero presentibus, fuisset apertum, statum corporis ejusdem suavissimo redolentis odore, plenum et integrum invenimus: caput quidem cum capillis et facie prefulgida, corpusque cum membris aliis plenarium, integrum et supra balsamum et omnia thymiamata celitus odoriferum: solo tamen naso per lamine contingentis et comprimentis pondera injuriam passo modice lesionis. Totumque corpus, maximeque facies quasi oleo perfusum repertum est et illesum. Et ex hoc merito quia per integritatem virginalem quam annulo suo beate virginis subarrando ymagini spocondit et conservavit, interpretamur. Per oleum vero vel olei similitudinem significare competenter possumus, qua prefulsit, gratiam tam morum quam doctrine atque excellentis scientie. Quia ‘diffusa fuit gratia in labiis suis’⁴ legendo, disputando, predicando vel docendo: ‘propterea unxit eum dominus oleo letitie pre omnibus’⁵ lectoribus et doctoribus sui temporis. Reperimus quedam alia virtutum insignia, que nacta temporis opportunitate, vobis secretius et plenius reformemus (? referemus), que in scriptis redigi prolixitas eventuum non permittit. De memoratis autem non dubitet discretio vestra; quia quod scimus loquimur, et quod videmus testamur, et de scribendis indubitanter certificamur. Manibus quoque propriis

¹ Sap. viii. 1.

² MS., “E.”.

³ Sic in MS.

⁴ Ps. xlv. 3.

⁵ Ps. xlv. 8.

contractavimus ipsius sanctum corpus, caputque cum capillis firmis et illesis pectine diligenter ac reverenter nec non et gaudenter pectinebamus et composuimus. Dominica vero proxima ante festum beati Barnabe,¹ Domino rege francorum et (f. 155 r^o) matre et fratribus suis comitibus et multis magnis presentibus, preterea duobus cardinalibus, albanensi, videlicet, et legato francie, cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, et aliis prelatibus venerabilibus quam plurimis assistentibus, quorum numerum scire non possumus, apud pontiniacum, voluntate divina, cum exultatione et gloria ineffabili et dei laudibus magnificis, celebrata est translatio beatissimi patris nostri cantuariensis archiepiscopi et confessoris; nec non ad augmentum honoris nostre nationis non modicum. Valeat sanctitas vestra cum sospitate desiderata per tempora diuturna."

Sermo quem beatus edmundus in capitulo pontiniacensi fecit conventui: post quem societatem domus petiit et optinuit, et specialitatem beneficii spiritualis quantum contigit monachum unum.

"Qui est ex deo verba dei audit. Sed omnes sunt ex deo, ergo audiunt. Quod non est verum. Sciendum est quod aliquid est ex aliquo tanquam a causa efficiente, et sic omnia sunt a deo. Aliquid est ab alio tanquam a causa materiali, sic nihil est a deo, quia deus non est materia alicujus. Item aliquid est ab aliquo, tanquam a causa formali, ut forma cere a sigillo: sic tantum boni sunt a deo, quia informat eos gratia et virtutibus. Isti audiunt verba dei, scilicet, septem verba in cruce, tanquam sonum septem cordarum in cithara david magni. In cithara extenduntur corde a ligno in lignum: et dominus extensus fuit in duobus lignis ipsius crucis: scilicet, in stipite et transtro. Septem sunt dona spiritus sancti: scilicet, donum timoris, pietatis, scientie, fortitudinis, consilii, intellectus et sapientie. Prima corda dedit melodiam, scilicet, 'Eloi Sabazatani':² hoc est: 'Quare me (f. 155 v^o) deus dereliquisti?' Iste sonus incutit nobis timorem: quia si dominus vidit³ se fuisse a patre derelictum, multo fortius formidare possumus et debemus ne derelinquamur: hanc cordam ruperunt Judei, sublato timore, dicentes: non habemus regem nisi Cesarem:⁴ quasi dicerent: 'neminem timemus nos imperiales'. Secunda corda pietatis: scilicet, 'pater ignosce eis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt':⁵ hanc cordam ruperunt judei dicentes: 'Crucifige eum':⁶ hic fuit crude-

¹ MS., "Bernarde".

² Marc. xv. 34.

³ MS., "vivit".

⁴ John xix. 15.

⁵ Luc. xxiii. 34.

⁶ Luc. xxiii. 21.

litas. Tertia corda dedit melodiam scientie: scilicet: 'ecce filius tuus'.¹ Dominus scivit joannem virginem: ideo virginem virgini commendavit. Hanc cordam ruperunt judei dicentes: 'Quis est qui te percussit?'² quasi dicerent: 'nescit'. Quarta corda dedit melodiam fortitudinis: scilicet, 'hodie eris mecum in paradiso':³ hic fuit fortitudo et promissio confidentie. Unde abacuc: 'Ibi abscondita est fortitudo ejus'.⁴ Hanc cordam ruperunt judei dicentes: 'Seipsum non potest salvum facere'⁵ quasi dicerent: 'impotens est!'. Quinta corda dedit melodiam consilii: scilicet, 'Sitio'.⁶ Consilium enim succurrit in adversis: et dominus voluit ibi succurrere: sed ipsi obtulerunt ei acetum, vinum mirratum vel venenum, quod est potus corruptus et letifer. Que omnia insipida sunt. Insiapiens non sapit, sicut nec insulsus. Hanc cordam ruperunt judei, scilicet, gens sine consilio: quia et ideo perdiderunt locum et gentem quia crucifixerunt jesum: scilicet per titum et vespasianum. Sexta corda dedit melodiam intellectus, cum dixit: 'consummatum est':⁷ quasi diceret: 'Scriptura consummata est, et aperta est intelligentia sacre scripture'. Hanc cordam ruperunt judei messiam expectando, et heretici male exponendo, et Christiani male vivendo. Septima corda dedit melodiam sapientie: scilicet, 'pater, in manus tuas (f. 156 r^o) commendo spiritum meum'.⁸ Sapientia dicitur a sapore: lingua congruit in duo opera nature: gustum, scilicet, et loquelam. Sed et hanc ruperunt judei nescientes discernere deum ab homine: ignorantes et ignorare volentes verbum patris, hoc est, filium, per saporem. Omnia confundentes tanquam insipientes. Summus vero sapor et summa delectatio est esse cum deo. 'Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est'.⁹ Insuper hanc rumpendo insipientes desipiebant,¹⁰ dicentes: 'Mori debet, Quia filium dei se fecit'.¹¹ Imponentes ei quod se fecerit quod non erat. Utinam superbi attenderent melodiam timoris, quia timor humiliat hominem et mentem ad se revocat. Utinam invidi attenderent melodiam pietatis, pietas gaudet de alieno bono, invidus dolet. Utinam iracundi attenderent melodiam scientie, quia ira impedit animum ne possit cernere verum: et scientia illuminat, datque tempus et locum deliberationis et que agenda sunt ostendit. Utinam accidiosus attenderent melodiam fortitudinis: Accidia est tedium vite spiritualis quum tedet hominem legere, orare, immo et vivere, pro-

¹ John xix. 26.² Matt. xxvi. 68.³ Luc. xxiii. 43.⁴ Hab. iii. 4.⁵ Matt. xxvii. 42,⁶ John xix. 28.⁷ John xix. 30.⁸ Luc. xxiii. 46.⁹ Ps. xxxiii. 9.¹⁰ MS., "decipiebant".¹¹ John xix. 7.

veniens ex pusillanimitate cordis. Utinam avari attenderent melodiam consilii : quia supremum consilium est, si quis misericordiam consequi voluerit, illam indigentibus impendat. Avari autem opera misericordie non impendunt ; ut est pascere esurientem etc. Utinam gulosi audirent sonum intellectus : quia 'vinum et ebrietas auferunt cor,'¹ id est, intellectum : 'sobrietas autem sanitas anime et corporis'.² Utinam luxuriosi audirent sonum sapientie et sentirent saporem et dulcedinem sive dilectionem in spiritualibus et non fetorem in stercoreibus. Unde Joel : 'Computruerunt jumenta in stercore suo'.³ Saul (f. 156 v^o) audiebat citharam david et levius se habebat. Utinam nos audiamus citharam istam ut possimus alleviari ab onere dolenti et dolore oneroso peccatorum, et ex deo existentes verba dei audiamus, ut cum eo conregnemus : Qui vivis et regnas D(eus). . . ." The manuscript concludes with the prayers to St. John, and to our Lady and St. John, mentioned in ch. vi. p. 83.

"Sancte et beate Joannes apostole et evangelista dei, qui virgo electus es a domino atque inter ceteros magis dilectus, impetra mihi donum a domino quod tibi concessum est, scilicet, ut habeam finem bonum et preclarum, et finiam vitam meam in fide recta, in spe firma, in caritate perfecta, in intellectu sano et cum sensu integro et vera confessione. Salutis communitus viatico et extrema unctione delibutus ; In sitiendi desiderio videndi desiderabilem faciem domini nostri Jesu Christi."

Oratio beati edmundi confessoris quam quotidie dicere consueverat nec frustra. Quam cum una dierum negotiis mundanis occupatus non dixisset, immo oblivioni tradidisset, nocte sequenti in visione soporis vidit joannem beatum evangelistam ipsum de oblivione redarguentem ; et in manu ejus, more magistri scholarum, vultu non severo, ferulam, ut ipsum proinde puniret, bajulantem ; et palmam ferendam ostendere precipientem : et, si iterum oblivisceretur officii impendendi, virgis fore verberandum comminantem. Item, quandam aliam orationem solebat dicere genibus flexis ante mariolam⁴ de beata virgine quam sponsam suam dicebat : scilicet, 'O intemerata,' etc., adjuncta hac horis de beata virgine.

"Sancti Nominis tui, domine, timorem pariter et amorem fac nos habere perpetuum ; quia nunquam tua gubernatione destituis quos in soliditate tue dilectionis instituis. Per. . . .

(f. 157 r^o.) "O beata et Intemerata et in eternum benedicta,

¹ Os. iv. 11.

² Joel i. 17.

³ Eccli. xxxi. 37.

⁴ An image of our Lady.

singularis atque incomparabilis virgo dei genetrix maria,¹ gratissimum dei templum, spiritus sancti sacrarium, janua regni celorum, per quam post deum² vivit orbis terrarum, inclina aures tue pietatis indignis supplicationibus meis, et esto mihi³ peccatori pia et in omnibus auxiliatrix. O Joannes, beatissime Christi familiaris amice qui ab eodem domino nostro Jesu Christo virgo es electus atque inter ceteros magis dilectus, mysteriis celestibus ultra omnes imbutus, apostolus ejus et evangelista factus es preclarissimus, te etiam invoco cum maria matre ejusdem salvatoris ut mihi opem tuam cum ipsa conferre digneris. O due⁴ gemme celestes maria simul et johannes : O duo luminaria divinitus ante deum lucentia : vestris radiis effugate scelerum meorum nubila.⁵ Vos estis illi duo in quibus deus pater per unicum filium suum, specialiter edificavit sibi domum, et in quibus filius dei patris unigenitus ob sincerissime virginitatis sue⁶ meritum, dilectionis sue confirmavit privilegium, in cruce pendens uni vestrum ita dicens : 'Mulier, ecce filius tuus':⁷ deinde dicit ad alium : 'ecce, mater tua'. In hujus sacratissimi amoris dulcedine qua ita tunc ore dominico, velut mater et filius invicem conjuncti estis, vobis duobus, ego peccator hodie corpus et animam meam et vitam meam commendo, ut omnibus horis atque momentis intus et exterius firmi custodes⁸ et pii apud deum intercessores mihi existere dignemini. Credo enim firmiter, fateor indubitanter quia velle vestrum velle dei est, et nolle vestrum nolle dei est : unde quidquid ab eo petitis, sine mora obtinetis. Per hanc igitur tam potentissimam vestre dignitatis virtutem, poscite mihi⁹ corporis et anime salutem. Agite, queso, agite vestris glori(f. 157 v^o)osis precibus, ut cor meum inviseret et inhabitare dignetur spiritus almus qui me a cunctis vitiorum sordibus expurget, virtutibus sacris exornet,¹⁰ et in

¹ MS., All Souls, Oxon., No. 22, adds "virgo perpetua".

² MS. Bodl. 57 and A. S. insert "totus"; and B. after "terrarum" adds "per intercessionem beatissime anne matris tue".

³ A. S. adds "in omnibus angustiis et necessitatibus meis," and omits "peccatori" and "et in omnibus".

⁴ B., "avete".

⁵ A. S. has "nebulam," and adds "cordis cecitatem, carnalem affectionem et omnem immundiciam".

⁶ Lege "vestre," as in A. S.

⁷ John xix. 26.

⁸ A. S. adds "assidui protectores".

⁹ A. S. has "et omnibus pro quibus deprecor que nobis nostis utilia".

¹⁰ A. S. continues : "Ab omni malo custodiat; fide recta, spe certa et in vera dilectione," etc.

dilectione dei et proximi ¹ perfecte stare et perseverare faciat ; et post vite hujus cursum ad gaudia ducat electorum suorum benignissimus paracletus gratiarum largitor optimus qui patri et filio consubstantialis et coeternus cum eis et in eis vivit et regnat omnipotens deus in sanctis suis. Amen."

¹ A. S. adds "usque ad mortem".

FINIS.

LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY

FROM A MS. IN ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, C. 12, 9.

(This MS. once belonged to William Crashaw, brother of the poet, and was presented to the College by the Earl of Southampton in 1635.)

This Life must be the one written by Robert Bacon. It is certainly a different composition from any of those preserved in the British Museum or elsewhere. It is evidently a transcript, as appears from a singular blunder of the scribe, who has misplaced one chapter ; for the chapter "De muliere cujus manus in prædicatione beati Eadmundi arefacta est, et per ipsum sanata," which properly belongs to the period of St. Edmund's preaching the crusade, has been inserted in the middle of the narrative which relates Edmund's interview with his dying mother. The scribe having finished this chapter had begun the next, of which he had written the first words when he discovered his blunder. These words are erased, and he resumes the narrative of Mabel's address to her son. This MS. is the only copy of this Life known to exist, except the first folio which is found as a fragment at the end of the Lambeth Codex 135. It is printed in this work by the kind permission of the authorities of St. John's College, Cambridge.

For the reasons which have led us to attribute the Life to Robert Bacon see ch. i. p. 5. Notwithstanding the interesting details which it furnishes of St. Edmund's youth, it has been quite ignored by modern writers.

(f. i. rº col. 1.) *Incipit vita Sancti Eadmundi Cantuar. Aepiscopi.*

Decus et gloria sue gentis beatus archiepiscopus cantuariensis Eadmundus heres dignissimus sancti Thome non casu fortuito beatus et mundus aut voluntaria devocione duntaxat dicendus est, sed ex causa secundum proprii nominis rationem. Quod enim mundus, hoc planum est : quod beatus hoc docet interpretacio prime partis. Ead siquidem interpretatur beatus : nec tam ex vocibus beatus et mundus ostenditur quam ex rebus. Beatus in patria, mundus in via : seque

nostris ostentat tanto preconii digniorem, quo minus vincibilem et nuper ad gentes, ut creditur, seducendas solutum a vinculis hostem antiquum laboriosus expugnavit. Illius quidem beatitudo adprobata innumeris coruscat miraculis. Vocamus enim miraculum quod contra naturam salubriter interpretatur. Et ideo leges nature divinitus institutas solis dissolvere licet beatis habentibus voluntatem divinam, cujus arbitrio aut ille mutantur aut immutabiles perseverant. Unde miracula nobis sanctorum beatitudinem manifestant. Non enim faciliter, ad nature mutandum ordinem solitum aurem deus inclinat orationibus peccatorum.

Quod nullum vestigium corrupcionis humane apparuit in beato eadmundo quum natus fuit.

At quia mundicie puritatem vir iste beatitudinis optato premisit obtentu, gestorum ipsius historiam referre volentes ordine naturali, beatitudinis argumenta ponemus. Sed de mundicia praemittemus quam dominus in ipsius spiritu mansueto colendam et florida carne gestandam, mirifice presignavit. Nam ipsum, statim ut natus est, suscipientes infantem mirate sunt obstetrices quia nullum in eo corrupcionis humane vestigium apparuit. Earum videlicet crebro (col. 2) relatu dicitur postmodum constitisse quod ita mundus exierit ut nullam omnino pannus albissimus ex illius contactu maculam contraxisset. At ille se mutuo respicientes mirando vix hoc attonite credebant quod videbant. Sed diligentius intuentes viderunt mortuo similem, aurasque vitales nullis moventem alitibus. Sepelire volebant, sed hoc prohibuit prudens mater, fiduciam habens in deo. Multis temporibus primordialis ignotam hujus oraculi veritatem processus vite continuus non ex solo purissime virginitatis candore, verum ex omnium abdicatione perfecta rerum carnalium comprobavit. Cujus videlicet abdicationis non prius historia scripture mandata quam testimoniis fide dignis probata, tot memorat austeritates et tantas etiam fortibus admirandas,¹ unde et materia stilum vincat et veritas fidem transcendat, et diligentia forte lectoris turbam fastidiat exemplis.

Quod beatus eadmundus in abbendonia natus est et de conversatione patris et matris ejus.

Hoc abendonia gloriatur alumpno, locus egregius supra tamisiam flumen piscosus: sancte marie servicio dedicatus; claustralium hospitalitate famosus: regiis sumptibus [de] stabilitus: solum universitati vicinus: pratis rorifluus: silvis frondosus: ortis irriguus: agris ferax: gramine viridis: flore formosus: et aere

¹ MS., "admirandam".

temperatus. Hic puer piis parentibus et devotis, patre videlicet Reginaldo, matreque Mabilia procreatus ab exemplaribus gestis amborum prima exordia contraxit eximie sanctitatis. Vir enim bonus et sapiens pater ejus eventus hominum dubios et mundi fallaces considerans voluptates ac desiderio boni successus incommutabilis spemque salutis preferens sensui voluptatis provide conjugis et discrete (v^o col. 1) consensum petens et optinens, emissionem premissa voti solempniter publicati, de matrimonii fecunditate transivit ad continencie puritatem. Igitur habitu religionis assumpto, rejiciens consuetum ac delectabilem modum vivendi, tam subito rebus humanis exemptus est ut vix eum eadmundus adhuc cum unico fratre suo Roberto puerulus, cum duabus sororibus affectione materna postmodum educatus, vidisse meminerit. O nimis felices infantuli quibus non solum ad transitoriam vitam alendis sed ad sublimia regis eterni palacia producendis divina clemencia tam pie quam provide tam religiose nutricis custodiam deputavit. Cujus devotio mentem in celo, deum pre oculis, sanctos et sanctas in reverencia semper habebat: linguam in precibus, castitatem in voto: carnem sub pedibus, mundum a tergo: delicias in contemptu. Porro ne scandalis occasionem præstaret, in vestibus aut lascivis aut nimis humilibus incedendo coram hominibus qui secundum faciem judicant, togam ferebat sub clamide, tunicamque sub toga nec pauperem nec lascivam, sed proprie mediocritatis decenter ornatui competentem. Ut autem multo magis deo placeret, qui judicat de secretis, gravem et frigidam lorica ferebat sub tunica; durum et triste cilicium sub lorica. O recte mulier forcior expugnatore castrorum et urbium quæ regnum celeste desiderans toto corde sic omnibus eo tendentem prepedientibus irascebatur terrenis, ut noxiam et suspectam in semet persequens terre naturam, bello reciproco, victrix et victa, se sub se¹ penitus humiliare stude(col. 2)bat; et ut se supra se sublimiaret, [et], armis in hujuscemodi spirituali conflictu materialibus utebatur contra nequicias spirituales: quod cum impertinens videretur, non erat.

Quod mater sancti eadmundi docuit ipsum et Robertum fratrem suum a peccatis abstinere et jejunare.

At cum benignitas ambulare volentis in latitudine caritatis sollicita semper existat de proximis quos nec minus salvare desiderat quam salvari, propriis pedibus caput serpentis conterere non suffecit eidem, sed pueros supradictos quos mundo pepererat, celo quoque

¹ The MS. has "spe," but the Lambeth fragment has "sub se".

parere cupiens, artem et modum edocuit ejusdem serpentis fallacias refellendi. Tabescens siquidem intuendo quantis erroribus mundus agatur, anxio pectore formidabat ne libero temptationum procellis arbitrio vacillante, postquam attingerent discretionis etatem, per lubrica viciorum abrupta precipites voluptatem sectando, deficerent a salute. Inde sollicita, secundum quod dicit ecclesiasticus: 'Cervicem infantis curva dum infans est':¹ mortis eterne periculis eruendis, proposito palam exemplo proprie sanctitatis, ad consimilia sponte gerenda volens subtiliter incurvare, captata benevolentia pusillis interdum munusculis et impetrata, simplices animos pio dolo fallebat ut a fallacia premuniret. Attendens enim quod pueri de sui natura sint creduli, votis ferventes, et excellenciam appetentes, pollicens credulis quod ferventer optabant, quemadmodum volare, natare, sibi contraria debellare, si facerent hoc et illud, sic eos ad quidlibet inducebat: et deus matris iudicium exquirendo firmavit in filios. Ita profecto (f. ii. rº col. 1) per allegorice subtilitatis amfractus aggrediens voluntates eorum suis consiliis inclinandas per res sensibiles intellectualem doctrinam et hujusmodi felicitatis excessus beatitudinem innuebat; cujus intuitu promerende convertibilibus, delicatis atque frequentibus cibus egentes, pollicitis istis, induxit ut tenui panis et aque semel in sabbato refectione contenti, jejunio carnem domarent et tempora discretionis discretis operibus prevenirent. O nimium quidem felices quos ab infancia christum sequentes et abstinenciam prescribentes et quamlibet passionem carnalem per pacienciam spiritualem sustinere gaudentes. Veniens postmodum malignus temptator, materia temptationis adempta precipue consistentis circa frequenciam delectacionis in gustu, jam non invenit in quo temptet. Interim mater illorum gaudio inestimabili dilatatur, dum primulum gramen virtutum considerat quod in eis plantarat tam firmiter radicatum. Neve sublimia sic aggressam accidie torpor avertat ab operis complemento plantulas sanctitatis novellas jugiter visitans consolacionum sanctarum irriguo rore perfundit. Quibus cum radio serenitatis divine misericorditer dignans adesse sine quo penitus neque qui plantat est aliquid (neque) qui rigat, sanctus dat spiritus incrementum. Ceterum quum sepe defectus sciencie mentes humanas precipitat in errorem, ut domino se totos offerre desiderancium voluntati devote sciencia responderet, quos desiderio vite celestis succenderat, litterarum etiam studiis excolendos decrevit.

¹ Eccli. xxx. 12.

Quomodo Christus visibiliter apparuit beato eadmundo in specie cujusdam scholaris.

Igitur traditi discipline dum prima capescerent (col. 2) elementa; permissis semel scholaribus ire lusum, eadmundus dum aliis [dum] procul divulsus quasi philosophans solus iret, dominus subito Jesus Christus sub specie scholaris ei dignatus est apparere. Hic puerum quasi ludens vocavit proprio nomine. Quem dum puer mirando respiceret, simulque volente querere, 'tu quis es?' ille respondens ad tacitam questionem, 'quid me sic respicis,' inquit, 'eadmunde? Numquid non nosti me cui semper in scholis assistere consuevisti.' Cum vero puer attonitus responsionem non daret, ei se dominus manifestans et esse Christum se confitens: 'Ego sum,' inquit, 'propter quem tociens, eadmunde, jejunans affligeris et ex cujus benevolencia remunerationem expectas. Nam si finaliter perseveres quicquid optabile tibi mater promisit, magis in centuplo consequeris.' Hiis dominus blande promissis, disparuit, odorem relinquens gratissimum; totosque sensus replentem et ineffabili novitate leticie divinam ostendens presenciam affuisse. Postmodum pueris ad scolam reversis, dedit se placidum scripturas explanans, sensus aperiens, intellectum dans parvulis.

Quod mabilia quando misit filios suos parisiis dedit eis paucos denarios et duo cilicia.

Cumque labores apprehendencium disciplinam divina gratia prosperare minime cessaret, et in grammatica jam suos magistros excellere videntur, mittendis parisiis ubi magis florere sciencia dicebatur tam paucos denarios mater assignavit ut moram diutinam contracturis ad commodam sustentacionem non posse sufficere viderentur. Cernentes igitur se mutuo lingua silenti, corde sollicito, vultuque demisso, signa tristicie pretendentes, quibus ad externa parabatur recessus et commode sustentacionis ibidem materia non dabatur, cepit his vocibus securitatis maternelis constan(vº col. 1)cia confortare: "Quid mea sedulitas in vobis profecit, O juvenes, pusillanimitatis jam vestre me miseret; non ponentes in deo fiduciam sicut deberet. Quorum sic animos ubi nullus est timor considero trepidantes. En ego pauper sum femina sicut vos scitis: non suppetit mihi facultas unde magnifice vos sustentem, sed pocius vestrum jactetis in domino cogitatum et ipse vos nutriet. Ipsum habeatis pre oculis incessanter, et ipse diriget gressus vestros.¹ Viriliter autem debetis ad beneficia suspirare divina, ne delectatio lenitatis ex tactu mollium corporum effeminare vos possit, libidinem carnis excitans, que contra spiritum concupiscit.

¹ MS., "suos".

Ad cuius supplicium vobis paravi duo cilicia quibus, si placet, tactum domabitis : sicut et gustum jejunió domuistis. Ut illis utamini super nudo bis in ebdomada vobis injungo fideliter et promitto fidenter quod si feceritis, nunquam deus vos victualium indigere permittet." Cum itaque sic eos preceptis moralibus caritatis matérne sinceritas informasset, profectis parisiis duo transmisit paria lineorum et duo cilicia ; rogans ut hiisdem intuitu dilectionis matérne ciliciis uterentur. Quod illi fideliter adimpleverunt, et dominus juxta verbum illius eis in omnibus providit habundanter : aperiens sensus ipsorum ad logicę dissertacionis cautelas subtiliter exquirendas.

De morte matris sancti Eadmundi et qualiter benedixit filiis et filiabus suis ante mortem.

Accidit autem casu cum repatriantes nobile talentum sciencie reportassent, ut solus eadmundus cum sororibus, absente roberto, assisteret lecto matris immaniter egrotantis. At illa corpore trepidans, mente tamen segura, quamvis jam positam ad radicem arboris presentiret securim, Karissime fili, dixit : propius huc accedas : et tuo forte sensui quod non magnum videtur, tue consilium discrecioni, si placet, non modicum videatur. Ut scilicet omnino pupillum postquam decessero, relinquendus, misericordie saltem benedictionem maternam percipies humiliter dum supersum. Consiliis ille matris gratanter obtemperavit : ejus simplex et supplex positis genibus benedictionem percepit. Cujus benignitas et pro (col. 2) fratre non minus et pro sororibus intercessit : orans obnixius¹ ut et ipsi similiter benedictionem eandem perciperent. Mater ex eo percipiens quod affectu fraterno fratrem diligeret et sorores, licet jam graviter intra ipsa propinque mortis suspiria laborabat, animi gaudium continere non valens, dixit : "fili karissime, altissimus huic et eis dedit te in principem. Quo mihi concesso perpendere, tibi primum et eis in te per consequens benedixi. Decedens illis industrium provisorem et quasi patremfamilias te relinquam : et pro te dominus preces meas audivit ut invoces nomen ejus et a cunctis necessitatibus eruaris. Roberto namque fratre tuo quem et moralitas et litteratura commendat, faciliter consuli poterit. Est autem unicum super quo tota tibi commisse sollicitudinis difficultas versatur ; ut pulcritudinem sororum tuarum ex quo perpetuam virginitatem voverunt, adhuc retinent, fornicationis patere ludibrio non permittas. Fratrem sic studeas et sorores servare : sed diligencius temetipsum et animi tui imperio supponas carnem tuam nec dominabitur hostis in ea :

¹ MS., "obnoxius".

qui superveniens improvisum ne te preoccupet, arma quibus mihi subjiens carnem meam¹ fallaces et subdolas suggestiones. illius tociens repuli tibi relinquam, cilicium et loricam.”²

The beginning of the next rubric is indistinct; it apparently notes that the preceding chapter is misplaced. . . . *Obiit mater beati eadmundi: assignavit ei pecuniam ut sorores suas in monasterio poneret.*

(f. iii. rº col. 1.) Ut autem in monasterio collocande sorores tue liberius admittantur, ad hoc negocium quamdam providi summam pecunie quam in tali locello reperies: et hoc dicens ei digito demonstravit locellum. Hec autem (et) similia mater illi profata, conticuit: et, terrenis omnino postpositis, deum contemplans, nec filios ultra cognovit nec filias: sed et cordis et corporis directis in celum obtutibus expiravit. Hic ubi rumor innötuit, oraturi pro ea clerus et populus convenerunt. Que tamen, ut creditur, orationum ipsorum suffragiis non egebat. Quum igitur omnis in fine laus canitur, admirantes quam plurimum ejus virtutem, per quam rapuerat regnum celorum, tunc filie syon eam viderunt et beatissimam predicaverunt. Illius igitur memoriam perpetuare volentes, hoc epitafio decorarunt sepultam: ‘hic tumulata jacet mabilia flos viduarum: cujus vita fuit virtutum, norma morum’. Recte nimirum beatitudinem flore signaverunt; nam flos beacius cunctis habetur que germinant super terram: flos est temperies et concors effectus elementalium qualitatuum, salusque seminum species ipsas salvantium; spes fructuum; ex quibus nos vitam producimus: decor et decus arborum et herbarum. Recte mabilia viduarum flos erat fragrans, fructificans excellenter et vernans: fragrans laudabilis opinionis odore, fructificans operatione devota, vernans mundicie singulari. Nam licet in tumulo jacens marcescat, quod flos exstiterit viduarum patenter ostenditur, que nec solum vicinis, sed et peregrinis, quibus perfectio sanctitatis predicte vel per sensibilem inspectionem illius innötuit, vel per famam, eo cum debita devocione profectis, sepe dinoscitur in suis potenter afflictionibus subvenisse.

Quod beatus Eadmundus, post mortem matris (col. 2) sue, suscepit causam sororum suarum, et fecit eas moniales apud Catesby.

Defunctis parentibus Eadmundus curam fratris suscipiens et sororum suarum ut primogenitus, junior factus est et pupillus et

¹ MS., “tuam”.

² The chapter which follows in the text has been inserted here by mistake. We have transferred it to its proper place.

tutor. Cujus simplicitas exigebat curari potius quam curare : sicque rempublicam administrans qui propriam administrare non norat : aliis providens qui nec sibi didicerat providere. Tunc primum experientie documento cognovit vigilias anxietatis et curas familiis presidentium : animo siquidem laboriose distento, negocia queque curabat. Sed diligenciam artiore etate nubilibus facieque venustis sororibus adhiberi decebat. Quarum virginitas ad modum floris decidui et virtus tenella facile labilis senciebat utrumque periculum sibi imminere. Inde sollicitus et formam ipsarum conspiciens et etatem, tum propter notam infamie contrahendam, contingente quod lapsus carnis incurrerent, tum propter irrestaurabilem virginitatis jacturam, et lubricum juventutis, et sexus feminei pronitatem, et forme decenciam inconvenientis, habebat indicia suspicandi. At quia sibi constiterat quod tanquam alumpnas proprie sanctitatis eas reprimere motus carnales et juvenum blandimenta matris industria docuisset, in hoc dulcissimo curarum gaudebat remedio respirare quod ceteris ipsas sciebat (pre) esse virginibus sorores. Cumque sic varie, nunc istuc nunc illuc impellerent rationes : tandem consilcius hoc decrevit, ut eas alicubi juxta matris defuncte novissimam voluntatem cum monialibus deo dicatis in monasterio collocaret. Porro ne macu(iii. vº col. 1)lis conversationis mundane deformiter subjacerent, hoc animo desiderabat attentio. Audiens siquidem eadmundus per famam pauperem prioratum de Cateby divitiarum sanctarum strictissima religione florere, talem sororibus locum optavit. Quo personaliter accedentem et super his omnibus priorisse volentem exponere votum suum, illa continuo blandis prevenit colloquiis, quem licet ignotum proprio nomine vocans, ait : 'quid de sororibus affectas eadmundus mihi ne studeas explicare : quid enim cupias, domino revelante, percepi. Veniant igitur, nec repulsam volentes hic degere patientur.' Ex favorabili priorisse responso conjiens quod a matre defuncta negotium sibi commissum arbitrio dispositionis divine procederet, supra modum gavisus, intra se gratias egit deo totamque sollicitudinem sororum suarum quasi gravissimum mentis onus in manibus priorisse deponens, quaslibet alias occupationes excussit in perutilem : et a curis omnino domesticis expeditus parisiis remeavit, ad finem felicem ex studii continuacione in liberalibus assequendum.

Quod sanctus eadmundus diligenter didicit artes liberales et qualiter se gessit postquam cathedram magistralem suscepit.

Sic itaque mentis obtutum et a secularibus vix avulsum in artes

dirigens liberales tantam dulcedinem decerpebat ex eis ut studiis dies impendens, noctibus etiam fatigatus dormivit juxta cubiculum. At nec bene discendi adeo cupidus quin bene vivendi cupidior, religionis observans arctissime disciplinam: discere, vivere, tanquam diatactus (?) oppositis modis studebat. Discere scilicet, quasi semper victurus; vivere quasi cras moriturus. In istis precipue fervor illius et diligencia versabatur. Videndis vero subtiliter rerum causis applicans animum vehementer et instans assidue, tam cito profecit, ut et scolaribus et magistris non solum facundie tante torrens sed et sciencie tante flumen tam subito late redundans quasi miraculum videretur. Quocirca prebentibus cunctis eidem se favorabiles ac benignos ante propositum quasi compulsus ascendit cathedram magistralem. Celestis itaque gratia, quicquid clementer aggreditur potenter consummans, ne prepediat que celestes etiam creaturas prostravit ingritudinis turpitudine, non defuit ejus doctrine cujus affuerat discipline. Ad seculi quoque contemptum et ad dulcedinem religionis gustandam et ad tutissimam humilitatis convallem nullis excessibus deserendam, non solum suis scolaribus sed et ipsius magistris et clericis universis conspicuum premonstrabat exemplum: abjiciens quecumque mundanam lasciviam, precipue que carnalem fovant aut incitant aut designant: et preter consuetudinem magistrorum, ecclesiastico non astrictus proventu, sed voluntarie devotionis instinctu, degens in habitu clericali, corona, vestibus et tonsura, magister apertius ostendebatur divine sciencie quam mundane. Presertim proprii corporis commoditates et cultus superfluos vilipendens, de balneis non curavit, et caput ablui non permisit: electuaria, medicinas et ceteras farinacearum videre species recusavit. Digitis anulos et capillis mitellas et manibus cirothecas et collo monilia non indulsit (f. iv. rº col. 1). Divites igitur suos scolares quibus videntibus sic vivebat ex proprie conversationis exemplo mundum contempnere, deo servire, lascivias vite vitare, carnem affligere, felicitatem eternam per transitorias promereri docebat miserias. Verum nec minus pauperibus et egenis impendere curam studebat, et omnibus compatiebatur afflictis super angustiis quibus eos non voluntarius amor virtutis sed violencius imperiosa premebat necessitas egestatis. Marsupium igitur non ferens sed a divitibus sibi concessas pauperibus facultates exponens, in aliquam projiciebat fenestram et pulverem circumponens dicebat: cinerem cineri: terram terre.

De brachio cujusdam scholaris per beatum eadmundum sanato.

In brachio quoque scholaris quidam senciens immanitatem

doloris intollerabilis, indicavit eidem quasi consilium implorando. Cui compaciens respondere magister visus est leviter : sanet te deus : sed quod, ex intima compassione procedens brevis oratio leve verbum monstravit, consequens validus festinanter effectus esse perhibuit ponderosum. O nostris ab oculis judiciorum secreta profunditas divinorum ! levissima petitione magistri convaluit dictus scholaris ab egritudine ; sicut idem reversus in crastino nunciavit. Sed quam a brachio supplicantis discipuli magister expulerat passionem, in suum pro liberatione ejusdem sicut oravit sustinuit inire translatam.

De alio clerico infirmo a beato eadmundo visitato.

Egrotabat eciam alius generosus scholaris ; quem visitans, cum post multas et varias fabulationes magister vellet recedere, contristatus scholaris et graviter ingemiscens, per capam detinuit apprehensus (col. 2)sum, neque recedere libens permisit : sed revocans abeuntem suppliciter et obnixè rogabat ut amplius moraretur. Magister non potuit ad morandum induci ; sed cum ad alia de quibus volebat disponere recessisset, scolarem sui domestici compellantes, familiariter quesierunt ab eo que novitas ejus movisset sic animum ut volentem magistrum recedere cum tantis rogasset instanciis remanere. Determinans igitur sibi propositam questionem respondit ; quod ab introitu dicti magistri donec recederet odor quam suavissimus ex illo progrediens ejus olfactum immutavit ut si diucius ibi mansisset posse discedere per illius odoris fragrantiam tota sui languoris molestia videretur. Scholares itaque quoslibet volens bonus magister fideliter informare ; diligens strenuos, laudans studentes, increpans negligentes ; rudes ad studia, bellicosos ad pacem, pigros ad opera fructuosa, magnates ad eleemosynas largiendas, egenos ad pacienciam excitabat ; et prodigus opum sophie, cum omnibus communicabat gratanter quod adquisierat diligenter.

De puella que vehementer exarsit in concupiscentiam sancti eadmundi.

Cumque, prospiciens finem suum, sobrie, pie, juste studeret in seculo conversari ; considerans mores perfectos et eleganciam juventutis gratissimam cujusdam hospite sue filia, vehementer in ejus concupiscentiam demens exarsit : quod penitus dissimulare non valens, signis et nutibus nimis patenter explicavit anime passionem. Et cum nichil proficere se sentiret, pudore postposito virum puella super (f. iv. v^o col. 1) illecebra compellavit. At ille facinori negans assensum virginem fatuam increpavit. Que, spretis correptionibus,

sollicitare nolentem improba non cessavit. Considerans ille quod nichil sermonibus ageretur, quesivit aliud medium ad flammam insane libidinis extinguendas: et ille se simulans assentire, secretum ac solitarium locum prefixit, quo pariter convenirent; ubi reperiens expectantem et ad flagitium fornicationis paratam superius denudavit, et usque ad sanguinis effusionem novis viminibus verberando, non tam verberibus quam hiis verbis afflixit: 'Proth! fatuissima puellarum: ubi nunc femine pudor innatus! ubi simplicitas puellaris? jam pudicitiam temerasse, pudorem virgineum rejecisse te pudeat. Neve pro questu brevissime voluptatis irrestaurabile dampnum salutis sustineas; et pro joco carnali jocunditas expiret spiritualis, virga te doceat discipline.' Tunc demum suam insaniam recognoscens a facie conviciantis puella nimis erubuit, et recessit correpta que venerat corrumpenda. Nam sicut postmodum dicitur esse confessa: nullum illecebre sensit ultra furorem quem non ex facili cohiberet. Correcta sic virgine, demon illusus indoluit quod eadmundus non solum suos sic laqueos effugisset, sed ipsam que jam inciderat, eruisset. At ille temptationibus circumveniri malignis non poterat, qui semper materna recolens rudimenta, cunctis divitiis preferebat ut posset contagia conversationis humane sicco vestigio transire, et sacrificium virginitatis offerre coram altissimo.

Qualiter sanctus Johannes Evangelista apparuit beato eadmundo precipiens ei ut orationem de ipso et beata maria omni die decantaret.

(Col. 2.) Sciens autem quod nullus ad tam difficilis voti tenorem feliciter observandum humane sufficeret fragilitatis conatus, nisi per gratiam specialem, virginem virginum ac beatum ejus yconomum evangelistam johannem quibus virginitas excellenter insedit, jugiter invocans, orationem communem illis cotidie decantabat. Salubre vero propositum quia semper conatur diabolus impedire, penituit eum semel, sed sero, quod lectionibus providendis et aliis curis intentus diem in talibus, orationis illius penitus immemor, pertransisset. At licet quod per memorie carnalem defectum sic pretermiserat, breve delictum et excusabile videretur, haut penitus tulit impune sed dormiens. Nam sanctum johannem postera nocte vidit quasi terribilem et iratum, sibi que volam formidine tremiscentem, ad ejus imperium porrigenti, vulnus letificum ex elevatione sublimi manus et ferule comminantem. Qui tamen habens se micus et in tanti fervoris sententia non procedens, in blandam exhortationem minas terribiles convertit, illi precipiens et injungens ut sedulus orationem eandem semper de cetero, necessitatis et cure cujuslibet occupationes postponens diceret omni die.

Qualiter mater Sancti eadmundi admonuit ipsum in sompnis ut ad theologiam se transferret, scribens in manu sua pater, filius, spiritus sanctus.

Logicen itaque legens eadmundus et nichilominus quadriviali sciencie propter sui decorem et infallibiles necessitates insistens scolaribus magis provectis ad evidenciam probandorum quorundam problematum, geometrie figuras in pulvere protrahebat. Beata vero mabilia paulo ante defuncta tantos labores filii miserans circa mundanam scienciam que aut parum aut nichil edificat ad virtutem, apparuit illi in sompnis dicens: 'fili, quid legis! que sunt ille figure quibus tam diligenter intendis!' Quo respondente: 'taliam lego sociis meis ostensis (f. v. r^o col. 1) protractionibus que in illa solent fieri facultate,' illa mox dexteram manum ejus arripuit, et in ea tres circulos depinxit, in quibus hec tria nomina per ordinem scripsit; pater, filius, spiritus sanctus. Et hoc facto, sic ait; 'fili carissime, talibus figuris et non aliis, de cetero intende. Nam ad earum beatam noticiam meliorem cunctis thesauris, propter quam natus es consequendam, te quamvis valde sollicitum non valde promovit consideracio ceterarum. Recolens igitur quod ego nunquam te fefellerim, mihi credas et tanquam inutiles illas postponens, illis invigiles ex quibus et fructus sapidior in immensum et fructuosior tibi sapor erumpet.' Hiis breviter illa finitis, evanuit. Ille vero consurgens, interpretatus est visionem. Et cum in artibus per sex annos legisset, ac mirabiliter profecisset, ad studium sacre scripture se transtulit, cujus et deo sibi noticiam inspirante, quecunque prius didicerat theologie collata lutum et laterem reputavit. Extrinsicum namque confringens literę corticem, mel de petra et oleum extorquebat de saxo durissimo: ¹ non tantum auditor sed et verbi factor et operis executioni mandabat quicquid salubriter, attestante scriptura, deum precipere perpendebat.

Quod beatus eadmundus vendidit libros suos et perceptos inde denarios dedit pauperibus.

Hinc licet talis sciencie nullus auditor possit proficere sine libris, in tempore cujusdam immanis caristie, multis compassus quos pre inopiis languere videbat, et distrahens libros suos, glossatum psalterium, penteteuchum, epistolas decretales, et librum duodecim prophetarum, perceptos inde denarios dispersit et dedit pauperibus ² malens in suo profectu deficere quam fraternos defectus dampno proficuo non supplere. Consciens autem hujus quod fecerat, unus

¹ Deut. xxxii. 13.

² Ps. cxi. 9.

ab eo quesivit socius, cujus frenesis motus insania distraxisset in vulgus tam necessarios sibi libros (col. 2), cum sacram paginam non contingat addisci cordetenus. Ad hec beatus eadmundus respondit: 'hos libros sic distrahens parum feci: minus quam debui, Christo dicente; si quis voluerit eum sequi distrahat universa que habet et det pauperibus:¹ ergo cum plura quam dederim mihi presentur, debebat pusillanimitas in hoc ipso quod feci non prodigalitas increpari'. Hiis rationibus confutatum eadmundus socium docuit qui super librorum distractionibus largitatem ipsius tanquam prodigium (? prodigam) increparat, quantum oporteat necessitati fraterne nos compati volentes ut deus eruat nos a nostris, scilicet necessitatibus.

De visione ostensa sancto eadmundo de septem scholaribus suis quando rexit in theologia.

In actum itaque proferens quod sciebat et omnium attestacione probatus officium docendi suscepit. Quod exequens reverenter et bibliam deosculari legendam cotidie consuetus, ac plurima predicandi motive² gratia peditus multos ac magnos ad districtissime religionis ingressum compugit auditores. Quocirca semel in sompno visum est ei quod ignibus intra scholas ipsius ardentibus vehementer, ingrediens vir quidam ignotus subtraheret septem torres. Quid hec pretenderent ille nescivit, donec ostensio consequentis eventus exponeret visionem. Nam lectionibus vixdum mane perlectis abbas de ordine griseorum ignotus scholas ingressus est, stephanumque de lexintonia virum discretum quem postmodum sibi priorem prefecit clarevallensium multitudo, necnon et alios sex scholares quos omnes, ut creditur, ignis divinus succenderat, segregavit in partem et a scolasticis curis exemptos ad tabernacula securiora traduxit. Casu tam subito scholis suis eadmundus ex tot nobilium imminere recessu scolarium desolacionem et dampnum considerans et defectum (v^o col. 1), propter hec omnia nec vultum mutavit nec animum; desolacionem jocundam, dampnum proficuum, ipsumque defectum existimans efficacem.

Quod beatus eadmundus cilicio cum funiculis, lorica cum scapulari plumbeo in adventu et quadragesima sub vestibus induebatur.

Et quoniam iter sanctorum est de virtutibus in virtutes, pensans memoriter quod manum misisset ad forciam, nunquam retro respexit: immo se jugiter ad anteriora protendit.³ Et ut fastigio nove doctrine

¹ Luke xviii. 22.² In a moving way.³ Phil. iii. 13.

nove similiter conversationis excelsa mutacio responderet, ad lilia virginitatis quam deo firmiter voverat, diligenter ab omnibus oblectationum malarum infectionibus preservanda, jam domito carnis jumento, cui sensualitas insidebat, adjecit nova supplicia : militarem lorica[m] qua tociens uater armata nequicias temptatoris et motus carnis repulerat, ferens et ipse sub vestibus ad eosdem conflictus fine consimili terminandos. Haut tamen cunctis equaliter carnem ducebat temporibus affligendam ; sed quadragesimam et adventum dieta pertransiens graviore : cilicium quale mundus non vidit ex cordulis pilorum asperrimorum ad instar rethis densissimi intricatis habebat. Que videlicet connectura nodos tam innumerabiles spisso ordine continebat. Et ut idem nodi carni artius imprimerentur, erat illud cilicium ex parte anteriori non integrum, sed apertum, a summo usque deorsum laqueolis hinc inde appositis, quibus nodatis seu concatenatis, cum (col. 2) se ipso dimicavit et vicit, pene seipsum obliviscens, ut domestico tormento superato corpore, de se triumphum in pace sanctus martir adquireret. Nec sufficebat ei sic horribili non tam indumento (quam tormento) carnem suam crucifigere, sed quod superaddiderat admiracionem magis urget : Etenim ut illud idem cilicium carni forcius stringeretur et continuata punctione caro gravius lederetur, funiculo grossiori et triplici illud desuper constrinxerat, ita quod ille funiculus a pectore usque ad renes multis mediantibus involucris descendens, extremitatibus ad invicem coherentibus inferius ligabatur. Scapulare etiam plumbeum et rude nimii ponderis nimiique rigoris superindutum frequenter habebat. Has quidem dominans anima circumponebat interulas nude carni quas, ut multociens per ipsius idem concorditer admirando narrantes cubicularios, est compertum, nullus, ut assolet inhabitabat lens, pulex sive pediculus.

Quod cilicium beati eadmundi in ignem projectum non potuit comburi.

Ille vero pre oculis annos habens eternos et non apprecians diem humanum, noluit aliquem religionis sue habere testem vel conscium preter deum. Et superpellicea quibus carnem domabat (ne) forte contingeret reperiri, cubiculario semel precepit ut ignibus in occulto succensis, vetus cilicium concremaret. Quod ille volens non potuit ; sed vellus caprinum simile veteri salamandre permansit in ignibus incombustum. Justo quia dei iudicio, materiali nequaquam est igne consumptum quo tociens ille temptatus illecebre ignes suffocarat (f. vi. rº col. 1).

De abstinentia beati eadmundi in cibo et potu.

Hiisdem temporibus lautas dapes et mense delicias non gustabat, sed sitim gelido latice famemque pulmentis agrestibus¹ . . . seu potius provocabat. Septuagesimas autem secus observans ac ferias secundas et quartas et nichilominus dies per anni circulum universos in quibus misse solempnia celebrarat orans et vigilans et carnes non gustans, afflictionibus insistebat. Aliis etiam carnes et pisces temporibus et si forte gustavit, non institit ut ad fines auderet accedere saciei, nec appetitui passim indulisit ut ab animalibus² alimenti cujusquam famis remedium extorqueret. Verum nec corporis voluptates dumtaxat sed et necessitates postponens, spernens, abjiciens, sibi nullam volebat fieri questionem quid in meridie foret pransurus, aut quid in vespere cenaturus. Et dapes coram se positas si forte laudari contingeret, non inde gustabat ulterius, dicens: pro cibo sibi sufficere laudem cibi: pallians itaque cor contritum alacri facie carnisque tormenta vestibus preciosis, per abstinentias vehementes, nullius sepe materia radicos humoris, crines defluere senciebat et barbam. Cumquē per nimios alimentorum defectus ipsum marcescere supra modum pallor et macies manifeste probarent, eo quod hominis interioris natura corporeas in se vires omnino converteret, talis plus pallor quam rubicunditas ei placebat et macies quam pinguedo. Tot quidem molestias infligebat; necdum spontanea tribulatione contentus, propter justiciam persecutionem optabat et etiam mortem pati. Sciscitantibus autem amicis et (col. 2) secretariis suis ab eo, cur omnibus esset ita serenus et sibimet tam molestus, olive pulcherrimum proponebat exemplum, que sibimet tristem reservat amaritudinem sue radicis et nichilominus suavitatem jocundam olei ceteris administrat. Nobiles igitur conversacionem illius tam rigidam intuentes et suam desidiam recognoscendo gementes hiis et similibus inducebantur exemplis ad desiderium amplectendi ferventer vite justiciam artioris et sensualibus oblectamentis ponendi frenum modestie. Sic inter mortales vitam angelicam, in terris celestem, in seculo regularem homo ducebat. Cumque parisiis diu legisset, laboribus studiisque confectum dulcedo patrie revocavit. Revertus autem per maria,

¹ The next two words are very obscure; they look like "prave ochabat". Ducange gives the verb "occare" in the sense of "sacrificare," hence, to extinguish. It may be intended for a pun when taken in connection with the following "provocabat".

² From the time that "men lake 'alleluia,' for to (until) cam estur day (*i.e.*, from Septuagesima to Easter), he ne et now3ht *that* tholed (suffered) death." Bodl. MS. Laud. 108, f. 183 r^o.

celum mutavit non animum et modum vivendi retinuit consuetum. Sane nil commodi sustinebat, bovis quia, legens oxonie, trituranis os interim alligatum habentis, similitudinem exprimebat. Laborans cotidie vehementer, manducans autem exiliter, nulli nocens, omnibus utilis, et tamen quibusdam clericis honerosus quos suis professionibus videns abuti mordaciter arguebat, secure judicans omnia, nulli placendo, quia justicie zelo fervens, officio predicationis addictus, ac domino contemplacione conjunctus et sic trans hominem constitutus.

Qualiter sanctus eadmundus carnem suam de nocte afflixit.

Fuisset tamen et aliquis modus in rebus et imitabilis ejus vita si passus incommoda tanta de die (v^o col. 1) noctibus quievisset. Sed noctes in lectionibus insomnes agebat et recubans fatigatus nec vestes aut cingulum deponebat, nec lintheamina culcitrave tangebat, nec capiti suo pulvinar aut stramina supponebat. Inde cum gratia predicationis diversos fines circumiens, in domo cujusdam divitis clerici vestitus jaceret ut consueverat ante lectum, famuli postero mane videntes qualiter jacuisset, ad invicem ridiculose dixerunt: ecce quam sapiens predicator, hesternam quem taliter honerasse seu potius infatuasse probatur ebrietas ut lectum non posset ascendere aut nesciret.

Qualiter visum sit beato eadmundo in sompnis quod quedam columba misit eukaristiam in os suum.

Idem dum alias sedens in scolis socios expectaret et supra pulpitem obdormisset, vidit in sompno visionem jocundam: scilicet, quod alba columba descenderet super eum et eukaristiam ferens in rostro transmitteret in os ejus. Scolaribus autem reversis, evigilans questionem de summa trinitate gravissimam, tam recte proposuit, tam urgender deduxit, et tam subtiliter terminavit ut omnes ejus eloquium admirantes constanter assererent non illud humanum sed potius esse divinum.

Qualiter Ricardus Sarisburiensis episcopus fecit sanctum eadmundum thesaurarium ecclesie sue.

Ejus itaque constanciam uniformem nichil quasi de contingentibus omittentem pontifices, abbates, priores et alie religiose persone plurimum mirabantur, videntes bellum reciprocum, videntes athletam de se victoriam reportantem, videntes veram concordiam religionis perfecte cum se(col. 2)culo, videntes in terris hominem celitus conversantem. Tot mirabilia sapienter expertus vir venerabilis et discretus Ricardus, Episcopus Sarisburiensis, urbis translator

magnificus propter injurias amovendas quibus clerum vexabant satellites, considerans et admirans eadmundi tot excellencias; et quod vernans, florens, fructificans; vernans virtute, florens sciencia, fructificansque doctrina, secus irriguos decursus aquarum in vallibus montis Syon, in locis virentibus, inter ligna plantari nobilia dignus esset, tantarum fastigiis eminentem virtutum ad thesaurariam sue vocavit ecclesie dignitatem. Qui solite paupertatis quietem preferens opibus vix eo transferre se voluit. Ad hoc tamen induci demum se pociens, ita se gessit quod adhuc dulciter ille clerus memoriam ejus frequentat: nec thesaurarium sperat tam bonum, nec reminiscitur melioris.

De tribus miraculis que contingebant in predicationibus beati Eadmundi, populo volente recedere propter pluvias imminentes.

Sic thesaurarius Sarisburiensis officium predicationis decernens plus solito frequentandum, cum per oxoniam semel transiret, proponens ibidem predicare, votisque communibus ad ejus sermonem haut aliter quam ad quoddam solempne convivium et scolares et cives undique convenissent, irruens valida venti tempestas pulverem subito circumvolvit et superveniens nubes atra totumque caligine celum obducens, sedentibus vehementem insultum nimbi vel grandinis minabatur. Considerans autem eadmundus quod qui convenerant ea de causa vellent recedere, fide firmus, spe certus, in nomine Christi precepit spiritui procellarum ne verbum attendere proponentes divinum presumeret impedire, sed imminens alluvium ut auferret aut sal(f. vii. rº col. 1)tem ad alia loca transferret aut differret. Vix hec finierat quin ventus quievit; nubes evanuit: aureusque splendor solis serenans motus etheris meridiem mundo reduxit, cum jam crepusculum videretur. Alio tempore cum et idem vellet Wigornie predicare similem impetum imminentis procelle similiter cessare viderunt omnes qui venerant ad sermonem. Miraculum vero majus et evidencius hiis ambobus visum fuit in marchia Wallie sed tamen casu consimili promulgatum. Sedentibus in girum populis undique congregatis, premisso turbine nubes comminans tempestatem superius pependit que totam aeris faciem contristans diem continuo vertit in noctem. Sed confidencia rursum eadmundi post tenebras sperans lucem, predictum spiritum procellarum in nomine summe tonantis adjuravit ne plebem a salutaribus Christi preceptis audiendis per pluvias eminentes compelleret cessare. O mira dei dignacio! circa sanctum sedentes immanitas pluviarum omnino non tetigit, terram tamen contiguam secus eosdem undique flagellavit.¹

¹ Here, in its proper place, is inserted the chapter omitted from f. ii. vº col. 2, where it had been erroneously placed by the scribe.

*De muliere cujus manus in predicatione beati eadmundi arefacta est et per ipsum sanata . . .*¹

Alio tempore dum fideles motivis sermonibus animaret ad crucis injurias ulciscendas, exclamans subito mulier ejus sermonem altis clamoribus interruptit, et manum qua detinuerat hominem cruce signari volentem, protulit arefactam. Audiens mulieris peccatum eadmundus et intuens ulcionem, misericordie et ire sensit varias intra se passiones, irascens tam nimium scelus ause, compaciens tam afflicte. Hinc temerariam presumptionem illius acriter increpans; inde compunctam misericorditer cruce signans et manum illi restituens arefactam. Tale inconveniens contigit illi mulieri sermonem eadmundi thesaurarii sarum increpanti quia detinuit hominem cruce signari volentem.²

Sciens itaque cunctorum salutem ut propriam fines regni diversos sollicitate visitabat ut devios et errantes ad viam reduceret veritatis et simplices rudesque doceret. Porro mundanas sciencias scire censemur, ipsas in habitum convertentes, et eo quiescimus adquisito: divine vero sciencie nullus est fructus in anima quiescentis, sed protinus ex quo scitur in opus dirigitur. Alioquin jam merito nec divina censetur sciencia sed mundana: mundana namque scientia nisi sale aut mirra sciencie divine conditur, corrumpitur, et vermes inanis glorie generat. Divina sciencia si tantum sit quiescens ut nec ad aliquam operationem procedat, consimili modo putrescit que ceteras a putrefactionis horrore debuerat preservare, nichilque retinens inclite sibi virtutis, nobilitas et salis et mirre degenerat in cadaver. Hec ille subtiliter attendendo non solum simplicibus sed et viris discretis (col. 2) ac sapientibus, illis ut scirent, istis ut facerent, predicabat. Nam quociens audimus et ipsa que novimus dei precepta, tociens etiam quasi torpentes ad operum executionem honorum salubriter excitamur. Omnibus idem predicabat; dolens in omnibus, paucis exceptis, sed (? quod) quid argueret invenit: viciis igitur universorum irascens zelo justicie nulli parcebat in genere. Celsos gestus et vanam gloriam omnium clericorum sed maxime theologorum detestans quosque et inaniter efferri videbat et quam abjecerant humilitatis virtutem ceteris predicantes. Hanc siquidem, preter quam cetere dissolvuntur virtutes, intra se firmiter radicatam habebat; nec tamen plus humilis quam benignus, pociens, hilaris, liberalis, sobrius, continens esse studebat. Humilis igitur

¹ The remainder of the rubric is indistinct.

² The next rubric is very indistinct.

juste superbos corripiens, benignus dolosos, paciens iracundos, hilaris acced(ios)os, liberalis avaros, sobrius epulones et continens dissolutos.

De gestu sancti eadmundi in ecclesia, ad mensam, in aula, in thalamo.

O Sanctus suo regimini leges imponens gravissimas, quem nunquam invenit ecclesia vel mensa vel aula vel thalamus ociosum! Nam in ecclesia nunquam sedens sed stans vel genibus flexis orans: in mensa parum aut nichil comedens, sed convivis narrando delectabilia, panes (s)cindendo, cibaria transmittendo, pretendens similitudinem comedentis: in aula nichil negocians de terrenis sed audiens egenorum querelas, colloquens advenis, suffragans afflictis, suscipiens viatores; in thalamo, non concedens palpebris requiem, sed in lege domini meditans, legens antiqua aut adinveniens inaudita. Se vero purum custodiens ne labem peccati contraheret alieni, juvenes quoslibet sive viros ad suum servitium accedentes suscipere sub hoc pacto solebat ut homini placere volentes deo metuerent displicere: caventes summopere ne peccatum mortale committerent; alioquin, percepta servicii sui mercede, quemcunque ipsorum in adulterio, fornicatione aut furto aut alio deprehendi contingeret delicto, recederet (vº col. 1).

Qualiter beatus eadmundus configuravit se Christo et de diabolo ab eo verberato.

Modis quoque diversis cotidie configurans se Christo solebat singula membra dominici corporis adorare flexis genibus, in quolibet adorando ingerens: adoramus te Christe: et post hec omnia scribens in fronte titulum crucifixi. Neve illectus paulatim, ingrediente fantasmate cujuslibet voluptatis ad secularia declinaret, dominicam semper habebat pre oculis passionem. Et quociens sacra missarum solempnia celebrabat, ac si que mystice representabantur, ibidem sensibilibus iterari videret, totus in lacrimas effluebat. Quod siquidem in illius misterii recordacione frequenti securitas humane salutis consisteret, non solum credebatur sed etiam experimento probatum didicerat et ab hoste. Porro vigiliis fatigatos dum sompni oculos occupasset, occulto dei judicio, quidam demon malignus eum permissus est infestare vexacionibus et ambas tenere manus immobiles quibus ille volebat sibi pretendere signum crucis. Et ille sustinens nimie vexacionis gravamen ad solitam recordacionem confugit dominice passionis. Cujus mirifica demon virtute cecidit obrutus juxta lectum. Sic igitur postquam cessavit vexacio, concussione festina movente frontis et cerebri virtutes sensibiles, properavit eadmundus excutere gravem sompnum, surgensque crinibus apprehensum sub pedibus

hostem calcavit, et per dominici conspersionem cruoris immaniter adjuravit ut sibi liquido diceret quid adversus terribiles vexaciones sevorum demonum homini pre cunctis valeret. Per hanc diabolus adjurationem adstrictum se senciens quamvis mendax et pater mendacii quesitam non ausus suppressere veritatem, respondit: ipsam qua fuerat adjuratus dominici conspersionem cruoris, humane memorie vehementer impressam mortalibus contra terrores spirituum malignorum pre cunctis remediis expedire.

De virtutibus sancti eadmundi et qualiter promotus fuit ad archiepiscopatum.

(Col. 2.) De tam mirabili religionis fervore quem de tot millibus sanctorum ab antiquo in seculo conversancium nullus districtius observavit, nunquam prosequi tot sufficeremus exempla. Quia copiosa ipsa rerum gestarum materia diffusionem verborum excederet in immensum. Virtutes tamen ingenuas humilitatis depressas latibulo recondebat; sed et humilitas exaltabat easdem, et latebre revelabant. Nam hec est propria sanctitatis natura quod et sublimius ex depressione levatur, et manifestius ex ipso virtutum patet latibulo. Ut enim illius humilitas religioque pensetur, liquet quod diximus: humilitate devota mons intelligitur: religione civitas designatur: mons est humilitas que celos transcendit: urbs est religio quam omnes virtutes inhabitant. Nec latere potest religio super virtutum altissimam humilitatem fundata, sicut nec civitas supra montem. Ad idem apercius adstruendum, et igni religio comparatur: quemadmodum ignis opertus plus estuat, sic quoque secreta religio plus coruscat. Sic igitur virtus eadmundi, silencio proclamata, jacendo sublimis evolavit, latendo magis enituit: qui non solum anglos et gallicos, familiares et notos, sed lugubres et romanos et gentes omnium nacionum conscias habuit religionis austere, quam garrula secretorum delatrix in varias late per mundum fama diffuderat regiones. Quapropter domino placuit ut cum sedes cantuariensis multis temporibus vacasset, et ad gregorium papam nonum illi metropoli preficiendi pastoris esset provisio devoluta, per totam faciens angliam diligenter inquiri per nuncios suos fide probatos, per testimonia prelatorum, per famam populi, celebrem, quis tantum honus levare sufficeret et honore levare tam arduo dignus esset, de millibus unam demum personam non reperit aut honore tam dignam aut honeri tam robustam. Qualibet igitur commendatione ceterorum virorum postposita, ipsum eadmundum electum canonice sedis predictae duxit regimini preferendum. Sublimitam

vero (f. viii. rº col. 1) ruinam ille considerans graviolem nec dignum se reputans tanta dignitate, quamvis canonice sibi collatam cum maxima difficultate suscepit. Sciens quod postmodum distrahendus in curas officii pastoralis frequenter decerpere dulcedinem contemplacionis, sicut antea, non posset, statum sic proprium intuendo, notans proverbium illud antiquum: perflant altissimi venti: tumultibus humanis concuciendam sedem conscendere verebatur. Sed populi necessitatem urgentem episcopum non habentis et regimen fidele exigentis eadmundus respiciens ex adverso, timensque nepharias abusiones quorundam qui temporalibus ipsa postponunt celestia; qui propter honores honora subeunt, qui magis preesse desiderant quam prodesse; ne ovile dominicum traderetur talium cuiquam ductori seu pocius seductori, tandem frequentibus persuasionibus electorum ad curam dicti regiminis suscipiendam induci se permisit. Omnibus itaque circumspectis, in ipsam consensuens electionem canonice de se factam, a papa solempniter confirmatus, ab electoribus lete susceptus, se magis quanto superior humiliare curavit: maximam reputans pravitatem majoribus atque pusillis presidens alcus, nisi quod et mentem regeret artius. Piissimus quoque subventor et hilaris erat dator et opes sue quantaslibet disposicioni concessas circa debilia Christi membra tam pie tam liberaliter, tam affectuose fundebat, ut tam predivitis prelature proventus donacionibus tante non possent sufficere largitatis. Omnia igitur que habebat in multitudinem egenorum dispersit. Cum amplius non haberet quid daret, ea necessitas a compaciendo mendicis desistere nequeuntem cogebat a mercatoribus mutuari donandas illis pecunias. Sic multa debebat ne pauperes multa deberent; et necessariis indigebat ne pauperes indigere videret, quos et esuriens saturabat. Ceterum, qualiter et cum quanta sollicitudine tantus antistes ecclesias quibus regendis superintendere tenebatur (col. 2) non mediantibus quantiscunque ministris, sed personaliter visitare, corrigere, reformare studeret, quam rigidus ad potentes, quam pius ad pauperes et quam justus ad omnes in examinibus causarum, quam celer in falsitatibus refellendis, quam perspicax in pronunciandis precise sentenciis, in temporalibus acquirendis quam negligens, in divinis quam fervens, in dubiis rebus fortune quam tacitus, in adversis quam letus, in prosperis quam modestus, singula persequi longum esset.

Quod rex anglie suggestionem inimicorum beati eadmundi multas ei intulit insidias.

Tot igitur prosperitates ad votum succedere servo dei videns et

invidens ille serpens antiquus quem diabolice suggestionis movere fraudibus nequivit, humanis turbare tumultibus temptavit; ad quod facilius perpetrandum considerans et attendens quod hostes domestici magis nocent; nec videns per quid esset humilitas prelati directius infestanda quam per superbiam subditorum, quosdam propositi sui fautores et complices instigavit in eum, ut quem humiliter venerari debebant, pulsacionibus et querelis injustis impetere non timerent. Neve propositum careret effectu,¹ quod ex malicia presumebatur eorum, in prejudicium et gravamen tocius ecclesiastice libertatis adversus tantum antistitem susurrando figmenta consiliarios regis moverunt merita parcium ignorantes. Quum igitur, ignorans elenchum, se leviter trahi permittit ad inconueniens incurrendum, rex, licet Christianissimus, sinis (tris) quorundam consiliis adquiescens, sacrum antistitem attemptavit, nec potuit ab incepto movere. Erat enim cor ejus contra quarumlibet procellarum insultus et turbines conquadratum, simile domui supra petram fundate. Progrediens autem quo cepit regis aversio quasi torrens hibernus de promontoriis appenini nivosis precipitans iter suum et ex ipso obice rabiem colligebat, quo validius resistebat eidem, eo demencius effluebat (v^o col. 1).²

Metuens igitur homo sanctus ne suis periculum ex tanti fervoris commocionibus immineret, ad alia regna profugit a facie tribulancium et pontiniaci cum honore susceptus in diversorio quodam ubi cum suis [de] delituit, ubi quondam abbas et monachi domus ejusdem sanctum thomam exceperant exulantem. Cum multis ibi temporibus idem thomas clementer exhibitus et humane tractatus, ad ultimum, quid in suo recessu tot beneficiis compensare valeret in temporalibus non haberet, abbati devote regratians et toti conventui:³ "Vestram," inquit, "carissimi, non fictam expertus in exilio caritatem, vobis pro sumptibus quos mihi fecistis fateor plurimum me teneri: sed quia, meis redditibus confiscatis, ad mutuum vobis reddendum mihi non suppetunt facultates obnixi duxi vos obsecrandos ut paciencia habeatis ad presens et omnia reddam vobis. Hoc autem firmiter polliceor quod in temporibus haut longe venturis, in Cantuaria presidebit antistes qui beneficia mihi concessa vobis retribuet." Ea profatus ad propria remeavit et pro ecclesia Christi certans, in alvo matris occubuit a . . . filiis pius pater occisus. Ne vero tanti

¹ MS., "proposito, affectu".

² The rubric of the following chapter is indistinct.

³ In the MS. there is here a marginal note: "hoc dixit sanctus thomas," followed by the rubric: "*prophetia thome*".

pontificis verbum in terra caderet vacuum, ut illuc ex causa supradicta veniens eadmundus fratribus illis redderet quicquid expenderant circa sanctum thomam arbitrio dispensacionis divine creditur evenisse. Neve fataliter constitutus a deo debiti redditor alieni, propria necessitate movente, similiter et ipse compulsus debitum contraheret, placuit domino consummanti feliciter labores sanctorum, virum perpersum tot erumpnas ab indigenciis mundanis eruere, quem dudum sciebat tesauros celestes certamine legitimo meruisse.¹

Ab ipso siquidem predictæ litis exordio inter ipsum et monachos contumaces jam silenter quedam prelude dissolucionis extreme sed adhuc micia senciebat : et dissenteriam que citra senectam non est apertior via mortis : et pontiniaci conversatus in arto, molestia succrescente paulatim, alterum aerem appetivit. Cui subitum disponenti recessum quidam de monachis illacrimare ceperunt quasi de reditu desperantes. Dolorem fortiter sustinens eadmundus et dolendi nolens hospitibus esse causa ; “quid,” ait, “me plangitis ? Estote certi, sicut vos diligo, quod ante festum beati regis et martiris eadmundi me revidebitis in hoc loco.” Hoc autem firmiter promittendo corpus exanime² per ostencionem designans corporis animati, simplices simplici demonstratione fefellit. Porro nec dubium quin eos sic dicens fefellerit. Nec tamen promisso veritas defecit qualiscunque. Sed quod in hominis revercione sperabant hilariter adimplendum, in funeris desolacione viderunt lacrimabiliter adimpletum.

De transitu sancti eadmundi. De verbis que dixit quando migravit ad dominum.

Qui cum familia non longe profectus, sosiaci juxta provinum moram continuans, ibi cepit validis febribus vehementer affligi. Igitur in extremis agens et Corpus sibi delatum reverenter adorans, suspiria lacrimasque profundens, manus et oculos sursum tendens et in deum totum se dirigens suscepcionem illius reverentissimi sacramenti supplici confessione fidei prevenit, exiens in hec verba : ‘Tu es in quem credidi ; quem predicavi ; quem docui ; et tu testis es mihi, quia nichil aliud nisi te domine in terra quesivi : sicut tu scis quod nichil volo nisi quod tu vis : fiat voluntas tua desiderabilis’. Talibus dulciter ad aures divinas ex sincerissima devocione directis, post devotissimam suscepcionem optati viatici, post inunctionem extremam, post omnia quibus urgentur ad subitum carnis egressum dispositas

¹ The rubric of the following chapter is somewhat indistinct.

² MS., “examine”.

fideles oportet animas premuniri, fortissimus idem et carnis proprie domitor et mundi contemptor et demonum triumphator, sciens cui credidit, cursum consummans de bratio remuneracionis eterne non dubitans, in jocunditate messurus quod in doloribus seminarat, migravit ad dominum, ad cujus beata consortia nos idem perducatur deus et dominus qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY,

AS GIVEN IN THE COTTON MS., FAUSTINA B. I., ff. 180-183.¹

(Collated with the Bodleian MS., Fell. I., vol. iv.)

These are the only two copies of this Life known to the writer ; and, like the preceding Life by Robert Bacon, it seems to have been quite ignored by modern writers. Just the prologue of the Life, occupying one side of a folio, has been appended as a fragment to the Lambeth Codex 135.

We have stated, in ch. i. p. 4, *et seq.*, our reasons for attributing this Life to Robert Rich. We may here supplement what we then said by a few more observations by way of confirmation.

The arguments we then advanced were chiefly these two : that this Life furnishes us with an insight into Edmund's interior development, which Robert (his life-long companion) was most competent to give ; and that the author was not a monk. As we have already allotted the Cambridge Life to Robert Bacon, it follows by the method of exclusion that only Robert Rich can be the author of this Life. We will now add a few more observations in corroboration of our theory. It is a remarkable fact that Robert is never once mentioned in this Life, notwithstanding his intimate relations with the Saint throughout his life. In this respect the Life is quite singular. Again, besides the Cotton MS., the only other copy known to exist is the Fell. MS., which once belonged to Abingdon Abbey. Now, it seems highly probable, to say the least, that when the monks of Abingdon wished to possess themselves of a Life of St. Edmund, they would, by preference, select the Life written by their own fellow-townsmen and the brother of the Saint. Moreover, in the proper office of St. Edmund, of which we have recovered a few fragments, there occurs a phrase borrowed from this Life, which is found nowhere else. The passage in question is this : R. R. (f. 181 v^o col. 1) has : "quando vero alios docebat, seipsum pascebat".

¹ It is contained in a vellum quarto of the fourteenth century, written in double columns.

The liturgy (f. 196 v^o col. 1) has: "Oves Christi pascit dum pascitur". Now, who, we ask, was more likely or more competent to compose a proper office in honour of St. Edmund than his own brother, Robert Rich? Further, the lessons in the York Breviary are manifestly taken from this Life. It seems most likely that, in adapting one of the current Lives to the purposes of the liturgy, the Life by the Saint's brother would be chosen by preference.

Finally, this Life has evidently been incorporated by Surius in his paraphrase, who professes to reproduce the Lives by Robert Rich and Robert Bacon.

This then is the third original contemporary Life which we submit to our readers; thus forming, with Bertrand's Life, printed by Martène, a quadrilogy, furnishing a complete record of what was written about the Saint by his contemporary biographers, with the exception only of the Life by Matthew Paris, which has disappeared.

Incipit vita Sancti Eadmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.

Ad honorem salvatoris domini nostri jesu Christi, suorum gesta sanctorum laudabili fidelium stilo describuntur; ut deus in sanctis suis juxta morem merito laudetur. Propter hoc jam et ipsi fideles sanctorum exemplis provocati, semetipsos hortantur ad melius, sperantes dei adjutorio ad vitam se posse pertingere perhennem ad quam predecessores suos, adjuvante gratia, conspiciunt pervenisse. Quid enim tam absurdum, tam ratione dissonum, quam ingratitude silentio sepelire quomodo deus in sanctis suis sit mirabilis; quomodo sanctus jam regnans in patria, adhuc in agone certantibus sit imitabilis! Digne siquidem sanctorum laudi insistendum est jam cum Christo regnantium; cum nec per elationem perturbari potest navigantium felicitas qui jam pervenerunt ad portum salutis: nec nocere valet adulatio, quia jam ducti sunt ad triumphum. Et quia ex rerum veris ymaginibus et miraculorum prodigiis merita sanctorum¹ pensamus, beatissimi patris eadmundi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi vitam mirabilem,² virtutibus plenam, miraculis refertam, ad inchoantium profectum, atque proficientium perfectionem, et perfectorum soliditatem, omniumque pariter utilitatem; divina gratia in singulis exemplariter operante; dignum existimans³ fore scripture tradendam, que tanto est laudibus hominum extollenda quanto continet hominibus quedam inaudita. Sed quia longum esset, quamquam fructuo-

¹ Fell. MS., "Causarum".

² Fell. and Lambeth MSS., "imitabilem".

³ Fell., "existimamus"; Lambeth, "existimavi".

sum, gesta ipsius cum edificatione dictorum suorum exquisite referre ; quedam ex his que vidi et audiui compendiose publicis conspectibus per traduces litterarum linguas fragili humane conditionis memorie commendare ; eo maxime quod jam liquet ex munere justi iudicis qualiter sibi creditis¹ habuerit in talentis.

Preposite vero actionis narrationes.²

Beatus igitur cantuariensis archiepiscopus gratia Jesu Christi preventus, ex Christianissimis parentibus morum honestate et vite (col. 2) sanctitate predictis, abandonie progenitus extitit. Qui matris sue loricam ferream ut carnis domaret illecebras carni proximam deferrebat pro Christo. Cujus fama clamat post mortem quod thori castitas fuerat atque postea viduarum exemplar, speculum matronarum. Que filio suo dulci et amabili cum uberum dulcedine lacte dulcius nomen indidit salvatoris, amorem impressit, incussit timorem. Ipso vero crescente, mente magis quam etate optimis moribus suo eum informavit exemplo ; ita ut eundem, cum adhuc esset puerulus, jejuna doceret, orare atque cilicium deferre carni proximum. At hic exemplo Jesu Christi qui maluit mori quam non obedire, matri sue potius obediens extitit quam juvenili etati. Et cum adolesceret, liberalibus traditur studiis imbuendus. Ex tunc cepit viam veritatis, que sibi monstrata fuerat a matre, studiosius ingredi : ut ab ea neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram declinaret : totus ex integro liber in domino. A vanis mundi negociis liberatus, castos jugiter ac sanctos habuit cogitatus ut gestus testabatur forinsecus : quippe quem amor sancti propositi castravit ab infantia : frivola mundi quibus tenera etas abundat mature devitans : ecclesias et sancta loca frequentabat assidue ; mundum odio habuit, cujus solummodo in deo meditationes fuerunt. Omne peccatum execrans atque malitiam, deum solum dilexit mundi redemptorem. De salute anime semper erat sollicitus, atque in fide stans firmiter, spe robustior factus, caritatis operibus fidem informabat. Et quantum hic in fide oravit, tantum obtinuit. Cito vero perpendit in luctaminibus hujus seculi nullum³ sine certamine coronari, nec palmam victoriae consequi sine labore : hostiam immaculati cordis voluntarie deo sacrificans, eruditioni intendens, ut mirabiliter proficeret atque profectus scientie sibi non deesset ; crescente vero scientia, crevit et pugna : quod extunc crucis mortificationem jugiter in corpore circum (f. 180 v^o col. 1)

¹ Fell. and Lamb. insert " se ".

² Fell. and Lamb. add " veritatis gesta sunt ".

³ MS., " ullum ".

ferens ut de illo possit intelligi illud proverbium :¹ 'Adolescens etiam juxta viam suam, atque cum senuerit, non recedet ab ea'.² Nam jejunare, vigilare et orare atque cetera penitentiae graviora opera sic duxit in consuetudinem, quod non modo facilia sed dulcia sibi viderentur, ut ipse perhibebat : et sibi magna pena fuerat, cum jam gustasset dulcedinem dei a bona operatione deficere. Singularem virginitatis florem conservans immarcescibilem, quod nulla unquam immundicie macula corpus suum violaret ; pulcritudine diversarum virtutum virginitatem ipsam decoravit : et sic in carne vixisse creditur preter carnem. Dominus auctor vite, qui supra meritum reddit mercedem laborum sanctorum suorum, beatum eadmundum in via duxit mirabili³ que sancto suo erat mollis et dura, brevis et longa, lata et arcta : mollis ad condonandum ; dura sibi ad patientiam sufferendam ; longa in perseverantia bona usque in finem : brevis in fine preceptorum que caritas est : lata per amicorum et inimicorum dilectionem sinceram, et quamquam arcta que in hac vita non completur, tamen per vim ad optata⁴ conscenditur.⁵ Vituperanda vero fugiebat attente, atque laudanda semper sequebatur. Denique diem exitus sui jugiter ante oculos suos habebat : unde semen bonum in agro pectoris sui seminavit : plantationes suas lacrimis rigavit : igne caritatis nutrit : fructum bonum protulit de terra bona. Arcium liberalium doctor effectus, citra sacros ordines nec beneficio ecclesiastico astrictus, sed solo divino instinctu et zelo pietatis ductus, supra morem tunc legentium, quin potius modernorum, missam diebus singulis audire consueverat.⁶ Gratia autem divina sibi favente, sic profecit in moribus ut dum adhuc liberalibus intenderet disciplinis, sancta, honesta et matura conversacione doctor sacre pagine videretur, efficacius exemplo quam verbo instruens ; non solum prius incipiens facere quam docere, verum etiam ad exemplar quod in Christo Jesu monstratum ei fuerat, prius incipiens facere quam audire. Non ad momentum abstinentiam arripuit, sed per totam vitam servavit, ore cordis misteria ne cogi(col. 2)taciones furarentur ab eo.

In cibo habuit abstinentiam, in siti tollerantiam, in sompno vigilabat :⁷ sic noctes deducens parva vel minima oculorum quiete

¹ Fell., "est".

² Prov. xxii. 6.

³ Sap. x. 17.

⁴ MS., "adoptata".

⁵ Fell., "conscenderat".

⁶ Fell. adds : "quod ut devocius faceret, capellam honore gloriose virginis construxit speciali prerogativa dilectionis, in parochia in qua tunc morabatur, ubi usque ad hec tempora divinum celebratur officium".

⁷ Fell., "vigilias".

qui¹ in tantum gravati continere se minime poterant: quin in sumendis alimentis ad mensam multociens² nec satisfacerent vel in modico. Non in lecto sed juxta sedens vel recubans cum esset in camera vestitus et cinctus parum quiescebat, vi nature compulsus: quod per triginta sex annos continuos creditur observasse. In tanta paciencia animam suam possidebat ut dum sibi dominabatur hoc ipsum quod erat possidebat. Sic vir a virtute verus Israelita in quo dolus non est; qui, excogitato novo carnis supplicio, ut de eo posset vere dici: 'non est inventus similis illi'.³ Momentanee tribulacionis paciencia eterne glorie coronam sibi operabatur in celis. Ad Deum omnem habens caritatem, ad se prout decebat, ad proximum vero juxta preceptum evangelicum; ut sic ordinato decenter⁴ amore, triplici funiculo succinctus, consilii⁵ fune, videlicet . . . federis dominici, corpus suum ab ascellis usque ad renes perdenso circuitu de pilis tortis et retortis perstrinxit immaniter, ne caritas trinitatis⁶ rumperetur.

Non solum autem invisa⁷ de die corporis membra crudeliter affligerat in memoria dominice passionis, sed etiam in nocturno supplicio: cilicium, jugum dominicum sibi suave, atque in manibus onus leve portavit pro Christo consimile. Habebat itaque cilicium, non ut mos est, filis subtilibus intextum, sed ad instar rethis densissimi intricatum quod nodos tam innumerabiles quam intollerabiles continebat. Tali igitur vestimento immo pocius tormento circumseptus, oracionis intensione incomparabiliter peditus, ad occultandam etiam penitentiae austeritatem quam gerebat interius, frequenter ei tanta letitia inerat exterius ut non crederetur plenus tot virtutibus, nisi notum esset a sanctoribus. Inter homines conversabatur sponte destitutus omni temporali solatio: mundi prospera supplicium, et adversa sibi reputabat solatium. Tantum itaque simplicitatis fedus cum oculis suis pepigerat, ut quemdam qui inter dei devotos per annum ei ministrabat in mensa minime personaliter cognosceret et nomen penitus ignoraverit. Forma totius religionis inter eosdem, ut dicebant, videbatur. Fide, doctrina, consilio et scientia universos excedebat. Perpendebat quid sperabat: et levius erat (f. 181 rº col. 1) quod portabat: nec plus quesivit operis quam vite mundiciam

¹ The passage from "cogitationes" to "qui" is much obliterated by a stain.

² Fell., "nature".

³ Eccli. xlv. 20.

⁴ Fell., "detentus".

⁵ Fell., "consimili".

⁶ Fell., "trinitate munita".

⁷ i.e., "the unseen".

concordaret cum stilo¹ predicationis. Sua sui custodia erat, ut in hac vita seipsum despiceret. Bonis operibus crevit cotidie, qui cum Christo regnare debuit sine fine. Vir iste verus dei cultor abstinens se ab omni opere malo, qui bona et mirabilia fecit in vita sua: dum adhuc philosophiam doceret et placuisset ei qui eum segregavit de utero matris sue ut in eo et per eum revelaret filium suum ut fieret vas electum in numero sanctorum, apparuit ei pia mater ejus paulo ante debitum carnis ingressa sic eum alloquens: 'Fili, quid legis? que sunt quibus tam sedulo vacas?' Qui protractionibus arismetis ostensis, dixit quod lego talia. Mox illa per manum dexteram illum accipiens, protractis in ea tribus circulis hec tria nomina scripsit: pater, filius, spiritus sanctus. Et ait: 'Fili, de cetero, aliis omissis, istis intende'. Hiis igitur ita intellectis, juxta quod sibi fuerat revelatum studium sacre pagine statim brachiis fidei amplexatus est. In qua divina ex alto ipsum respiciente gratia tam laudabiliter quam mirabiliter profecit, quod, decursis annorum paucorum circulis, magistris et scholaribus suadentibus cum instantia, quasi invitus, quamquam doctus, amore veritatis et justicie, docendi iter quod noverat assumpsit. Nec mirum quod fidei doctor factus est, qui totus vixit ex fide, ex quo non ipse, sed qui eum talem fecit, laudandus est. Inde omnia autem bene protulit ore, melius implevit et opere, quia jesum secum gestabat in corde: in nullo suam sed in omnibus laudem jesu querebat. Et cum sic illuminatus esset claritate divinarum scripturarum, quod vidit, de prope sequebatur; et quod intellexit ita operabatur ut non solum indiem profecit sed et alios ad dei laudem accendit.² Contigit autem quadam die quod habito multorum colloquio ad se confluentium in suis meditationibus et lectionum repetitionibus aliqua omisisset; atque in utroque sine oculorum aliqua quiete credebatur se minime posse satisfacere: propter hoc quesivit quietem. Cui hostis humani generis comparuit: quem crucis signaculo fugare nitebatur: Diabolus, arrepto dextro suo brachio, illud strinxit crudeliter, quod signum sibi intollerabile fieri non permisit. Et erecta manu si (col. 2) nistra ad idem crucis signaculum faciendum, forcius illud premendo quam prius impedivit. At sanctus in domino confidens Christi passionem cum pretiosi sanguinis effusione ad memoriam reducens collisum cum magno sonitu in terra diabolum fortiter arripuit adjurans per sanguinem Jesu Christi, per quam rem ipsum plus confunderet: qui statim

¹ Fell., "studio".

² Here follows in Fell. the passage: "egregius namque . . . to . . . ad sanctorum gloriam".

respondens ait: 'per eam quam jam nominasti, effugio'. Et sic evanuit.¹ Egregius namque verborum dei seminator et eorundem strenuus edificator tanquam ymbres divina emittebat eloquia; illius cujus erant virtute ac si loqueretur de quo scriptum est: 'Deus meus ignis consumens est'.² Tante autem perfectionis erat quod quando erant quibus prodesse poterat, voluntatem propriam procul dubio postposuit utilitati proximorum: atque quod gessit habitu probavit actu. Contigit autem quod quidam suus scholaris in uno brachio infirmabatur ad modum fistule, quod de se ipso desperaret. Cui valde compaciendo dixit: 'Confide, fili, et ego rogabo deum ut tuam in me transferat infirmitatem'. Et oratione ex intervallo facta, quod petierat optinuit: translata in ipsum egritudine qua circiter per quindecim tantum gravabatur dies: brachium predicti scholaris ex integro sanitati restitutum est nulla remanenti cicatrice. Et sic quod uterque optaverat consequabatur, et mente et corpore sanabatur uterque. Pro locis, causis et temporibus posuit custodiam ori suo, ut non recederet a Christi mandato. Et juxta sapientiam: 'omnia continebat in quiete et silentio';³ atque bonis actibus crevit cotidie de virtute in virtutem quod per gratiam pervenit ad sanctorum gloriam. Cumque per multos annos legem domini docuisset, in qua tota voluntas sua die versabatur et nocte, et sibi videbatur disputationum subtilitates sine quadam vana gloria non posse deduci, cessavit ob hoc et cathedram suspendit magistralem. Verbum crucis de mandato summi pontificis portavit per provinciam, cujus imperio per invocationem nominis Jesu Christi nubes atque pluvie obediebant rarefacientes et recedentes ne a sermonibus divinis plebs fidelis recederet cum predicaret. In viis Domini jugiter ambulans (f. 181 v^o col. 1) ut qui terrenus erat celestis efficeretur atque mortalis immortalitatem acciperet, et abjectis omnium vitiorum tenebris fieret filius lucis; eo vero apud religiosos aliquando declinante tanta edificatione verborum, tanta salubritate exemplorum, indicia sanctitatis apparebant in ipso quod hii qui dulcedinem verbi dei et religionis medullam gustaverant, se desides arbitrabantur et insolentes in sancti viri comparisone. In cujus ore jugiter pax, castitas, veritas, pietas, caritas que tam superhabundanter preeminebat in eo, pre ceteris virtutibus quod satis lingua exprimi non possit, nisi quatenus opere jam Deus manifestat in miraculo⁴ ubicunque terrarum in fide trinitatis ejus auxilium impleretur. Et sic liquet quod caritas hic inchoata, per-

¹ Here follows in Fell.: "cumque per multos annos . . .".

² Deut. iv. 24.

³ Sap. xviii. 14.

⁴ Fell., "miraculorum".

fecta, tanquam que non¹ excidit, manet in eternum. Inimicorum vero suorum negocia sibi inquietantium pretulit negociis amicorum. Zelum animarum habuit super omnia: et vere penitentes et penitentiam agentes pre aliis dilexit: sinceris exemplis et verbis consolationis melle dulcioribus confirmabat. Beneficium vero ecclesiasticum et unicum tantum, quamquam plura sibi fuissent pluries oblata nunquam non cum residentia voluit accipere. Quod quociens lectioni vacabat, illud semper resignabat. Quando vero alios docebat seipsum pascebat, et sicut in ezechiele legitur 'labia reflexa intrinsecus habuit per circuitum'.² Et quod ore docuit opere complevit. O miranda abstinencia in carne fragili! Ita quandoque se abstinebat a potu quod pilis capitis fluentibus, extitit ad tempus depilatus: quod dicebant medici ex defectu humorum venire. In quo minime turbatus, sed sicut domus fundamentum habens supra petram, sic ipse in suis tribulationibus quas sibi paraverat patientiam retinens, corpus suum variis penis tradidit et tormentis ut animam domino traderet quam ipse redemit. Innumeris igitur virtutum floribus in beato viro secundum nominis etymologiam vernantibus, quod interpretatur felix mundus, crevit cum tempore honestatis odor, dulcor sanctitatis in eo. Et sicut placuit altissimo talis sanctus innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus,³ sede Cantuariensi vacante, in pastorem canonicè est (col. 2) electus. Et ut illa auctoritas quasi tunc primo inter illos in quos fines seculorum devenerunt;⁴ scilicet, 'indignus est sacerdotio nisi fuerit ordinatus invitatus,' impleretur, contradixit. Et sepe et multum reluctatus est: evocatus recessit: fugiebat invitatus: sola ei suffragabatur necessitas excusandi. Requisito tandem virorum sanctorum consilio, et prout creditur sibi fuisse inspiratum, onus subiit pastorale: humilitatem tamen priorem non deposuit. Manum misit ad fortia quia manus domini erat cum eo confortans eum. Non sicut prius sed magis ac magis in omnibus virtutibus theologicis scilicet fide, spe et caritate, et cardinalibus, fortitudine, justitia, prudentia, temperancia pollebat. In aggressionè arduorum magnanimus extitit. In tollerancia adversorum mirabiliter patiens. Sic gessit mores fortitudinis et in tanta equitate justiciam exequabatur quod superioribus obedientiam et reverentiam debitam, in mansuetudine paribus pacem et concordiam, inferioribus correctionem et disciplinam libenter exhibuit; vires prudentie, ut ipsa docuit, conservabat in preteritorum bonorum tenaci memoria, in presentium

¹ Fell., "nunquam".² Ezech. xl. 43.³ Heb. vii. 26.⁴ 1 Cor. x. 11.

intelligentia, in futurorum sagaci provisione: freno jejunii mirabiliter temperantiam regebat: in maxima abstinencia quoad gulam, in magna modestia quoad linguam, in excellenti continencia quoad motus illicitos. Hec autem predicta humilitate conservabat illesa: quia prout locis et temporibus decebat, majori, pari se subdidit et minori, ut qui aliorum erat preceptor, factus est servus omnium; et sic carnem spiritui, sensualitatem rationi coegit servire, subjectus et prelatus, ut esset vere beatus. In divitiis pauper, in paupertate dives erat. Ad erogandum manum habuit semper apertam et ad colligendum clausam. Nullus enim mendicans ab eo vacuus recessit. Manum enim ab omni munere excussit. O quam ineffabilis modus hujus confessoris! qui sub veste pretiosa spiritum gessit paupertatis; sub facie leta cor contritum. In mensa fertili penitentiam eligens, et si vel in parte cibi nutrimento naturam quandoque confortaret; ita sibi immaniter subtraxit alimenta quod facies speciosa pallescebat jejunio. Vigore (f. 182 rº col. 1) membrorum prostrato, virtus corporis migrabat in spiritus virtutem: actibus misericordie deditus, bonis operibus intentus, hospitalitati precipue studens, sed in exercendis temporalibus que agebat magis ex debito quam intentione. In altaris ministerio ita versabatur, corporalibus frequenter ymbre lacrimarum perfusis, ac si fieret actu quod misterio figurabatur. Si vero, diabolus vincere, mundo triumphare, carnem domare, proximorum adversa propria reputare, martyrium est: martyrum corona, confessorum gloria beatissimo rite debetur ead mundo. Demum athleta Christi dum in cura animarum sibi commissa sollicitus extitisset, ut animas deo lucrificeret et antiquus hostis doleret se ab eo superatum, tanti viri profectum vidit et invidit. Et ne pace diu frueretur, multos et magnos contra eum excitavit discordie incentores, per quos regi anglorum et curialibus innocens factus est odiosus. Et orta inter regem et ipsum contentione gravi super jure et libertatibus ecclesie cantuariensis: fratribus sibi lites alias voluntate magis ferentibus innumerabiles, qui professione sibi erant obnoxii: comitibus atque baronibus terre undique sibi injuriantibus. Et ut de monachis graviora taceantur, filii¹ quos enutrierat ingratos et degeneres, ei maliciose insidiantibus, intestinum pro juribus bellum in utroque foro inferentibus: in hoc domino servum assimilando ut illud evangelii et prophetie: 'qui manducat panem mecum levabit contra me calcaneum suum'.² Et: 'filius contumeliam facit patri,'³ adimplerent, et cum domino sic diceret: 'Multiplicati sunt qui

¹ Fell. adds " suis impudicis ".² John xiii. 18.³ Mich. vii. 6.

tribulant me ; multi insurgunt adversum me'.¹ Hanc orationem semper habuit ad dominum : ut jus sue ecclesie conservaret et suum unicuique daret pro sua voluntate : quam, ut fidelis servus, in omnibus proposuit agendis. In presentia vero summi pontificis constitutis suis quibusdam monachis, ecclesie cantuariensis ex parte capituli destinatis, quos credebat venisse, ut inter eos conductum fuerat, pro pace facienda, graves contra ipsum ex inopinato proposuerunt querelas. Quibus nullatenus admissis, sed a deo et suo vicario de fratrum consilio turpiter ejectis atque penitus reprobatis cum extrema recesserunt confusione. Et nisi (col. 2) eorum maliciis divina miracula restitissent, judeis forte Christum crucifigentibus crudeliores exstitissent. Nihilominus in foro regio ubi ipsos tuebantur fori privilegio, ipsum etiam² absentem prosequabantur. Quo reverso, querelis exaggeratis,³ vigilaverunt dolosi ad nocendum innocenti. Vocatis ex parte ipsius regis proceribus et ex parte archiepiscopi suffraganeis, constituti sunt multi dies in corde et ex corde malignantium ad negotium prorogandum, cum presens esset legatus tunc temporis, in quo confidebant. Verumptamen archiepiscopus cum quibusdam suffraganeis tanquam subjectus regem rogavit humiliter : velut fidelis consuluit fideliter : et ad instar prelati cum omni mansuetudine caritatis monuit frequenter ut jura ecclesie cantuariensis contra sanctorum patrum privilegia atque sua suorumque predecessorum propria injuste occupata sibi restitueret. Sed quanto deo auctore, archiepiscopus humilior extitit in sui juris prosecutione, tanto, instigante adversario, sathane satellites in sua malicia ope consilio perstiterunt ferventiores. Super quo habito suffraganeorum consilio, protervitate contumacium exigente post intollerabiles injurias sententia excommunicationis occupatores et perturbatores injuste juris et libertatis ecclesie cantuariensis in genere et quosdam de quibus legitime constabat specialiter innodavit. Et hoc⁴ malicia remanentium merebatur, ut qui universis tanquam debitor et singulis tanquam adjutor prodesse poterat, festine subtrahebatur ab ipsis. Vir Dei nolens cum rege contendere ; sed magis censuit cedere maliciis, et cum debitum pastoris officium, quamquam ad ecclesie liberationem manus ejus fuisset extenta, premissis obstantibus, minime potuit adimplere ; mari transito venit pontiniaco, quo, ut fieret fortior, infirmabatur. Et cum ad tempus apud soisy secedere voluisset, dolentibus et flentibus monachis pontiniacensibus de suo recessu, dixit se in festo beati eadmundi martiris reversurum. Quod sicut

¹ Ps. iii. 2.² " Etiam " written over.³ Fell., " exaggeratis ".⁴ Fell., " his gestis ".

promiserat in delatione postea sui corporis adimpletum est. Eo vero inde apud soisy trans(f. 182 v^o col. 1)lato, corpore gravabatur, sed mente sanior perseverabat. Quia oblato sibi viatico, prout petierat, vere fidei sue constanciam per ea que ante perceptionem ore protulit : declarabat, dicens : 'Tu es domine quem credidi, quem predicavi, quem docui : atque tu modo testis es quod in terra positus non quesivi nisi te'. Et adjecit : 'Domine, ego volo quod tu vis, et te invoco testem nihil aliud volo ; tua fiat voluntas'. Postea vero sacramento extreme unctionis adimpleto, testamento prius condito, deficiente membrorum ministerio nova mentis gratia in sancto pullulabat, in tantum quod ymaginem salvatoris crucifixi que tunc sibi ut assolet in hoc sacramento presentabatur, accipiens, loca vulnerum, laxatis lacrimarum habenis, deosculans et ad vulnus lateris os applicans, quod auditu mirabile est, sucxit dicens : 'Haurietis nunc aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris'.¹ Hoc dicto ejus anima sexto decimo Kal. Decembres migravit ad celum, corpore sicut disposuerat, apud pontiniacum translato. Ubi ad laudem salvatoris et in testimonium glorie et honoris sui presulis tot et tanta fiunt miracula que perlongum foret enarrare, perniciosum tamen omnia preterire sub silentio. Propterea, non singula generum, sed genera singulorum que ad invocationem nominis beati eadmundi fiunt in diversis mundi partibus paucis verbis sunt transcurrenda. Ceci vident, claudi vero ambulant, ydropici detumescunt ; leprosi mundantur : surdi a nativitate audiunt, muti ab utero matris recte loquuntur, paralytici convalescunt, obsessi a demonibus liberantur : aperiuntur carceres, vincula solvuntur : evadunt quaternarii et alii febricitantes, alii morbo caduco laborantes : alii variis et occultis doloribus afflicti : alii membrorum officio privati et quasi truncus immobiles effecti : alii in alienationem mentis repente perversi : alii morbo fistule enormiter deturpati : alii a tumore horribili turpiter (col. 2) debonestati : suffragantibus ejus meritis pristine sanitati sunt restituti. Mulierum sanguinis fons restringitur : aliis dolor dentium mitigatur : ab aliis macule corporis recedunt, nullo deinceps vestigio remanente :² quidam adversitatis tempore fracti

¹ Is. xii. 3. Fell., "haurio nunc gaudium de fonte".

² Fell. adds : "Alii hyrinosi ; alii gibbosi ; alii calculosi ; alii pustulis tabefacti ; alii graviter lesi ; alii in puteos, alii in fluvios et gurgites aquarum corruentes ; alii ex alto precipitati, invocato ejus nomine, nullam vel modicam membrorum senserunt lesionem. Alii apostasie laqueis irretiti ; alii a serpentibus lesi ; alii suffocationi proximi ; alii desperati ; alii ab imminenti mortis periculo miraculose erepti : miram presulis gratiam sunt adepti. Alii a tumore faucium ; alii a strictione gutturum ; alii a lesione arteriarum meritis et precibus

molestia in desperationis foveam fere lapsi dum pii patris eisdem occurrit memoria dulce consolationis remedium se invenisse letantur. Sunt itaque nonnulli variis infirmitatibus detenti atque in diversis periculis constituti, dum veracissimi cultoris dei nomen amabile angelis, terribile et exosum demonibus, humiliter ac devote invocaverint a malis omnibus liberati; sentiunt adesse virtutem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Hec et plura que referre perlongum est, deo operante qui solus est benedictus super omnia in secula seculorum. Infantuli vero secus materna ubera suffocati, et ab ipsis matribus circa eorum custodiam negligenter agentibus in sompnis oppressi, ad invocationem sui nominis revixerunt. Bruta etiam animalia, quod mirabile est dictu, ejus beneficia sunt adepta. Ecce quod non est impetrabile impetrat, quod impossibile videtur, potest, quod incurabile est curat, quod insanabile est, sanat, si in conspectu domini cum devocionis affectu effundatur oratio; si in spiritu humilitatis aliquid petiturus peccator accedat. Unde mira dei, cuncta sapienter et salubriter ordinantis, dispositione factum est, quod in sue requietionis loco tanta est signorum gloria, tanta gratia sanitatum, tantus populorum concursus, tantus advenientium devotus affectus, ut sicut de domino ita de servo canere possit ecclesia: 'Venient ad te qui detrahebant tibi; et adorabunt vestigia pedum tuorum'.¹ Concurrunt namque ejusdem patris emuli adorantes in 'loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus'.² Quidam autem qui ejusdem patris magnalia presumpserunt depravare, repente percussi choacti sunt ea predicare vel inviti. Hujus rei propheta verus beatus thomas martyr creditur extitisse, qui postquam (f. 183 rº col. 1) diutina moram apud pontiniacum traxisset, atque ad ecclesiam suam ut martyrium subiret pro Christo rediret: nec pro exhibitione quam sibi devote fecerant monachi pontiniacenses, haberet unde satisfaceret ad sua vota, pollicitus est eis quod post ipsum venturus erat successor in ecclesia sua satisfactorius pro eo: quod jam tradunt impletum. Et ut memoria beati thome martyris inde habeatur, primus homo apud pontiniacum ab infirmitate curatus thomas vocabatur. Ex quo facto didicimus ut de eo omnia alia bona gesta credamus ad gloriam et honorem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

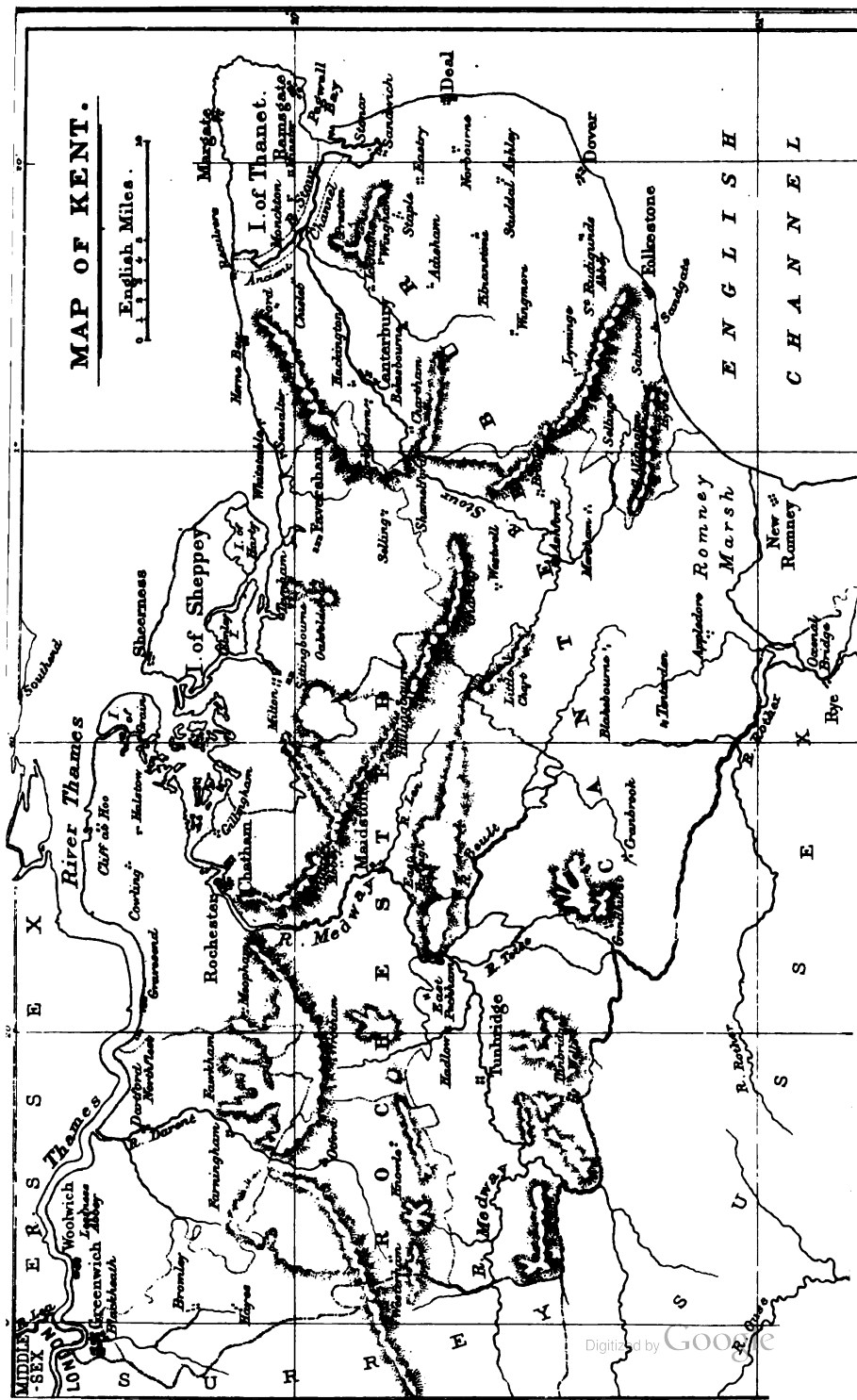
ipsius patris mirifice liberantur. Infantes vero secus materna ubera suffocata atque ab ipsis matribus circa eorum custodiam negligenter agentibus in sompnis oppressi: ad invocationem sui nominis revixerunt."

¹ Is. lx. 14.

² Ps. cxxxi. 7.

MAP OF KENT.

English Miles.



INDEX.

INDEX.

This Index does not pretend to be exhaustive, as it was made by the author on a bed of sickness; but it is hoped it will suffice for all practical purposes. It does not include the three Latin Lives at the end of the work, and it contains but few cross-references.

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